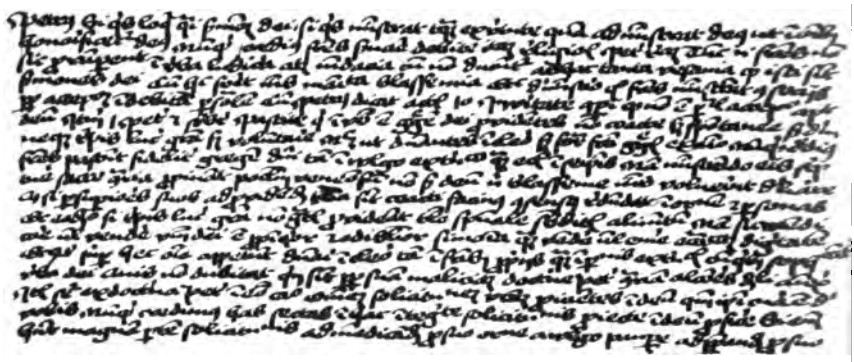
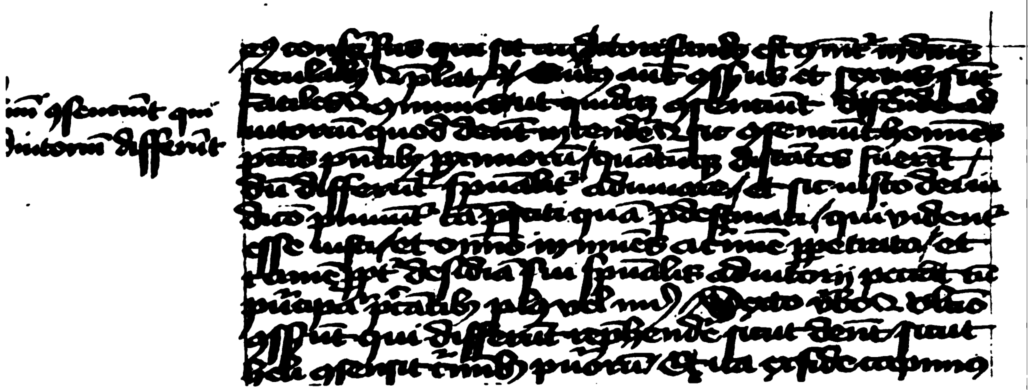
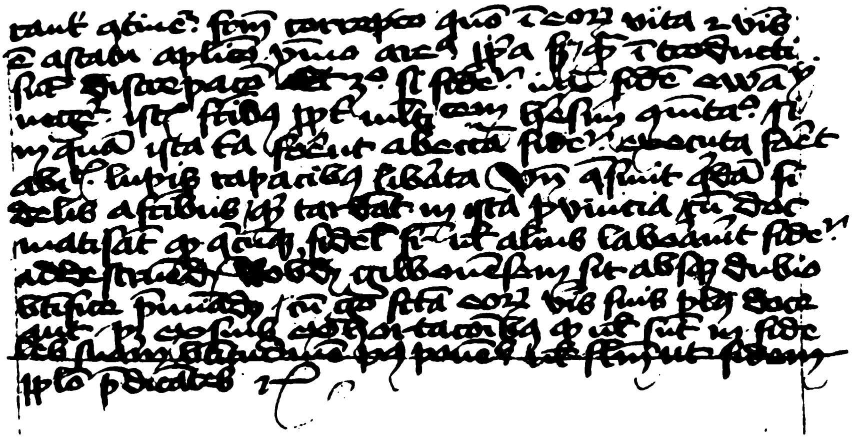


Cod. Univ. Prag. XI. E. 3. fol. 9[b]. *De Fund. Sect. pag. 55.*



Cod. Univ. Prag. III. G. 11. fol. 58[b]. *De nov. Ord. pag. 330.*



Cod. Univ. Prag III. G. 11. fol. 260[a]. *De Perf Stat. pag. 481.*

JOHN WICLIF'S

POLEMICAL WORKS

IN LATIN

FOR THE FIRST TIME

EDITED

FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS

WITH CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

BY

RUDOLF BUDDENSIEG.

ENGLISH EDITION.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED FOR THE WYCLIF SOCIETY BY TRÜBNER & Co.,

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1883.

Leipzic, printed by Metzger & Wittig.

TO THE

MASTER OF WICLIF-RESEARCH

GOTTHARD LECHLER, D.D.

PROFESSOR ORDIN. AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPSIC

THESE VOLUMES ARE DEDICATED

AS A TOKEN

OF THANKFULNESS AND ESTEEM

BY

THE EDITOR.

PREFACE.

Until within the last few years, England has been singularly ungrateful to the memory of one of her greatest men. She seems to have forgotten that not only is John Wiclif the father of her prose, but that he was also the first to do battle for the maintenance of evangelical faith and English freedom with a foreign power that openly denied to Englishmen the privilege of both.

Great as he was, we do not yet know him as we should. That he influenced his time, is on all sides conceded: how he influenced it, nobody precisely knows. On many, perhaps most of us, 'his dim image looks down like the portrait of the first of a long line of Kings, without personality or expression.'

The only way to understand him is to read him, not to read about him. Then only does his inmost self, his deepest spiritual life, animate the portrait hitherto so shadowy, and we see how much in that great strife between two conflicting influences depended upon the personal power, the character and the moral force of the individual, upon his relations to the great interests he represented, and to the adversaries he combated. 'Dann geschieht es wohl oft', says Leopold von Ranke, 'dass die Bestrebungen, welche in ihren Trägern zu Grunde gerichtet erscheinen, eine nachhaltigere Wirkung auf die nachfolgenden Ereignisse ausüben als der Sieger, der zu früh triumphierte.'[1]

This is in a remarkable manner the case with Wiclif, who stood on the boundary line of two distinct modes of thought, and in whose noble personality the great movements which stirred the English

[1] *For it very often happens that efforts, which seem to have perished with those who made them, exercise a more enduring influence upon subsequent events than the conqueror who prematurely triumphs.*

people at the close of the Middle Ages, are united. No one therefore, for whom historical studies have any interest, will regret to trace the growth and development of a great nation in the person of its greatest representative — thus at the same time feeling somehow the pulsations of the deepest national life.

This, however, cannot be, so long as a personality, having a profound influence upon a nation's intellectual life, remains unknown, as regards his most important utterances. True progress in historical study will not be arrived at by talking about these old writers, but by letting them speak for themselves; not by listening to what people say of them, but by listening to their own words. More first-hand knowledge is wanted. English Handbooks of Literature are, in my experience, too commonly filled with second-, or third-hand information; yet there is a world of difference between reading a work, and reading about it.

For these reasons I thought it worth my while to copy and to collate the following Tracts of Wiclif's from their Manuscripts in Continental and English libraries. I have spent more than seven years over this work, making use, for my studies, of all the holidays and the leisure hours left me by school duties. Upon the difficulties of copying and collating, of examining critically, correcting and printing texts of the later Middle Ages, I will not expatiate. 'For I profess not talking, only this: let each man do his best' — and say little about it!

In 1880 and 1881 I endeavoured in private letters to draw the attention of Englishmen to the desirability of printing these texts. I did not succeed. Even the Delegates of the Oxford University Press declined an offer made to them for this purpose. A letter which I wrote on the subject to the Editor of the 'Academy' on September 17th, 1881, was more successful: this led to my having some correspondence on the Wiclif texts and their eventual publication, and shortly afterwards when in March 1882 the Wyclif Society had been founded by the energetic F. J. Furnivall and his helpers, I was asked by the Executive Committee to print the Polemical Tracts as the Society's first volumes.

I do not feel afraid of any reflections on the late appearance of my volumes. I appeal to scholars who have ever done work of the kind. It is simply impossible for one man to prepare and bring out two volumes of the present size in six or nine months.

As to my English, I do not pretend to any elegance, or even fluency. No fair-minded reader will expect it from a foreigner who only occasionally ventures upon an idiom not his own. If I have succeeded in making intelligible what I had to say, I shall be satisfied, for then my highest ambition for the present will have been fulfilled.

In this connection I may as well add that the translation of the critical parts of the present volumes afforded no little difficulty. To edit mediæval texts critically is work not very familiar to English scholars: the Anecdota Oxoniensia *are only just beginning to break up the way. Consequently, I had to struggle forward on ground not yet trodden, and to form a terminology of my own: whether I have succeeded, those who understand this editorial and critical work better than I do may decide.*

I should also mention that while preparing these volumes I became aware that on the Continent, not only in Vienna, Prague (and Paris) are there Manuscripts of Wiclif's Latin Works, as has been hitherto assumed.

Dudik has already stated that the Library of Stockholm is possessed of Wiclif Manuscripts carried off from Moravia during the Thirty Years War.[1]

On a tour of investigation through Upper-Lusatia, Bohemia, Moravia and Lower-Austria I have been fortunate enough to come upon, to examine, and, in part, to collate Wiclif MSS. hitherto unknown, in Bautzen (Bibl. Gersdorff.) and in Olmütz (Kais. Kön. Studienbibliothek).

I take also advantage of the occasion which this preface presents, to draw the attention of Wiclif scholars to a paper Manuscript of the fiftheenth Century, which is preserved in the Dombibliothek of Zeitz (in the Prussian province of Saxony), and which contains the 'Articuli Wygcleff condempnati 1407'; *and lastly to a codex of the Biblioth. Laurentiana in Florence, containing the following Tracts: (1) De Fund. Pseudofratrum; (2) De Christo et suo Adv. Antichr.; (3) De Citat. frivolis; (4) De nova Praevaricantia Mandat.; (5) De Contrar. duorum Domin.; (6) De quibusdam captivis Hispan. (Shirley, Catal. No. 66); (7) Dialogus (Shirley, No. 62); (8) Trialogus; (9) Determinatio de Dominio (Shirley, No. 56); (10) De Servit. civ. et Domi-*

[1] *Cf. Dudik, Forschungen in Schweden für Mährens Geschichte, Brünn 1852. p. 198 ff.*

nio saecul. (Shirley, No. 68).[1] — *I regret that though the existence of this codex became known to me, I had not an opportunity of examing it. The pages of the Florentine Catalogue referring to it did not come under my eye, until the printing of the texts in question had been nearly completed.*

I have also prepared a German edition of the Polemical Tracts, which will be published by Johann Ambrosius Barth, of Leipzic. This edition, which I prepared previously to the English one, is in one volume, and this circumstance must eventually explain some references made in the book without regard to its being published in two volumes.

In conclusion, I offer my heartiest thanks to the many, whether friends or strangers, from whom I have received assistance in compiling and translating these volumes. I would mention especially F. D. Matthew Esq., of London, to whom I am indebted for the copy of two Tracts; Miss Frances Jones and the Rev[d]. R. Horne, of Dresden; and, in particular, Miss Alice Shirley, of Oxford, who thus in some manner continues the services rendered by her much revered Father to the memory of John Wiclif, the great Reformer, in whom the characteristics of the Christian and the Englishman meet and combine in almost equal fulness, as do in Luther Christianity and Germanity. Five hundred years ago John Wiclif passed to 'the fatherland'; four hundred years ago Martin Luther was born: in the confused strivings and the unclear tendencies of the present time it is, I believe, meet and proper to remember **τοὺς ἡγουμένους ἡμῶν οἵτινες ἐλάλησαν ἡμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ**, *Hebr. XIII, 7.*

Dresden, Vitzthum Gymnasium: October 31, 1881.

Dr. Rudolf Buddensieg.

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[1] *Cp. Catal. Cod. Lat. Bibl. Laurent. ed. Bandini, Flor. 1774. Tom. I, p. 579—581. Codex membr. MS. in 8, Saec. XIV exeuntis, perversis et intricatissimis literis ac per compendia exaratus. Constat foliis scriptis 182. Deest hic una cum sequenti codice in Catalogo Montfauconiano, ubi sub numero XXXIII ponitur Codex Prophetarum Minorum cum scholiis.*

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

abbrev. = *abbreviated*
add. = *added*
cap. = *capitulum*
cf. = *confer*
chap. = *chapter*
cod. (*codd.*) = *codex* (*codices*)
col. = *column*
compend. = *compendium*
corr. = *corrected*
cp., *comp.* = *compare*
cr. out = *crossed out*
e. g. = *exempli gratia*
Expl. = *Explicit*
ff. = *following*
f. i. = *for instance*
fol. = *folium, folio*
ibid. = *ibidem*
i. e. = *id est*
Inc. = *Incipit*
in mar. = *in margin*
l. = *line*
lin. = *linea*
mar. = *margin*
m. of ref. = *mark of reference*
n. (*not.*) = *note*
om. = *omitted*
p. = *page*
repeat. = *repeated*
texthd. = *texthand*
ud. = *underdotted*
underl. = *underlined*
v. = *verse*
viz. = *videlicet*
w. m. of ref. = *with mark of ref.*

CORRIGENDA IN VOLUME I.

Page	56	*line*	33	*read*	vend. v. em.	
„	57	„	7	„	nimis *in cod.* γ	
„	57	„	26	„	debent *in cod.* γ	
„	67	„	4	„	impietate	
„	93	„	24	„	*Ockam*	
„	153	„	13	„	*161; they are described*	
„	172	„	32	„	supp. *αD,C etc.*, *then* enim supp. *BE*	
Page	190	*line*	27	*read*	III D^2	
„	191	„	17	„	Prov. 30^{32c}	
„	201	„	16	„	despised	
„	252	„	30	„	A^1 blasph. *ACE om. E*	
„	275	„	36	„	E^1 *om.* γ	
„	307	„	32	„	suarum domorum	
„	312	„	31	„	*c as to*	
„	340	„	5	„	*fugitive —*	
„	340	„	13	„	*head to foot*	

WYCLIF'S POLEMICAL WORKS.—WYCLIF SOCIETY.

CORRECTIONS.

Vol. I.

PAGE			
vii,	Preface, l. 9 from foot, *for*	fiftheenth	*read* fifteenth.
viii,	,, l. 2 ,,	exam	,, examin.
	,, l. 2 from foot ,,	1881	,, 1883.
iii,	Introd., l. 5, from foot ,,	Reformers	,, Reformer's.
	,, last line ,,	1669	,, 1869.
iv,	l. 1 *for*	notes	*read* notes[1].
	n. 5 ,,	T. Gottl. Vierling	,, J. Gottl. Vierling.
vii,	n. 2 ,,	in light	,, in the light.
x,	l. 2 ,,	Englisman	,, Englishman.
	l. 21 & elsewhere ,,	Montague	,, Montagu.
	l. 23 ,,	untertaken	,, undertaken.
xii,	l. 13, 'expostulated' is used in its Latin sense of demanded.		
xiii,	l. 8 *for*	loocked	*read* looked.
	l. 17 ,,	needlessless	,, needlessness.
xiv,	l. 17 ,,	Philipp	,, Philip.
	l. 18 ,,	Wilhelm	,, William.
	l. 24 ,,	Eward	,, Edward.
	l. 24 ,,	strenously	,, strenuously.
	l. 3 from foot ,,	wich	,, which.
xvi,	l. 11 ,,	wich	,, which.
	n. l. 2 ,,	Vaugham	,, Vaughan.
xxii,	l. 18 ,,	Kathars	,, Catharians.
	l. 13 ,,	Quatuor	,, Quattuor.
xxiv,	l. 2 from foot ,,	where	,, were.
xxix,	n. 1 ,,	bibligraphy	,, bibliography.
lviii,	last l. ,,	af	,, of.
lxxxvi,	first l., ,,	to	,, too.
	l. 20 separate 'requires at.'		
lxxxviii,	at foot *for*	Fourthenth, & Fiftheenth	,, Fourteenth, & Fifteenth.
lxxxix,	l. 25 ,,	undoutedly	,, undoubtedly.
xcii,	l. 17 ,,	wether	,, whether.
6,	l. 33 ,,	exstirpation	,, extirpation.
35,	n. h. ,,	superstion	,, superstition.
47,	n. c. ,,	This	,, The.
92,	n. l. 1 ,,	1377	,, 1347.
143,	n. b. ,,	fatrum	,, fratrum.
	n. d. ,,	two priest	,, two priests.
155,	l. 20 ,,	where	,, were.
166,	n. b. ,,	Innocence	,, Innocent.
219,	l. 22 ,,	Luc	,, Luke.

CORRECTIONS.

PAGE				
256,	l. 22	*for*	13*s* 40*d*	*read* 13*s* 4*d*.
257,	n. d.	,,	Urban IV.	,, Urban VI.
281,	n. h.	,,	Bischop	,, Bishop.
	,,	*read*	: ut quid ergo venistis, and *omit* the parenthesis.	
291, Title of Tract VII,		,,	Purgtaorium	,, Purgatorium.
332,	n.c.	*read*	'W. recurs to this accusation.'	
340,	last line	,,	Authors	,, Author's.
341,	l. 5	,,	terminus	,, term.
	l. 9	,,	reservation neccssary	,, necessary reservation.
373,	n. c.	,,	clergg	,, clergy.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

I. John Wiclif's Latin Works and their Bearing on his Schemes of Reform.

The publication of John Wiclif's English Works was concluded three years ago, after more than 300 years had elapsed, since it first was taken in hand. His 'Wicket'[1] was brought out in Nüremberg and has since gone through three editions.[2] In 1608 Thomas James published two controversial writings of Wiclif against the Friars;[3] his translation of the New Testament into English has been often[4] printed,

[1] *Wyclyffe's Wycket, which he made in Kyng Rychard's days the Second Inprinted at Noremburch M.D.XLVI.*

[2] *Wicklieffe's Wicket faithfully overseene and corrected after the originall and first copie. 8°, without date and place of publication. Wicklieffes Wicket, or a learned and godly Treatise of the Sacrament; set forth according to an ancient printed copie by Henry Jackson, 4°. Oxford 1612. A reprint of the first edition was issued from the University Press by the Rev. Thomas Pantin.*

[3] *TWO SHORT TREATISES AGAINST THE ORDERS OF THE BEGGYNG FRIARS. Compiled by that famous Doctour of the Church, and Preacher of God's Word, John Wicliffe, some time Fellow of Merton, and Master of Balliol College in Oxford, and afterwards Parson of Lutherworth in Lecestershire, ed. by Th. James, DD., First librarian of the Bodleian, 4°. Oxford 1608.*

[4] *New Testament, translated out of the Latin Vulgata by John Wiclif, about 1380. Edit. by John Lewis. Fol. London, 1731. — New Test., transl. from the*

an edition of the translation of the entire Bible was given to the public in 1850,[1] *and parts of the Bible have been edited separately.*[2] *The eminent theologian Dr. J. H. Todd, who has rendered us great service in connection with Wiclif literature, has lately given access by publication to three shorter works of Wiclif;*[3] *F. D. Matthew brought the English series to a conclusion in 1880, in a volume of the Early English Text Society by including in his 'English Works of John Wyclif'*[4] *what nine years before Thomas Arnold either on literary or practical grounds, had omitted from his 'Select English Works'.*[5]

Latin, in the year 1380 by John Wiclif, DD. To which are prefixed Memoirs of the Life, Opinions, and Writings of Dr. Wiclif, and an Historical Account of the Saxon and English Versions of the Scriptures, previous to the opening of the fifteenth century. 4⁰. London 1870.

New Testament in Bagsters' Hexapla, London 1841.

New Test. The earlier version, ed. by Lea Wilson. 4⁰. London 1848.

The New Testam. in English according to the version by J. Wicliffe about A. D. 1380 and revised by John Purvey about 1388. With Introduction and Glossary by W. W. Skeat (formerly edit. by Forshall & Madden, now reprinted by the Clarendon Press) Oxford, 1879.

[1] *The Holy Bible in the earliest English Versions, made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers. Edit. by Rev. J. Forshall and Sir F. Madden, Oxford, Clarendon Press 1850. 4 voll. Imp.-4.*

[2] *The Song of Solomon. The earlier version, printed by Dr. Adam Clarke in his Comment. on the Bible. 4⁰. London, 1810—1825. Also The Books of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon, according to the Wycliffite Version made by Nicolas de Hereford about A. D. 1381, and revised by John Purvey, about A. D. 1388. With Introduction and Glossary by W. W. Skeat. 8⁰. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1881.*

[3] *Three Treatises by John Wyclyffe, DD. — I. Of the Church and her Members. II. Of the Apostasie of the Church. III. Of Antichrist and his Meynee. Now first printed by J. H. Todd, DD. Dublin 1851. — Todd ten years before had printed, what Shirley has since declared not to be genuine, The last Age of the Church, Dublin 1841 (see Fasciculi Zizaniorum, p. III, note). A few years later it was again published in the Biblical Versions of Divine Hymns by Wilmot Marsh, London 1845, p. 121 ff.*

[4] *The E. W. of John Wyclif, hitherto unprinted. Ed. by F. D. Matthew, London, publ. for the E.E.T.S. by Trübner & Co., 1880.*

[5] *Select English Works of John Wyclif, edit. from the original MSS. by Thomas Arnold. 3 voll. 8⁰. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1869—1871. The first two*

His theological point of view seems to have had some influence on his selections.[1]

Thus we are already possessed of first, second, and even third editions of all Wiclif's English Works. It still remains to publish a complete edition of those in Latin.

This task calls the more loudly for fulfilment, as not only all efforts in this direction, except for the publication of the Trialogus, have entirely ceased,[2] *but as, in the unanimous opinion of those who have made a special study of the subject, the Latin works are all in various degrees of more value than the English. Wiclif's most important theological work, for instance, the exponent of his whole system, does not even exist in print.*[3]

During the last twenty years many efforts have been made for the furtherance of this object. Most important were those of Lechler, whose keen appreciation of the Reformers ecclesiastical and political importance has raised a lasting monument to Wiclif's memory in his excellent Monograph[4] *and won for himself a permanent reputation. Wiclif's Trialogus, till lately considered as his greatest work, was twice printed in Germany,*[5] *and in 1669 Lechler published a complete edition*

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volumes contain sermons. Before this A Postil of the Annunciation was published in the Biblical Versions of Divine Hymns by Wilmot Marsh. 8⁰. London 1845, p. 91 ff.

[1] *The son of the great Thomas Arnold of Rugby has joined the Romish Church. His conversion stands, I believe, in connection with the High Church movement, which still finds its chief support in Oxford, and which naturally prevents any great interest being shown in one of the first opposers of the Roman Church. Wiclif cannot even after his death expect to receive much at the hands of his Alma Mater, who during his life time expelled him when at the height of his fame.*

[2] *Lechler in 1863 published De Officio pastorali as a University Programm from the Manuscript No. 1337 of the Vienna Imperial Library; also several smaller writings in his Johann von Wiclif II, 574—621. In addition to this is De Christo et suo adversario, edited by myself, Gotha, Perthes, 1880.*

[3] *With reference to this cf. De Christo etc. p. 8 ff.*

[4] *Johann v. Wiclif und die Vorgeschichte der Reformation. I. vol. 743 pages, II vol. 654 pages. Leipzig, Fleischer, 1873.*

[5] *The 'editio princeps' is probably the work of T. Frobenius (see Trialogus ed. Lechler, Oxonii, Typogr. Clarendon, 1869, 11); it must therefore have been printed*

of it with critical notes; by this critical edition, and by the publication of several smaller Latin fragments[2] he has rendered very valuable service to literature.

Next to Lechler, I must mention Walter Waddington Shirley in grateful appreciation of the many services rendered by him in connection with Wiclif, and in warm admiration of him as a disinterested compiler and acute critic. Shirley ranks far above all his predecessors in the minuteness of his research and his penetrating judgement,[3] and has left indispensable aid to his successors in the province of Wiclif research. To him we owe the foundation of a firm basis from whence to prosecute a scientific enquiry concerning Wiclif as a theologian and Church politician. He has further enriched the Wiclif literature by the publication of the Fasciculi Zizaniorum, in which, in addition to the polemical works of Netter, he has printed a small number of Wiclif's Latin writings.

But his labours for Wiclif far outweigh those on Wiclif. During a number of years of his life at Oxford[4] he never ceased in his efforts to enlist sympathy for the Reformer. Clearly and decisively he has pointed out to the 'Alma mater' what a debt of gratitude she

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in Basel: Jo. Wiclifi viri undiquoque piiss. dialogorum libri quattuor. anno MDXXV. The full title in Lechler, Trial. 12. The name of the printer and place of printing is missing. This edition is rare. — The second edition bears the title of the edit. princ. (auctus est denique liber catalogo praecipuorum de Wiclefo nostro scriptorum, quem vita ex optimis fontibus Germ. idiom. depicta sequitur) and was published by T. Gottl. Vierling, 1753, in 4⁰, at Leipzig and Frankfort; it was probably compiled by Ludw. Phil. Wirth, to whom we are also indebted for the first German biography of Wiclif.

[1] *Trialogus cum Supplemento Trialogi, illum recensuit, hunc primum edidit, utrumque commentario critico instruxit G. Lechler, Oxonii, typogr. Clarend. 1869.*

[2] *see above p. III note 2.*

[3] *A Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif, Oxford 1856; Fasciculi Zizaniorum Mag. Joh. Wyclif cum Tritico, ascribed to Thomas Netter of Walden, ed. by W. W. Shirley (Master of the Rolls Series), London, Longman 1858, the value of which is increased by an introduction, evidently the fruit of earnest and critical study, (IX—LXXXVIII), and by an equally important appendix.*

[4] *He died at Oxford in 1866 as Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Canon of Christ Church, after a short life of great activity.*

owes to the memory of one of her greatest, if not the greatest of her sons.[1] *'To the memory of one of the greatest of Englishmen his country has been singularly and painfully ungrateful. On most of us the dim image looks down, like the portrait of the first of a long line of kings, without personality or expression — he is the first of the reformers . . . . Of his works, the greatest, 'one of the most thoughtful of the Middle Ages', has twice been printed abroad, in England never.*[2] *— If considered only as the father of English prose, the great reformer might claim more reverential treatment at our hands. It is not by his translation of the Bible, remarkable as that work is, that Wyclif can be judged as a writer. It is in his original Tracts that the exquisite pathos, the keen delicate irony, the manly passion of his short, nervous sentences, fairly overmasters the weakness of the unformed language, and gives us English which cannot be read without a feeling of its beauty to this hour.'*

These words of Shirley's have been so far of avail that the Delegates of the Oxford University Press have actually undertaken an 'Edition of the Selected Works of Wiclif: English and Latin.' The Delegates, with every means at their command, have printed Wiclif's English Sermons, but this edition though externally well got up, is from a critical standpoint very imperfect, and these Old English writings have evidently been treated with a view to their historical and philological, rather than to their literary and theological bearings. But this publication did not pay its own way, and the commissioners not seeing their way to pecuniary success stopped short. The continuation and conclusion of the English edition, issued by Matthew, was the result of a private undertaking.[3] *The performance of the*

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[1] *For the last time in 1865 in his Catalogue XVIII; V, see also Fasc. Ziz. XLVI; Lechler Trial. 34 (Oxford edition). — Shirley considers Wiclif as one of the four greatest scholars of the 14th century (Duns Scotus, Ockam, Bradwardin and Wiclif, Fascic. LI); see also the tribute paid to his literary importance in the Hist. et Antiqq. Univ. Oxon. by Ant. a Wood, Oxon. 1674, I, 193 c. 1 and 2.*

[2] *The Fasciculi were printed in 1858, Lechlers Oxford edition of the Trialogus in 1869.*

[3] *The Early English Text Society under the direction of the energetic F. J. Furnivall.*

most important part of the programme, viz. an edition of a selection of the Latin works, was not only not attempted,[1] but offers in connection with the enterprise, were rejected less from literary than from business considerations, by the majority of the Delegates, who thus, in my opinion, betrayed great want of appreciation of the duties of their trust.

After the fruitless appeal made by the late Professor Peter Lorimer, Lechler's translator, to those whose work it should have been to edit Wiclif's 'Opera Latina', it is doubtful whether the earnest exhortation addressed to the Oxford Society by Montague Burrows, in his short, but excellent work on Wiclif,[3] will be of any avail.

On the other hand, that steps must be taken in the direction in which Shirley and Lechler have proceeded, is obvious. The intrinsic value of the Latin works is in itself sufficient to remove the ban under which the memory of the great Reformer and enemy of Rome lies.

Most of the English Tracts were composed either for purposes of instruction or of agitation, and were sometimes a sort of sermon, sometimes a pamphlet on Church politics, but always intended to influence the great mass of the people. 'The English Works', says Shirley,[4] 'are almost always short, being intended for popular circula-

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[1] *The 'Trialogus' edited by Lechler for the Delegates, had already twice appeared in print, and therefore does not come in question here.*

[2] *Cf. Wiclif and his English Precursors, translated from the German of Prof. L. by P. Lorimer. 2 voll. London, C. Kegan Paul, 1878, I, XII: 'It is much to be wished that the University of Oxford, Wiclif's Alma Mater, should complete the service of justice to the memory of so great a man, by carrying out to the full her own noble design of a collection of the 'Select Works' of Wiclif.'*

[3] *Wiclif's Place in History. Three Lectures by Montague Burrows, Prof. of Modern Hist. in Oxford. London, Isbister, 1882. p. 40: 'In the face of concurrent testimony to the need of printing these works, it is distressing to hear that the authorities of the Oxford University Press have found themselves obliged to decline N. Ns. offer to undertake the task of editing them. — One must suppose that nothing but imperative necessity could have prompted the refusal of the University to perform what would seem to be its natural function. Let us hope that some other society or munificent individual may step into its place. No literary enterprise of a nobler character is open to any man in the present day.' See also p. 128—129.*

[4] *Catal. VIII.*

tion' and Lechler remarks, J. v. W. II, 557, that 'the great majority of the English writings are merely pamphlets, numbering but a few pages, the most extensive filling at most four or five sheets of print' and in the same place: 'The chief merit of Wiclif's English works lies in the knowledge they give us of the history of the English language and of his popular influence.'

Wiclif's Latin works are of greater and more lasting importance, not having been called into existence by the ephemeral questions of the day, as their form and contents testify. Of these not even his chief work, the 'Summa Theologiae', is yet printed.

The value of these writings for the better knowledge and estimation of the man has been pointed out by many. Wiclif, the philosopher and theologian, the controversialist and pastor, the Church politician and University professor can never be duly appreciated, till it has become possible to study him from these sources.

'A thorough knowledge of Wiclif's position as theologian and politician can only be arrived at through these', 'the Latin works far outweigh the English in importance', writes Lechler,[1] and Shirley remarks: 'The Latin works are both historically and theologically by far the most important'; 'it is from them alone that Wiclif's theological position can be understood; and it is perhaps not too much to say that no writings so important for the history of doctrine are still buried in manuscript.'[2] The late Reinh. Pauli, who died at a time when his friends and fellow workers could ill spare him, wrote as follows with a happy allusion to Milton's verdict on Wiclif's national merit: 'Time and posterity have not comprehended him. It is only after the publication of his various works in Latin and English, when his teaching will come to be seriously investigated, that his rightful place as one of the earliest Reformers will be accorded him. The reformation of the Church was not to be his work during his lifetime. So far Milton is right in exclaiming, though in a tone of lamentation, from his own high and patriotic point of observation: 'If the stiff-

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[1] *J. v. W. II, 557.*

[2] *Catal. IX, with ref. to this, cf. Fascic. XLVII: As it is in light of subsequent events etc.*

[3] *Bilder aus Alt-England, 2. ed. 1876, 265.*

necked obstinacy of our prelates had not obstructed Wiclif's sublime and exalted spirit, the names of the Bohemians Hus and Hieronymus, and even of Luther and Calvin would at this day have been buried in obscurity, and the glory of having reformed our neighbours would have been ours alone!'

But apart from their purely theological importance and value as throwing light on Wiclif's doctrines, the Latin works are at the same time valuable as proofs of the authenticity of the English writings. As to the former, evidence of genuineness is abundant, for of them we have an old tradition dating from the 25 or 30 years following Wiclif's death. Reference is made to them in the writings of his adversaries, Cuningham, Woodford, Netter, and in the Acts of the English[1] *and Basel Councils and in the controversial literature of the Husites, as well as in the works of Hus, Jakobellus and Rokyczana. Lastly Wiclif himself alludes to them either directly or indirectly, sometimes referring to their whole title, or in a general way, e. g.* ut alias tetigi, ut sepe dixi, de quo dictum est alibi *etc. No such proofs exist for the English writings. They are almost entirely ignored by Wiclif in his unquestionably genuine writings,*[2] *neither is any mention made of them in the works of his opponents, so that we possess no external evidence of their authenticity. This lack of direct proof is supplied by Wiclif's Latina, the shorter ones of which are often simply duplicates of the English Tracts, with merely the title changed.*[3]

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[1] *Cf. the great work of Wilkins', Concilia M. Britanniae, London 1736.*

[2] *The one exception is his Wicket which was the cause of a trial in the 16th century.*

[3] *I shall give but one example: Select. Engl. Works III, 242: 'For þis uncouþe discencioun þat is bitwixe þes popes semeþ to signyfie þe perillous tyme þat Poul seiþ schulde come in þes laste dayes . . . . . . And firste it semeþ, þat dissensioun of þis popehede is for covetise of worschipe and wynnynge of þis world, þat bi cautele of þe fende is knytted to þis office' etc. to be compared with* 'Quia ista monstruosa dissensio inter papas videtur significare tempora periculosa, que secundum apostolum novissimis temporibus sunt futura' *etc. in* De dissensione paparum *cod. (of the Imper. Libr. at Vienna) 3929 fol. 219c, see below p. 542 ff. 'It is impossible', writes Matthew in a private letter treating of this question of date, 'while the Latin works are unprinted, to decide the date or*

In addition to this the more extensive Latin works contain no little material for contemporary history. Wiclif was a man who evidently took an active personal interest in all the important questions of his day, and was a prominent leader of one or other of the religious and political factions. Without therefore being an actual historian, he refers, in the midst of his theological expositions, to nearer or more distant events in illustration of his subject, sometimes merely touching them, at other times going into details. The following Tracts have also a rich vein of history running through them, and historical allusions in connection with controversial discussions may be found scattered through nearly all of these. Regarded in this light, these pamphlets would have formed a suitable object to the Master of the Rolls for the great care he is bestowing on the preservation of the annals of his nation's history during the Middle Ages.

In the fourth place attention is to be drawn to the fact, that although Lechler in his biography of Wiclif has thrown so much light on single periods of the reformer's life, there yet remains much that is still controversial. This deficiency was a natural consequence of the state of Wiclif-Literature at the time of Lechler's publication; his task was restricted to certain limits. He performed his utmost by the free use, as far as lay in his power, of the Vienna Manuscripts, and has far surpassed English biographers. On small and sometimes important points he must submit however to correction. With reference to this, I will allude only to the so called Oxford-period of Wiclif's life 1360—1374, to the commencement of the warfare with the Friars and to the establishment of his Travelling Preachers. The new Latin sources of information about to be published in this volume will contribute valuable aid on these points. It will become an easier matter to prosecute further research, when more light has been thrown on these periods by the solution of chronological difficulties which have long burdened Wiclif-literature. So much for this.

On the other hand, when these chronological difficulties will have been overcome, we shall have gained a most excellent means of dis-

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the genuineness of the English Tracts. Still it must be useful to bring them within the reach of the critics.'

covering and comparing the different phases of the development of Wiclif, as an Englisman, a scholar and a reformer.

Such are the reasons, concerning Wiclif personally, which seem to render it neccessary to begin the publication of the Latin Works, or, at least, a selection of them. They form at the same time the motives for my own undertaking: Lechler has laid aside his pen, — the disciple, in all consciousness of the limits of his knowledge and capacities, has endeavoured in the following pages, to continue in the footsteps of his master.

In this edition of Wiclif's Polemical Works which now is given to the public, the first stone is laid to the broad foundation on which W.'s theological system must be erected for the good of our later generations. Small as it is, it appears to me to be of value as displaying a characteristic picture of the reformer's work. May it prove to have been well hewn and appropriate to its purpose.

In the meantime many hands have lately been at work to collect materials for this edifice. A Wyclif Society was founded in England during the March of last year, to remove, by publishing W.'s main works, 'from England the disgrace of having till now left buried in manuscript the most important works of her great early reformer'. Under the energetic management of F. J. Furnivall, Prof. Montague Burrows, and F. D. Matthew, the Society have untertaken the task of publishing those of W.'s Latin works which are still in manuscript, thus rendering them accessible to the learned. The work is being carried on with great energy. W.'s principal treatise, the Summa Theologiae, *will at once be taken in hand. F. D. Matthew hopes to issue the two first books* De Mandatis Divinis *and* De Statu Innocentiae *before the end of this year; he is also to undertake the publication of book X:* De Simonia, *XI:* De Apostasia *and XII:* De Blasphemia. *Later on, Reginald Poole will publish the III — V book:* De Dominio civili. *The VI*th *book:* De Veritate Scripturae sacrae *has been copied and collated by myself, and is now being prepared for publication. The books VII, VIII, IX either have been, or are now being copied by competent scholars. The pamphlet* De Dominio divino, *which is the Introduction to the Summa, is already tran-*

scribed. A volume, containing a number of smaller Tracts, is in preparation.[1] *The Executive Committee have, therefore, good reason to say: 'The work is thus well forward.'*

It may be hoped that an undertaking, so successfully begun, will be carried to a satisfactory conclusion. It is much to be wished that the five hundredth anniversary of W.'s death (31st Dec. 1884) should find English and Germans engaged in the joint work of raising a memorial to this vigorous Teutonic mind; a monument more beautiful and durable than marble or bronze, not formed of lifeless stone, but moulded in his own living words of evangelical faith, of manly frankness, and patriotic high-mindedness.

John Wiclif is worthy of such a memorial. The struggle with the hierarchy of the Church, and the supplantation of the latter by new civil liberties of the nations on the one hand, and the free development of the religious conscience, in opposition to the dogmatism of Church formularies on the other — are the two currents by which the spirit of the Reformation is marked: both unite in W. not only for the first time, but also in their greatest force. At a period of universal helplessness, when the papacy, being lost in worldliness, and degenerated to a political rather than a religious institution, was unable to satisfy the national and spiritual aspirations of the Western peoples, — Wiclif was the first to give utterance to ideas which might bring deliverance to a generation whose traditional forms of life and thought were fading away without the prospect of their place being supplied. Towards the close of the Middle Ages it was more especially in England that the new power of an awakening national spirit was struggling into existence.

[1] *Matthew has copied* De captivo Hispanensi *(No. 66 in Shirley's Catal.);* De Paupertate Christi *(No. 64 in Shirley is being copied in Paris.) No. 54 and 55 of the Catal.* Contra Magistrum Outredum *and* Contra Willelmum Vynham *are also being copied under the superintendence of Prof. Paul Meyer. Finally I have copied and compared a number of smaller pamphlets in Vienna, Prague and Bautzen which are not printed in this volume; these are in Shirley's Catal. No. 23:* De Confessione; *47:* De Oratione Dominica; *48:* De Salutatione Angelica; *59:* Responsiones ad 44 Argutias monach.; *61:* Epistolae octo *(so far as they are not yet published). 77:* De Ordine christiano; *92:* De Praelatis Contentionum; *94:* De Graduationibus *and 95:* De Gradibus Cleri.

This spirit was embodied in W. and his great contemporary, the Black Prince. In the contest of the disorganizing power of feudalism and of a decaying romanticism, with the first strivings after political consolidation, the 'Last Knight', as Reinhold Pauli[1] observes, took part with an organizing hand, while it was in W., that the movement of the national spirit against the oppressions of the papal system had its most powerful representative. And of both parties it is true, that everyone, however noble-minded, however high in rank, whose fate cast him into this whirlpool, was seized by the force of opposing influences, none of which carried away undisputed victory. Treading in the footsteps of Ockam, Bradwardin and Grosseteste, W. proclaimed not only the modern idea of the liberation of the State from hierarchical supremacy, but he expostulated with St. Bernard and St. Francis evangelical piety in the 'Sect of Christ' instead of a Church in conformity with the world. Uniting warm religious feeling with the keen intellect of the dialectician and politician, W. maintained the authority of Holy Scripture over Pope and Church, and from this standpoint went on to criticise the constitution and doctrines of the papal system. And he was not only a man of words, but of deeds; nor did he work in vain. What he taught and lived continued to germinate abroad and to influence the religious feeling of the Lollards, Husites and Moravians till Luther's time; whilst it was in England, his native land, that his influence on the State was lasting.

Even though his remedies for the evils of the times were not always the right ones, his words sometimes ambiguous and apt to be misunderstood, — for the earnest minds of a later time they became the fountain of a new spiritual life. Thus his powerful personality in which the light of a later era seems to be reflected, stands at a turningpoint in the history of the christian Church.

The first harbingers of a new intellectual, though certainly premature spring, neither timidly nor faintly appear in him fully developed. Neither before nor after him, with the exception of Luther, has any reformer striven with such determination to bring back the Church from her outward lifeless forms, to urge her regeneration in accor-

[1] *Aufsätze zur englischen Geschichte, Leipzig, Hirzel, 1869, S. 1.*

dance with the teaching of Holy Scripture, and to infuse its spirit into her heart. The hidden germ of true religion had to be freed from the manifold external ceremonies by which it was concealed, in order that the Gospel might again appear in its unveiled purity and be proclaimed anew to the whole world. And since this national as well as religious revival found its representative in W., in whom the essential ideas and endeavours of the pre-reformers in the Church found unreserved expression, he is rightly looked upon as the most distinguished of the early reformers.

Before Hus, W. had already conceived the higher idea of a Church including in its community all believers belonging to the 'Party of Christ', instead of a merely legal institution, such as the Romish Church had become. All those ideas and tendencies by which so keen an observer as Karl Hase[1] recognises the peculiar importance of Hus, viz. his opposition to the clergy and to the abuses of the Papacy in his pamphlets and sermons, — the equality of the priesthood, — the needlessless of a visible head of the Church — the rights of congregations, — tithes mere alms, — the right of the government to confiscate Church property when ill-administered, — in fact the extinction of any proprietary right through the mortal sins of the possessor, — all these may also be found in W.'s writings, and many of them can be pointed out word for word in his works.

The connection between the Oxford and Prague movements is, in my estimation, far closer than could be supposed from what has hitherto been published.

And as regards the leading idea of the German Reformation, Lechler[2] has already pointed out that W. not only brings forward prominently Luther's formal principle of the Sole Authority of Holy Scripture, but also that the mediation alone by Christ, which he advocates, is conceived in the true spirit of the Reformation and closely connected with the evangelical doctrine of justification. — Thus the great and powerful ideas to be realized by a future, rich in promise, are embodied in him.

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[1] *Church History*[10] *p. 366.*

[2] *J. v. Wiclif I, 741.*

In the following polemical writings, these thoughts, though not always expressed in direct words, are everywhere made the basis of his arguments, or are tacitly implied. But the other side of his life work, so to say the negative one, which is the supplement of the positive, manifests itself more immediately in these controversial writings. All those dim and desponding tendencies of the past centuries, which called for a reform of religious life, are clearly and powerfully represented by W., the controversialist.

Since the disputes between the Catharians and the Roman See, neither Grosseteste nor Armagh, nor the Minorites[1] *had so clearly discerned the inner depravity and antichristian character of the papacy as Wiclif.*

Since the death of Gregory VII., neither Arnold of Brescia nor Peter Waldus, neither St. Francis nor St. Dominic, neither Bernhard nor Joachim, had demanded the return of the Church to apostolic purity and poverty of life so energetically as he.

Since the strife between Boniface VIII. and Philipp the Handsome, neither Marsiglio of Padua nor John of Jandun, nor Wilhelm Ockam had defended the national idea of the peoples as being equal to the ecclesiastical one, and demanded their recognition so vigorously and untiringly as he.

This national feeling, which first manifests itself in the Synod of Rockingham (1095),[2] *and which rules the Romish policy of nearly all the English kings till Edward III., was upheld more strenuously and warmly by W. than by any of his predecessors. The following Tracts prove this.*

But not only in this respect did he overstep the limits drawn to the German Reformation, but also by extending the Catholic idea of the Church through the prominence he gave to the universal membership in Christ, or as Luther expresses it — the 'Allgemeine Priestertum', — in conformity with wich he yielded to the laity even a larger share in Church government than did Luther. His printed writings deal in detail more or less with this phase of his reforming activity.

[1] *In their reaction against the antichristian character of the worldly and wealthy vicars of Christ.*

[2] *Cp. Jäger, J. Wycliffe and his Influence on the Reformation, Halle 1854, p. 2.*

The Church of the Future may also lay claim to him, because, amid many errors, he upholds the one fundamental truth, that the ideal Church, the Church still to come, must and will be a Church of the people and not of the hierarchy.

The currents of a reforming spirit, which may be traced all through the expiring Middle Ages, thus meet in W. At first they appear as narrow streamlets, running through the sterile and exhausted soil of a worldly hierarchy; but, in spite of the burning eagerness of an unevangelical Church to retain her possessions, they gradually increase, till in the Oxford Professor they overflow their banks, and at last threaten the vast structure of the Roman Church with danger and destruction.

It is profitable in the present time to bring this thought before our minds. And I consider these polemical writings, if read aright, as able to do this. This is one of the considerations which induced me to publish them, although they are in the first place offered to the learned. For beyond this circle I scarcely venture to hope for readers.

II. The Polemical Writings and Argumentation of Wiclif.

From what has been said above, it is clear how much importance is to be attached to W.'s Polemical Writings. They are a memorial of his patriotism, and as such bring before us one phase of his work as a reformer. On this account I have devoted all the leisure, which my school-duties have allowed me for the last seven years (especially the holidays), to copying and collating all the polemical writings of W., designated as such by Shirley and Lechler and by myself, and which are found in the Vienna, Prague, Olmütz, Bautzen and English Manuscripts. —

The publication of a Latin Polemical Tract would in itself possess considerable interest, for until about three years[1] *ago, no such pamphlet had been printed.*[2]

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[1] *My edition of De Christo etc. appeared at Easter 1880.*

[2] *Strange as this fact may appear, it is true. Dr. James had published an English pamphlet in 1608. (Objections of freres, by Thomas James D.D. Ox-*

Without the publication of the most characteristic and important of the Polemical Works, it is impossible, in the present state of the Wiclif-literature, to trace the conflict with certainty through its various phases up to the climax, which we are to see represented in one of the Tracts printed in this volume (De Christo et Adversario suo Antichristo, last Tract but one). Lechler has already done good service in this direction also;[1] *the main features have been accurately drawn by him; and if the following observations differ from him in details,*[2] *the explanation is mainly to be found in the fact that in depicting the struggle with the Papacy, he has failed to make use of just those Tracts which are essentially polemical, and has rather endeavoured to*

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ford 1608, 4⁰; also with the title: An Apology for J. W. showing his conformitie with the now Church of England.) and Dr. R. Vaugham, in his Tracts and Treatises of J. de W. with Selections and Translations etc. London 1845, as is hinted at in the title, only gives selections and translations, together with a few modernized English writings of W.

[1] *Johann v. Wiclif I, 566—602.*

[2] *Amongst other matters, the date of the commencement of the struggle with the Begging Friars, which Lechler places in the middle of the year 1381, and believes to have arisen entirely out of Wiclif's attack on Transubstantiation (summer of 1381) seems to me an open question. (J. v. W. I, 488—89: 'From the moment that he began distinctly to apply his theological principles to the Roman Catholic dogma, ... not only did his judgment on the Papacy grow much more severe, but at the same time he opened an attack upon the Begging Friars'.) I cannot at present enter upon a discussion of this question, and refer the reader to Matthew's remarks on this matter Engl. Works, p. XLIII ff. Even the De Officio Pastorali, edited by Lechler, Leipzig 1873 and placed by Lechler himself 'before 1378' (see p. 4), contains sharp attacks on the Friars. If Shirley in particular (Fascic. Zizan. XIV, p. 517 ff.) and with him Lechler (J. v. W. I, 586) pronounce the opinion, 'that, when the brave Archbishop Richard Fitz Ralph of Armagh died, in 1360, W. immediately took up his work, and as his spiritual heir continued the struggle with the begging Friars, so strongly maintained by him, to be a 'mythical tradition', this same opinion and 'mythical tradition' is expressly confirmed by Wiclif himself in one of the following Tracts, cp. De Ordinatione Sectarum, p. 92 ff. This makes it quite clear that W. did take up the battle with the monks as Armagh's spiritual heir. Cp. a similiar statement in a letter of T. Arnold to the 'Academy', June 3ᵈ 1882, p. 397, where the substance of a Lollard sermon is given.*

ground his theories on Wiclif's systematic works and Sermons.[1] — *And yet this side of Wiclif's work of reform is especially deserving of careful examination,*[2] *for it forms the centre towards which his other doings converge. It is not, as Lechler has pointed out, and as I have formerly observed,*[3] *to be regarded as the preparatory stage of his positive and constructive teaching, but it is an essential part of his life work, which, as will appear from the following Tracts, continues to the year of his death.*

Taking a broad survey of this life work of Wiclif's, we find that it falls into two divisions, not indeed sharply separable in point of time, but yet in their tenour and purport distinct from one another: (1) the political struggle with Rome, 1366—1378;[4] *(2) the religious struggle with Rome, 1378—1384. This latter was carried on by him in two directions, (a) against the Papal Church and its institutions (Constitution, Monasticism, Popedom, Sacerdotalism, Cultus, Hierarchy), and (b) against the Romish doctrine, 1381—1384. Lechler has already given an excellent ge-*

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[1] *He has made use of the following works of Wiclif's: Lib. Mandatorum, cap. 26 (cod. 1339 fol. 205 c. 1); De Verit. Script. s., cap. 11 (cod. 1294 fol. 30 c. 3); cap. 20 (fol. 65 c. 4); cap. 14 (fol. 43 c. 3); De civili Dominio II, 4 (cod. 1341 fol. 104 c. 2); I, 43 (fol. 120 c. 1; fol. 123 c. 1); I, 35 (fol. 84 c. 1); De Ecclesia, cap. 12 (cod. 1294 fol. 164 c. 3); cap. 2 (fol. 133 c. 2); cap. 15 (fol. 178 c. 4); cap. 1 (fol. 128 c. 2); Festivals Sermons, X (cod. 3928 fol. 19 c. 1); V (fol. 8 c. 2); LVI (fol. 116 c. 3; fol. 117 c. 1); XLIV on Matt. 24, cp. Arnold, S. E. W. II, 394 ff.; Cruciata, cap. 8 (cod. 3929 fol. 238 c. 1); Suppl. Trial., cap. 9, p. 450 (Lechler's ed., Oxford 1869); cap. 4, p. 423; 477; Trial. l. IV, cap. 32; De Blasphemia, cap. 1 (cod. 3933 fol. 117 c. 2); cap. 2 (fol. 123 c. 3); cap. 3 (fol. 126 c. 1); De Apostasia, cap. 1 (cod. 1343 fol. 37 c. 1) XXIV Sermons, No. IX (cod. 3928 fol. 152 c. 1).*

[2] *To give such in this place, by way of introduction, seemed to me incompatible with my present task, and with the object of a first edition. If God spares me life, time and strength, I hope to be able to make use at a later time of the material here given, for the elucidation of that subject.*

[3] *Cp. De Christo etc. p. 12.*

[4] *This is the crucial year: the Schism (cp. Pauli, Bilder aus Alt-England, p. 243; against Lechler, who gives 1376, J. v. W. I, XVI); the measures taken against Wiclif in 1377—1378 by the hierarchy were the result of his political and patriotic opposition.*

neral sketch of this conflict with the hierarchical Church system. He distinguishes three stages,[1] *between which a clear line of demarcation may be drawn. Up to the time of the Papal Schism in 1378, Wiclif 'was still very far from attacking the Papacy as such, in its core and essence: as the central Church authority he yields it a real recognition and sincere respect, though it is true only within certain limits'; this is the stage of a relative recognition of the Papal primacy. When in the year 1378 the French Cardinals set up an Antipope in the person of Clement VII. in opposition to Urban VI. who had been elected by the Romish Cardinals, and whose evangelical earnestness and Christian spirit Wiclif at first still acknowledged,*[2] *— this setting aside of the Gregorian idea of Church unity brought about a reaction in Wiclif's mind: from henceforth he stands opposed on principle to the Papacy. Towards the person of Urban first recognised by him his attitude is neutral: but from the Papacy as such he finds himself bound to break away thoroughly.*[3] *— This position however was theoretically untenable: it would have been a stopping short half way; and of this a character so decided and thorough as Wiclif was incapable. The closer his conflict grew with the ecclesiastical authority, the more emphatic did his denunciations of the errors and crimes of the head of the Church become; and if it was not the sacramental controversy, dating from the summer of*

[1] *J. v. W. I, 575—581.*

[2] *Cp. De Ecclesia, cap. 2 (cod. 1294 fol. 133 c. 2):* Dominus matris nostre *(i. e. ecclesiae)* . . . providit caput catholicum, virum ewangelicum, Urbanum VI . . .; ideo oportet ex operibus credere, quod ipse sit caput nostre ecclesie; *also fol. 133 c. 2:* Ista fides de nostro capite tam graciose et legittime nobis dato est credenda . . . Nec dubium, quin nos omnes tenemur subesse sibi *(i. e. Urbano) etc.; Festival Sermons X (cod. 3928 fol. 19 c. 1):* Ideo maneat Urbanus noster in iusticia verus Petri vicarius et valet sua eleccio. *Cp. cap. 15 (fol. 178 c. 4) and for an old reminiscence below De Christo etc. cap. XI:* Qui videtur *(antipapa is subject)* pape nostro pretenso plus humili adversari.

[3] *To this stage belongs Wiclif's Cruciata, cp. cap. 8, below p. 583 ff.:* Absit fideles credere, quod in sanctitate vite unius istorum vel alterius pendeat . . . salus tocius ecclesie militantis, cum probabiliter creditur, quod utroque istorum subtracto de medio vel dampnato staret ecclesia Cristi quiecius quam stat modo.

1381, which forced him into active opposition to the Papacy[1] *as such, it was the perception that the Roman Pontifex stood in direct antagonism to Him whose vicar on earth he claimed to be. In this third stage of* ***uncompromising opposition to the Papacy****, the motto of the attack was: 'the Pope is Antichrist'. The systematic impoverishment of the country churches, the overbearing pride, the worldly character of the government, the claim of a universal priestly rule, on the part of the Pope, are nothing less than the assumption of divine attributes and rights; and that is a diabolical assumption. And now not only are the two actual Popes, Urban VI. and Clement VII. 'false Popes and Antichrists',*[2] *but the* ***Pope as such*** *is Antichrist; he is superfluous and pernicious to the Church, since he owes his office to the Devil.*[3] *But, according to Lechler, not only does Wiclif hold this, but he goes so far as to stigmatise the Papal office, whose bearer is Antichrist, as in itself poisonous and destructive.*[4] *Therefore no one is better fitted than the Pope of' Rome,* ut sit vicarius principalis Satanae et praecipuus antichristus.[5] *Lastly,*

[1] *Fascic. Ziz. 104:* Post haec, cum non posset ultra celari ignis absconditus, coepit palam . . . dictare blasphemias *etc.* Incepit autem, sub a. D. MCCCLXXXI in aestate determinare materiam de sacramento altaris; *cp. also Joh. v. W. I, 652.*

[2] *Trial. (Suppl.), 450:* Unde isti pseudopapae non possent patentius ostendere se esse vicarios antichristi *and ibid.:* Manifeste patet, quod uterque istorum pseudopaparum tanquam membrum diaboli in causa stultissima provocat homines ad pugnandum. *Cp. also De Christo etc. end of cap. VII:* Cum videtur multis peritis probabile, quod iste papa sit precipuus anticristus *etc.*

[3] *Trial. (Suppl.) 423:* Ex istis racionibus potest colligi vel Avinionicus, quem aliqui vocant papam..., sit fons et origo totius nequitiae in militante ecclesia, ac si foret praecipuus antichristus. *S. 426:* Debemus enim credere . . ., quod nullus talis papa necessarius est per ordinationem Christi, sed per cautelam diaboli introductus . . . . . .; et tunc ista duo monstra cum membris diabolo sibi adhaerentibus sese destruerent, ecclesia fidelium stante salva. *Cp. also Johann v. W. I, 583 notes 1 and 2; Historia Anglicana Thom. Walsingham (ed. H. Th. Riley, London, Rolls Series, 1863) II, 58 art. 9; lastly De Christo etc. end of cap. IX:* Ecclesia Cristi posset regulari prospere et quiete sine tali papa, ut patet de tempore *etc.*

[4] *XXIV Sermons IX (cod. 3928 fol. 152 c. 1):* Breviter totum papale officium est venenosum . . . ., prelati versi sunt in lupos et capitaneus eorum . . . . dyabolus vita et opere anticristus.

[5] *De Blasphemia, cap. 3 (cod. 3933 fol. 126 c. 1).*

as Lechler observes, the conception of Antichrist becomes in Wiclif's mind identical with that of the Pope, so that, for example, he simply describes the Papal Legates as missos a latere antichristi.[1] — *And in one of the passages where he uses the strong language of his age, he characterizes the veneration accorded to the Pope as a* plus detestanda atque blasphema idolatria, *'because thereby divine honour is paid to a member of Lucifer, who is a more horrible idol than a painted log, since he contains in himself such great wickedness.'*[2]

Lechler has portrayed the last stage of the conflict in very vivid colours; probably chiefly because he has not drawn upon any systematic account, composed ad hoc, of Wiclif's opposition to the Pope, but has collected the violent outbursts against the Vicar of Christ, which are to be found scattered up and down throughout the already published writings of Wiclif (as well as in some still lying in manuscript); thus they appear at first sight to have no inner logical foundation and as being simply the rabid outpourings of a mind that sees the divine ideal of the Church perverted into sin and shame, and even diabolical wickedness. But a highly-coloured representation of this kind does not, as I believe, convey quite the true idea. In order to arrive at this, we must have regard to the whole range of Wiclif's polemical works; only these can give, I think, a more systematic account of his conscientious opposition to the aggressions of the Papacy and the Monks, explain the particular attacks, and throw light on every part of the subject. It seems to me that this is the case with the Tracts now published. They contain everything which Wiclif had to allege against Pope and Monk. I do not believe that any important charge which was available for the attack has been omitted. But with all the sharpness of the contest, with all the moral earnestness of the patriot and the Christian, the language remains full of a noble pathos, and never

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[1] *Festival Sermons, V (cod. 3928 fol. 8 c. 2):* Legatos cum bullis missos a latere anticristi. *Cp. also below De Christo, beginning of cap. XII:* Anticristus autem in persona propria *etc.*

[2] *De Blasph., cap. 2 (cod. 3933 fol. 123 c. 3), cp. De Christo end of cap. VII. How far this repulsive language is excusable, I do not undertake to decide; on this point see Lechler, J. v. W. 1, 584 ff.*

descends to the reckless and fanatical declamation which from such occasional expressions as those quoted above we are led to expect.

Most valuable for determining in this respect the entire character of the controversy is the Tract De Christo et suo Adversario Antichristo, which is the work of Wiclif's last year, and thus belongs to the final stage of the contest. In spite of this, Wiclif in no passage[1] *goes so far as downright and without modification to identify the Pope with Antichrist or the Devil. His innermost conviction that thus it is he expresses in the passages bearing on the question cautiously and conditionally: the Pope is Antichrist only so far as he does, or leaves undone, this or that.*[2] *I consider it the more important to draw attention to this decided, but so to speak intellectually higher method of disputation, as Wiclif's enemies have not failed to bring forward in the most violent and reckless manner the recklessness and violence of their opponent against the visible head of the Church,*[3] *and 'to make capital out of it'.*[4]

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[1] *Even the beginning of cap. XII would seem to be conditional, cp. what follows.*

[2] *The following are the passages in question, cap. VII:* Quanto magis anticristive *etc.; and:* Cum videtur multis peritis probabile *etc.; cap. IX:* Secundo dictum est, si papa *etc. and:* Et comperto quod pastores *etc. cap. X:* Capitur tamquam regula, quod si *etc.; and:* Revera si vite Cristi sit *etc. and:* Et indubie, si perseverasset *etc.; cap. XI:* Quod si moritur sic Cristo contrarius *etc. and:* Quod si pape magis hoc *etc. and:* Ideo si in vita et doctrina *etc.; and:* Et quantum ad vitam *etc.; and:* Nec posset patere *etc.; and:* Numquid credimus ipsum *etc.; cap. XII:* Anticristus autem in persona propria *etc., cp. with this the following:* Sed quis posset esse *etc.; cap. XIII:* Ideo cum idem sit *etc.; and:* Ex istis practice declaratis *etc. and:* Sed cum inequa distribucio *etc.; cap. XIV:* Papa autem ex tali crebra citacione *etc.*

[3] *Walsingham, Hist. Angl. I, 450, 451; II, 119; Ypodigma Neustriae 340, Fascic. Ziz. passim, for inst. 2, 108—109.*

[4] *What Lechler, on the other hand, brings forward in his review of my edition of De Christo, Theol. Litteratur-Zeitung, May 22, 1880, No. 11, p. 251—52, seems to me only to confirm what I have asserted; he says p. 251 below: 'It is the fact, that the tractate ... with regard to the Papacy, only lays down as all important this principle: If the Pope is contrary to Christ in life and doctrine, then he is an Antichrist in a pre-eminent degree.' The essence of the idea remains indeed unchanged, but it is just this conditional statement of the anti-papal idea,*

It is true that this nobler mode of controversy does not obtain in all the Tracts. But in none does Wiclif descend, as might appear from the charges laid against him, especially by mediæval writers, to mere abuse, in which the strength of the proof stands in inverse proportion to that of the language. On the contrary he shows in each instance by an exhaustive treatment of the point at issue, that he is justified in his often sharp, and powerfully aimed rebukes: in one word, he grounds his attack. In this modification of what has been hitherto known of him, — if I may so call it, in the toning down of the former somewhat strong colouring, the value of the following Tracts seems to me in part to lie.

That nevertheless the language is full of force and sharpness, will be speedily perceived by those, who have overcome the first difficulties of the Wiclifian idiom. Never before in the Middle Ages had such a voice been lifted up against the mighty Rome, that sought to rule nations body and soul. Neither the energy, nor the many-sidedness of W.'s denunciations was to be found in the opposition of the Kathars and Waldenses, neither in Bernard of Clairvaux nor in Arnold of Brescia, neither in Gerhoh of Reichersberg nor in Joachim of Floris and St. Hildegard, neither in William Ockam, nor in Michael of Cesena, lastly neither in Grosseteste, Richard Armagh nor Bradwardin. It is in Wiclif, the controversialist, that the oppositional spirit of the Middle Ages finds its ablest and most characteristic exponent. Even the 15th century has no one to place on a par with him in this respect, and only Luther's powerful and thrilling notes of evangelical testimony and burning indignation against the abomination in the sanctuary, as uttered in his great writings of the year 1520, sur-

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as made by Wiclif, which is distinctive of his method of controversy. I consider that Wiclif's arguments and charges even gain in persuasiveness with the reader from being couched in this more refined form, because W. leaves it to him to draw the inferences from his hypotheses. It was just in the Pope, as the reader would plainly see, that certain hypotheses were fulfilled: but this involved the conclusions which Wiclif now leads the reader to draw. In the case itself naturally nothing is altered; nor was this asserted in my description of W.'s mode of arguing against the Pope, in De Christo, p. 15.

[1] *Cp. for inst. the biblical proof in De Fundat. Sect. below, p. 13 ff.*

pass in force of expression, intensity of feeling and depth of thought this language of W's. Certainly, W. wrote 150 years earlier than Luther. He had witnessed neither the impotent efforts of the Councils of reform, nor that deepest degradation of the Papacy by the notorious Popes of the 15th century.

The following Tracts, especially the latter half of them, throw also additional light upon Wiclif's controversial labours, inasmuch as they give us his charges against the supreme Head of the Church in their connection with one another. In this respect they afford what is quite new, for we seek in vain in the Latin works hitherto published for a systematic attack upon the Papacy as such, with a thorough statement of the grounds of opposition. In his other works[1] he is engaged in combating the 'Four Sects'. Before this ruling interest, which absorbed all the energies of his later years, his animosity against the Pope fell quite into the background. The Tracts printed p. 442 ff. on the other hand serve in the war against the Vicar of Christ on earth, to the climax of which we are led by the Cruciata and De Christo et suo Adversario Antichristo. They give us in broad outlines that wholehearted, deliberate opposition of W. to the Pope, to which occasional outbursts in the most various passages of his professedly theological works bear witness. In this respect the following Tracts fill up, I hope, a certain gap. They will lead us by means both of their form and contents, to a view of W.'s contest with the Pope different from that formerly entertained.

III. Contents and Arrangement of the Volume.

The study of the Wiclif Manuscripts has not yet advanced so far, that the question 'What are we to understand by his Polemical Works'? could for the present be fully answered. During a sojourn in Vienna, Shirley gave himself up to the study of the Wiclifiana with extraordinary diligence and self-denying devotion to the subject. It is in the nature of things that, in spite of personal examination of a great number of MSS., which in some cases are very bulky, he sometimes

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[1] *Trialog. IV, cap. 26—28; Supplem. cap. 4—9.*

failed exactly to hit the mark in characterizing the single Tracts.[1] *In the main however, his arrangement of the works is successful. The same may be said of the classification which Lechler, working on Shirley's lines, has given in his great work on Wiclif.*[2]

In the present volume the Polemical Works in the narrower sense of the word, are laid before the public, i. e. those directed against the Pope and the Four Sects, 26 Tracts in all, which are thus nearly identical with those catalogued by Shirley as against the Pope and the Sects.[3] *Only Tract No. 90, De Fratribus ad Scholares, is omitted, as there are strong reasons for doubting of its authenticity. Of the numbers 92—96, which Shirley entitles 'On the Secular Clergy', No. 92, 94 and 95 are only in a very small degree. or not at all, polemical; the two others, Quatuor Imprecationes and De duobus Generibus Hereticorum, unimportant polemical Tracts, are given here for the sake of completeness.*

But besides this I have thought it necessary to add to these polemical Tracts, a whole class of Wiclif's writings, which Shirley gives under the head of 'Systematic Theology', and Lechler as so called 'Catechetical Tracts'. To this class belong De septem Donis Spiritus Sancti, De triplici Vinculo Amoris, and De Oratione et Ecclesiae Purgatione.[4] *It is true that in these works Wiclif starts from Church doctrines, texts of scripture, or from certain popular-religious views, which where much discussed and commented upon at that time, and so far, but in a wider sense than by Luther at a later date,*[5] *they may be*

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[1] *In very many respects — dating, table of contents, extent, Incipit and Explicit of the Tracts etc. — his Catalogue is not reliable. To avoid repeating myself later, I remark this beforehand. I cannot, however, consider that it reflects upon a worker otherwise so thorough, that he should have been mistaken in matters of detail, which was moreover due, in part at least, to his informer.*

[2] *J. v. W. II, 559—573.*

[3] *Catal. No. 72—91.*

[4] *This, see Shirley (Catal. No. 25, p. 11), is a disputed point. Lechler, J. v. W. II, 568 has placed the Tract amongst the Polemica, to which in fact it belongs, as also De Diabolo et Membris eius, the purport of which Shirley has mistaken, cp. Catal. No. 29, p. 12 and below p. 357 ff.*

[5] *Cp. Geffcken, der Bilderkatechismus des XV. Jahrhunderts und die katechetischen Hauptstücke in dieser Zeit bis auf Luther, 1855, p. 20 ff.*

considered as 'catechetical Tracts'. So at least it would at first sight appear. But if we examine them more carefully, it will become evident that the instruction of the people is not Wiclif's exclusive, or even his principal object in these Tracts. The commands of the Bible and the Church, and their exposition, are for him only means to an end. They are the mirror, in which he holds up to his adversaries their evil image. And thus his attack in these very Tracts becomes the sharper and the more energetic that the charges are founded on Scripture. The contrast between the ideal and the actual is all the more strikingly brought out. The strongest in this respect is the De nova Praevaricantia Mandatorum, p. 116 ff., which I am inclined to call the type of this kind of polemical Tract, and which exactly corresponds in form with those works.[1] *If we look upon this Tract as a polemical work, it will involve our regarding the three others also as such. I have not included the Tract De Paupertate, classed by Lechler amongst the polemical works, because it does not attack either Pope or Friars directly, and only in a wider sense can be regarded as controversial. Lechler's No. 12: De minoribus Fratribus se extollentibus*[2] *has not, as he imagines, been overlooked by Shirley, but is given by him under its correct title: De Perfectione Statuum.*[3] *It is printed below p. 449 ff.*

With regard lastly to the disposition of our entire material, all the Tracts here printed are arranged according to the two chief objects of attack, the Private Sects and the Pope. Here and there the order adopted will admit of dispute, but my endeavour has been to group the Tracts in accordance with certain points of view, which had certainly to be tolerably general, in order that no violence might be done to the separate Tracts. The attentive reader will find, that the connection between Tracts following one upon another, is often even

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[1] De Fundatione Sectarum also is written essentially on the same plan. The two shorter Tracts, De Oratione dominica and De Salutatione angelica, which are likewise assigned to this class, I have not included, because the polemical argument, as a rule, is given in a single concluding sentence in which the antagonism of the Sects towards the ideas expounded in the foregoing sections is brought out.

[2] Cf. J. v. W. II, 568.

[3] Cp. the Incipit: Cum viantes etc. Catal. No. 58 p. 26.

closer than I can point out in this place.[1] — *The arrangement of the whole is as follows:*

A. Polemical Tracts against the Sects.

1. Against the Sects in general.

(a) They are reprehensible according to the Scripture etc. (Theoretical Argument):

(1) Founded neither on the writings of the Apostles (De Fundat. Sect.),

(2) nor on the teaching of Christ (De Ordinat. Sect.);

(3) they are in opposition to the Commandments, especially to the second table of the Law (De nova Praevar. Mand.),

(4) in opposition to the love which embraces all mankind (De tripl. Vinc. Amor.),

(5) lastly, in opposition to the Holy Ghost, who requires a life well-pleasing to God (De sept. Don. Spir. Sancti).

(b) They are reprehensible by reason of their life (Practical Argument):

(α) General Charges:

It is charity herself (cp. above A. I. a, 4) that urges to the attack upon them:

(1) they are a burden on the nation, which cannot be tolerated, and for which no reason can be found, general charges (De quattuor Sectis novellis),

(2) therefore exhortation to leave the Sects and to join the Sect of Christ (Purgatorium Sectae Christi).

(β) Particular Charges:

(1) their pernicious theory respecting the relation of the misdeed of the individual to the community (De nov. Ordinibus);

(2) their pernicious practices: sale of prayers, their lying (De Orat. et Eccl. Purgat.);

[1] *Cp. for inst. De Daem. merid. and De duob. Gener. Haeret., also De Dissen. Papar., Cruciata and De Christo et s. adv. Antichr.*

(3) their lying in detail (De Diabolo et Membris eius);

(4) they destroy the unity of the Church (De Detect. Perf. Ant.), especially by a false doctrine of the Communion;

(5) as servants of the Devil, loosed since the year 1000 (Gog and Magog), they spread false doctrines (De Solutione Sathanae).

(6) and, therefore, forbid the free preaching of the Gospel (De Mendac. Fratr.).

II. Against particular Sects.

(1) Against the Prelates, who by their pursuit of riches sin against God the Father, by their unchristian life and their severity to the poor against the love and humility of the Son, and by the scandal of indulgences (since only temporal goods should be purchased with money) against the Holy Ghost (De Daemonio merid.);

(2) against the Simoniacs (Pope, Bishops) and Apostates (all other clergy), who do not follow in the steps of Christ (De duob. Gener. Haeret.);

(3) against the regular Monks, so far as they by the life of their order, disturb the Church unity intended by Christ (De Relig. vanis Monach.).

III. Against the whole order of Private Sects.

(1) Proof, that the Private Religions are not only altogether unlike the religion of Christ (illustrated by the example of the begging Friars; — De Perfectione Statuum),

(2) but that each of them is in its nature imperfect (De Relig. priv. I),

(3) and that, therefore, the life of the order is not to be regarded as a work of God (De Relig. priv. II).

B. Polemical Works against the Pope.

(1) His assumption of the right of Citation, which means a claim of the spiritual authority even over

the secular legislative, is unfounded and to be condemned (De Citat. frivol.).

(2) *Above all, the Pope should be deprived of his worldly power; the final cause of the Schism is ambition (De Dissens. Pap.),*

(3) *and the Crusade to Flanders in Urban's interest is, if not a work of the Popes (but of the Fratres) against the command of Christ, and, therefore, a work of the Antichrist (eight antitheses to Christ) (Cruciata).*

(4) *But in truth the Pope is diametrically opposed to Christ (proved in twelve antitheses) and is, therefore, to be regarded as Antichrist. He is therefore to be set aside, in order that Christendom may not be hindered in the simple following of Christ (De Christo et Advers. suo).*

Conclusion: Thus the Sects and their Head, the Pope, are in opposition to the Law of God; they ought to be avoided by the simple Christian, or wholly be put aside.

IV. The Manuscripts.[1]

The Codices which contain the Tracts printed in this volume are to be found in four Libraries:

(1) the Imperial and Royal (Court) Library of Vienna,

(2) the University-Library of Prague,

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[1] *Table of contents and (very scattered) notices as to origin, arrangement etc. of the MSS. are to be found in the great bibliographical work of the learned Jesuit Michael Denis, Codd. Manus. Theol. bibl. palat. Vindob. recens. Michael Denis, Vindob. 1593 fol.; table of contents only in the (in part very badly printed) new catalogue of the Vienna MSS., Tabulae Codicum Manuscr. in bibl. palat. Vindob. asservat. ed. Acad. Caes. Vindob., Vindobonae 1869, (ed. in 8vo in 7 volumes).*

As both works, especially the first, are seldom to be obtained, and, at the same time, as nowhere as yet a more complete description of the Wiclif MSS.

(3) the Imperial and Royal Studienbibliothek of Olmütz, and in
(4) Lord Ashburnham's Library.

The Vienna Library contains the greater part of the Manuscripts: ten of the whole number (16), while the University Library of Prague is possessed of four, the Studienbibliothek of Olmütz and Lord Ashburnham's Library of one codex each.

On the following pages a description of the single Codices is given.

The MSS. of the Imperial and Royal Library at Vienna.

I. Codex A, No. 3929 (new library mark), formerly No. 309, then No. DCCCLXXX, with Denis[1] *No. CCCLXXXV. — Folio,*[2] *paper, 32 cm high, 22 cm broad, in strong wooden binding, covered with parchment now turned very yellow; traces of large knobs and remains (small pegs) of the clasps. On the upper cover, outside: on the upper margin, but almost entirely effaced:* „Liberculus", *below this:* „No. 309", *lower down:* „Liber Wiglef doctorif Ewangelici". *On the inside follows the Index of the works contained in the Codex:* cod. A.

De ecclesia 14[3]
De dominio in communi 127
De dominio divino 166
Supplem. Trial. 184
Super oracione dominica (195) et salutacione angelica 197
De Solucione sathane 199
De nova prevaricancia mandatorum
De socio 205

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has been given, I hope that I shall be to some extent preparing the way for future students of Wiclif, if I endeavour, so far as my powers and the space allotted to me will permit, to give the necessary bibliographical notes in this volume. It will be seen that the help they afford in determining the nationality, origin and date of the different MSS. is not insignificant.

[1] *II, 1453. The copy of this bulky bibliography in the Royal Public Library at Dresden is bound in three volumes, the second of which contains what is referred to here.*

[2] *Briefly described by Lechler, Trial. 33.*

[3] *The numbers in every case refer to the folium.*

cod. A.

Conclus. XVII 217
Sermo Dominus vobiscum 219
Exortacio doctoris novi Labora sicut bonus mil. Cr. 220
Epist. Lincoln. et quoddam dubium cum ceteris nota plura *(these two last words in red ink)* 221 et 222
De donis spirit. san. 222
De citacionibus frivolis 227
De gradibus clericorum 228
De condempnacione 19 conclus.
De dissensione paparum
Responsio ad 18 argum. Strode 231
Compilacio metrica de replicacionibus 237
De quatuor sectis novellis 238
Cruciata 246
De Cristo et suo advers. 253
Forma iuramenti Arnoldi pape thesaurarii 259
De graduacionibus scolasticis 261
Posicio discip. Mag. Johannis de Eucharistia 263
Argumen. contra posicionem de religion. privatis 257 *(cr. out)* 275[1]
Soluciones quarundam questionum 279
De statu innocencie
Responsio ad decem questiones 288.

Above on the right there was formerly a shorter Index in another hand; it is now effaced, and except for some de *occuring several times at the beginning of a line, hardly anything but* De dominio *can be deciphered. Under the old Index a new library mark. The Codex contains 289 leaves; 1—13 blank, in consequence of which there is always a difference of 13 between the old and new paging (170—157, last leaf 289—276). — Above on the margin of the fly-leaf (parchment) in the hand of the scribe of the Codex:* Tulius de officiis lib° I dicit omnium autem iniurarium nulla est capitalior quam ea que fit per falsam legis interpretacionem. hec ille. Hoc contra Io *(i. e.*

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[1] *This number also is incorrect according to the usual reckoning: the Tract begins fol. 274ᶜ.*

Iohannem) wy *(i. e. Wycleff)* et omnem eum sequentem qui scriptu- *cod. A.*
ram sacram vel scripturam doctorum trahunt pro eisdem frequenter repugnantem. *Lower down are two quotations, alike in sense, from Chrysostom and Cic. De Offic. — The leaves which next follow have as water marks the head of an ox reversed, with a double crosslet between the horns. Leaf 13 cut out; the text begins on leaf 14:* Quia nonnulli eciam illi qui *etc. and now follow up to 289 thirty three longer and shorter Tracts of Wiclif,*[2] *in a firm, clear and characteristic hand; each page of the folium in two columns, containing on an average 48 lines. The initials of the different Tracts and of the chapters — unilluminated — are in red ink; those of the single sentences in black ink, but marked by a red line. These lines, the punctuation, marginal notes etc. belong to one hand, which goes throughout the entire Codex. De Statu Innocentiae, fol.* 274^c *ends thus:* Plurimum ociose et sic deus similibus etc. bez. Koncze pohrziechu *(i. e. alas: without end, in modern Bohemian: bez konze pohřichu). Thus far goes the texthand described above; there follows in a similar, but broader and more decided hand, a letter to* Magister Stovam *on the question:* quid sit proprium,[1] *which ends thus:* Ut ipsam construat, illuminet et conservat Amen. hec materia reperta est inter cartas mag. Roberti Stouam (Stonam?) qui mortuus est[2] in pisis in concilio Anno MCCCCIX celebratum etc. — *fol.* 276^c *and* ^{d} *are blank. Copied by me in Dresden, Autumn of 1876.*

II. Codex B, No. 3933,[3] *formerly 306, later DCCCLXXXIV,* *cod. B.*
with Denis No. CCCXCI. Folio, paper, 31 cm high, $21^1/_2$ *cm broad,*

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[2] *Catalogued Cod. Manusc. Theol. ed. Denis II, 1453 ff. (25 numbers); Tab. Codd. Man. (new Vienna catal.) III, 120 (33 numbers); the new edition is rather more detailed; several works, united under one number in the Index of the MSS. (cp. No. 5 and 12), are here given separately.*

[1] *This is a subject akin to the Wiclifian ideas, cp. Vaughan, Life and op. I, 434—435; Walsingham, Hist. Angl. I, 363; Wilkins, Conc. M. B. III, 501; Joh. v. Wiclif I, 375; II, 314; Gratius, Fascic. Rer. Expet. 190, 240, 244 etc.; Chronic. Angliae 1328—1388, ed. E. M. Thompson 190; Lewis, Hist. of Life and Suff. 318 ff.*

[2] | *fol.* 276^b.

[3] *Denis II, 1473.*

cod B. *5 cm thick, appears to be of the same origin as 3929; same paper and binding; the text-hand, if not the same, is very similar. Was the property of Paul de Slawkowicz;*[1] *this name is on the inside of the cover below the Index, together with old and new library marks. In strong wooden binding; covered with leather, which has turned very yellow. Title on the back in faded red paper:* Wiclifi opuscula De officio regis, De Cruciata, De officio pastorali; *under this in pencil:* 731; *below:* Cod. MS. Theol. N. DCCCCLXXXIV olim 306.

Outside of the upper cover encased in stamped leather, between the indented diagonal lines, an old library label 06 *(apparently from 306). Covered inside with lined paper. Above to the right:*

Versa berengarium. fuge Wicleff. cede picardis.
Implicat hic. errat hic. sacramenta retractat.

Below: W. 15 *by a very ancient hand (it is probably the oldest library-mark, and we may conclude from it, that there were at least 15 volumes of Wiclif-works in Slawkowicz' collection of books). To the left an old Index in red ink:*

In isto volumine continentur infra scripta: De officio regis
De Cruciata id est contra bella clericorum
De Cristo et eius adversario
De septem don. spir. san.
De tripl. vinc. amoris a domino Iesu Cristo exemplato et
De duplici vinculo infami a diabolo introducto seu adinvento
Exhortacio eiusdem ad quendam doctorem
Do nova prevaricancia mandatorum
De condempnacione 19 conclus.
De vaticinacione seu prophecia
De officio pastor. partes due
De blasphemia cum registro.

Below: liber pauli de Slawkowicz, *and below this again several modern library marks in red and black pencil. The Codex (without*

[1] *cod. DCCCCLXVIII (Denis II, 1473 and III, 3268), also had the same owner: Pertinens ad Paulum de Slavikovitz, qui fuit Art. Baccal. Plebanus D. Aegidii et Corrector Curiae Archiep. Pragensis.*

fly-leaf) contains 196 leaves, with on an average 50 lines to a page; fol. 1ᵃ Table of Contents of De officio regis. *The text begins at the end of fol. 2ᵃ; next follow several folia without text (for inst. 26ᶜ, 26ᵈ). Fol. 63ᵃ—70ᵃ contains the* Cruciata; *next (as in Codex 3929) follows 70ᵃ—76ᵈ* De Cristo et s. a. A. — *on fol. 185ᶜ* De blasphemia — *ends thus:* limitare Amen Vtyess tye . buoh *(i. e. God comfort thee; in modern Czech: utěs (tes) te bůh. — At the end of the Codex fol. 195ᶜ—196ᵈ the* Bibliographia Wiclefiana.[1] — *The arrangment of the columns is as in 3929; the title of the Tract being written over all four columns. The entire Codex is written by the same hand; for the most part only one corrector seems to have been at work. Written at the beginning of the 15ᵗʰ Century, according to Denis[2]:* Saec. XV; *cp. the end of the description Denis II, 1475:* Codicem utrinque ambit membrana notis chronologicis multata, tempore tamen Wenceslai Rom. et Bohemiae Regis data a Wenceslao de Olomucz archidiaconi Bechinensi in ecclesia Pragensi Curiae Archiepiscopi Pragensis et apostolicae Sedis Legati offic. in causa Erasmi Matthiae de Obrzienicz Dioecesis Pragensis contra Nicussum Weyner et eius uxorum Petrussam oppidanos opp. in Luna pro vindicatione quorundam bonorum pr. edicto clerico debitorum. — *Copied and collated by me at Dresden in the spring of 1877.* cod. B.

III. Codex C, No. 4527, formerly 268, them DCCCCVI, with Denis No. CCCLXXXIX. This Codex contains a collection of works remarkable in more respects than one. With reference to its Bohemian origin, see the marginal note fol. 209ᵇ referring to vitulaminibus *of the text:* nota vitulamen dicitur in vite ramus infertilis bohemice pazuch.[3] *Denis, who in these palaeographical matters is* cod. C.

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[1] *Printed below, p. LIX ff.*

[2] *II, 1473.*

[3] *The passage is from the beginning of De Officio pastorali, printed by Lechler 1863. It is remarkable that the existence, not only of this second text, but also of the others (cp. Shirley, Catal. p. 18 No. 46) seems to have escaped the careful and observant Lechler; he says, De Off. past. 2:* Verum enimvero tractatus .... in codice uno invenitur *and* cum .... cognovissem tractatum illum in codice vindobonensi asservari *(he means Codex 1337). Shirley, l. l., gives*

cod. C. *thorougly competent, assigns to it the same origin:* In Bohemia exaratum fuisse manifestum est.[1] *Moreover at the end of the* Responsio ad octodecim argumenta Radulphi Strode, *fol.* 75^{a}, *we read:* Ha ha na mnychy *(i. e.: 'Ha, ha so much for the monks'; in modern Czech: 'Ha ha na mnichu'). Similar short observations are scattered throughout the entire Codex, cp. for inst. De Christo etc. p. 685.*

The following note (ad calcem of No. 1) may serve as external evidence of the Wiclifian origin of the Tracts contained in this Codex: Pexlitic responosi Soihanni Giamtris arguadmetan cusiudma liemu tisuetari, *for Magister Johannes is just John Wiclif, and this very cryptographical subscription suggests that we have here the work of an author whose name the contemporary copyist had reasons for concealing.*

Likewise we have in the Codex an indication of the date of its having been copied. At the end of De Fundat. Sect., after the words: de sua ecclesia sit ablata *follows the note:* Anno MCCCCIX; *this Codex then must have escaped the stake of Archbishop Sbynjek of Prague on the* 16th *of July 1410,*[2] *for it was finished in this year, as appears from the note after the Explicit of De Relig. priv., fol.* 229^{b}*:* hoc opusculum finitum est in Adventu anno domini Millesimo quadringentesimo decimo. *The declaration of the Dominican Prior Thomas of Utino, referring to the judgment pronounced upon Wiclif's*

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the other sources, but he has fallen into several errors with respect to just this cod. 4527. He writes, Catal. p. 30, l. 3: CCCLXXIX, fol. 191—194; but 1) cod. CCCLXXIX has only 141 folia, cp. Denis II, 1443; 2) the number of the folio (191—194) agrees with our Codex 4527 — CCCLXXXIX, but 3) not for De graduacionibus, *as Shirley gives it, but for the following Tract* De gradibus cleri ecclesie. — *Moreover* De quatuor imprecacionibus — *Catal. No. 93 — is also in cod. 4527 fol. 146, which Shirley omits to state; so with* De officio regis — *No. 69 — cod. 4527 fol. 146. So too in No. 24* De ordinacione *(not* concordacione) fratrum *the list of sources should be given as 75—79^{a}, not 75—78; and No. 77* De ordine christ. *fol. 120—124^{a}, not 120—123, since* De Cristo *etc., which follows immediately after begins only at 124^{b}, cp. New Vienna Catal. III,300.*

[1] *Denis II, 1466 under No. III.*

[2] *Lechler, J. v. W. II, 159—160.*

writings, which is inserted between the Tracts, and dated die Mercurii 1410,[1] *points also to this year.*[2] *cod. C.*

The Codex, Quarto, 22 1/2 cm high, 15 1/2 cm broad, 5 cm thick, is made up from leaves in part of paper (without water marks), in part of parchment (fly-leaf 1, 6, 7, 12, 13, 18, 19, 24, 25, 30, 31, 210, 211, 217, 218, 223, 224, 229 and fly-leaf at the end); it is not arranged in columns, so that only [a] *and* [b] *can be distinguished, written by one hand*[3] *and corrected by three or four hands; about 39 lines to the page.*

On the upper side of the front cover, which is covered with faded and worm-eaten leather, are remains of five old knobs and of two clasps; there are also library-marks: olim 268. *On the back is written above:* Varia opuscula Joannis Wicleff ut videtur, *under this in pencil:* 4527; *below:* Codex MS. Theologicus N. DCCCCVI olim 268. *On the inside is the following* Index contentorum *with the Incipits. On the upper margin, in the middle:*

Isti tractatus continentur in hoc volumine

Primus Quidam socius, quem suppono esse emulum veritatis,

to the right close to it:

1[4] De responsione magistri ad argumenta cuiusdam emuli veritatis; *follows the second line:*

Quantum ad obiectum fratrum, quod non oportet,

to the right close to it:

17 De solucione Sathane *etc.; I give in the following list only the titles on the right hand, not the Incipits, thus the third line runs:*

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[1] *That is to say, not Wednesday, according to the usual terminology, but Tuesday, the 25th of November; it is the day of the martyr Mercurius; according to Grotefend, Handbuch der hist. Chronol. Table 2, p. 53, the Sunday letter (E) of the year 1410 gives a Tuesday.*

[2] *The chief part of it printed by me in the Zeitschrift für hist. Theologie 1874, III, 297.*

[3] *Except the declaration of the Prior, mentioned above, fol. 156a lin. 21—156b; on fol. 144a and b the hand becomes smaller, but, I believe, it is still the texthand.*

[4] *These numbers in red ink, opposite to the titles, on the left hand, give the page numbers of the Codex.*

cod. C. 19 De fundacione sectarum
34 De quat. sect. nov.
46 Respons. ad 44 argucias monachales
66 Epist. missa ad Episc. Nortwic.
67 Resp. ad 18 argum. Strode
75 De ordinacione fratrum
79 De citac. friv. et al. versuc.
83 Questio cuiusdam verit. emulatoris
84 Dictum de gradibus ecclesie
85 Expos. Matth. 23[1] cap.
98 Expos. Matth. 24[1] cap.
104 De confessionibus
110 De Ecclesia
120 De ordine cristianorum
124 De Cristo et suo adversario
134 Cruciata
134 Ep. missa ad Archiep. Cantuar.

a blank space follows; then:

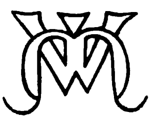
145 Ep. missa ad simplices sacerdotes
146 Conclusio de off. regis
Quattuor imprecaciones
Dubium contra cavilantes, quod presciti sunt ecclesia
Ep. missa ad Urban. VI.
147 Ep. ad quendam consortem Rad. Strode
Ep. ad Episc. Lincoln.
Questio quintuplex
148 De fratribus et 14 *(this number in another hand)*
156 De non comburend. libr. W. *(in another hand)*
157 De septem don. spir. s.
162 De triplici vinc. amor.
169 Verbum communiter dicendum clero, dominis et regni nostri populo
171 De nov. prev. mand.
181 De dyabolo et membr. eius
184 De relig. priv.
191 De grad. cleri ecclesie

194 De eukaristia *cod. C.*
209 Pastorale
222 Questio de relig. priv., an sit datum optimum.

On the title page, upper margin: Tanta enim est erga omnes bonitas dei ut nostra velit esse merita que sunt ipsius dona, hec Crisostom. in sermone de Adam etc. — *Below are library marks in black ink, in red and black pencil; the other side is blank. Text from 1ª to 229ᵇ. On the inside of the back cover is a* registrum utriusque libelli amici, *above is written:*

Perfidus aspiciat petrum predaque latronem,
Crudelis paulum, quem stringit culpa Matheum,
Zacheum cupidus, immundus carne Mariam.
Non desperetis vos, qui peccare soletis
Exemploque meo vos preparate deo. *The* registrum *is for us of no value. — Copied and collated by me in Dresden, during the Autumn of 1877.*

IV. Codex D, No. 3930, formerly 369, then DCCCLXXXI, Denis CCCCIV, folio, 32 cm high, 22 cm broad, 8 cm thick. The wooden binding, covered with stamped leather, shows remains of knobs and clasps. There is an old library mark: Theologia No. 369, 157, *still legible, between the indented diagonals (the impression is the same as on cod. B, both must therefore have belonged to the same library). The back is pasted over with the faded red paper, and bears the following inscriptions on white paper shields: Above:* Varii Dialogi Wiclefi et Sermones et Quaestiones, *underneath this label, which easily can be removed, stood formerly:* Cod. MSt. Theol. Lat. N. 254; *below the label:* Codex Theologicus N. DCCCLXXXI olim 369. — *On the inside of the upper cover is a tasteful monogram* MW *(Magister Wiclif); above this on the left a scarcely legible inscription:* liber iste est Amudis (?) domini etc. I. VI. etc. *Above it on the right in red ink:* O homo quid dormis et non vigilas, *below in black ink:* Vigila et noli dormire, *and beneath this again in black ink the beginning of* *cod. D.*



[1] *Denis II, 1499; New Vienna Catalogue III, 120; cp. also Trial. 22.*

COD. D. *an Index, which being incomplete it will not be necessary to give here. Under the monogram is the following Index contentorum in red ink:*

Dialogus 1
Trialogus 21
Expos. ca. 23 Matth. 125
Mag. Joh. Hus de corp. Cristi 150
Mag. J. Hus utrum omnem sangwinem etc. 156
De triplici vinc. 169
De minoribus fratribus se extollentibus 178
Utr. licet clerum corrigere 187
De sectis monach. 192
De cura rei familiaris 196
Utr. relig. priv. sit donum 197
Serm. Mg. Jacobelli de beata Maria 202
Sermo Mg. Joh. Hus Abiciamus opera 208
Ser. Mgi. Jacobelli Hec omnia dabo 212
De confessione 217
De ecclesia 221

below:

230 De papa, *then:*
De cruciata 240
De fundac. sect. 250
De nov. prevar. mand. 264
De scriptoribus vet. et nove legis 271
De nominibus dei 287
De hereticis

below this: heresibus 291, *under these two last lines:*

De Interpretacionibus diversorum nominum;

further:

De don. spir. s. 300
Sermones ad clerum *(underlined a tittle as being the principal title)* Vos estis sal terre 304
Tres sunt qui testimonium 307
Accipiebant spirit. sanctum 311
Dilexerunt homines magis tenebr. 318

Dixit Martha ad Iesum 326 *cod. D.*

Soliciti servare unitatem 335

Diligas dominum deum, Querite primum regnum dei, *below this in red ink:* M J Roky *(i. e. Magistri Joh. Rokyczana).*

There follow two fly-leaves (parchment, not paged), upon them a registrum Trialogi und Dialogi.

The paging[1] *does not begin till the third leaf, where the paper also begins (water marks of cod. A, cp. above p. XXXI); there are 368 leaves, paper, 1—355 paged in red ink, 356—359 in pencil. The text ends with 359 verso, then follow six blank leaves, loosely fastened in.*

The same hand (John of Turnow) goes from 1—304; a somewhat later hand[2] *from this point to the close. Each page of the folium has two columns, I therefore distinguish a-b-c-d; about 39 lines to a column.*

The Codex contains a collection of writings by Wiclif,[3] *Hus, Jac. of Misa, John Rokyczana. It was written in the year 1412; see first on this point the note at the end of the Dialogus, fol. 20^d:* Correctus est Anno dom. M^{0}CCCC^{0}XIV^0 post festum Georgii[4] feria sexta, *i. e. Friday, the 24th of April 1414. Cp. also fol. 124^b the concluding note of the Trialogus:* Correxi anno dom. MCCCCXIV finivi *(i. e. the correction)* post ascensionem domini[5] sabbato die ante horam XVIII, *therefore Saturday, May 19th, between five and six in the evening. The correction therefore took place in May 1414. Lastly, the date of the copy appears also from the note fol. 196:* Expl. tract.

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[1] *Carelessly done; the following: 176, 177, 200, 244, 333, 344 are wanting, 253 and 283 are given twice.*

[2] *Denis II, 1506:* tardius adscriptus.

[3] *Several marginalia and other indications point clearly to this, for inst. the Explicit of De Sect. Monachorum, fol. 197 verso:* posicio ewangelici doctoris; *fol. 217 verso:* editus a Magistro Johanne *(evidently Wiclif).*

[4] *St. Georgesday, generally the 23th of April, was kept at Salzburg, Aquileja, Prague, Gnesen, Cracow and Augsburg on the 24th, cp. Grotefend, Handbuch der hist. Chron. 109 and 154.*

[5] *Ascension-Day fell in 1414 on the 17th of May, cf. Grotefend 196 and 154.*

cod. D. de cor. na. condi fratrum,[1] editus a magistro Johanne sacre pagine professore. Finitus Anno dom. MCCCXII. In Collegio pauperum.[2] In die sancte Agne hora quasi 20, *i. e. Thursday,*[3] *Jan. 21th, 1412, about eight o' clock in the evening; cp. further fol. 264b the concluding note of De Fund. Sect.*: Anno domini Millesimo CCCCXII sexta feria proxima ante Conductum Pasche[4] hora quasi vicesima, *i. e. Friday, the 8th of April 1412, towards eight in the evening. These notes, especially by the bohemian way of giving the hour, show its Bohemian origin.*[5] — *The writer of the Codex, at least as far as fol. 304, is also known; in fol. 239d below the Explicit of De Christo etc. he adds his name* Johannes de Turnow.[6] *The Tracts by Wiclif have been corrected by a small dark hand; besides this a hand similar in character, but pale, comes in in several of the Tracts, for inst. De Relig. priv. II. There is also a third hand to be distinguished, in thick, blotted, red ink. Whether one of the correcting hands was Turnow's, I have not been able to decide. — Copied and collated by me in Dresden, Autumn of 1877.*

cod. E. *V. Codex E, No. 1337, formerly 292, then DCCCIIC, with Denis CCCLXXVIII. As to this Codex, cp. Lechler's description in*

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[1] *So Denis II, 1502; it is probably a false reading for* De cencordancia *(perhaps it was transposed* cor aca condi) fratrum; *for on fol. 196a ends De Sectis Monachorum, New Vienna Catalogue III, 121, which according to Shirley, Catal. No. 84 is also called De concordancia fratrum cum simplici secta Christi.* — Agne, *which follows in Denis, is probably an abbreviation of* Agnetis.

[2] *Near St. Valentine's Church, Prague; founded Aug. 7th, 1377 by Vincenz Nydek of Görlitz; it is also called Domus Pauperum Studentium, and is often mentioned later (cp. Tomek, Geschichte der Prager Universität, Prague 1849, p. 25).*

[3] *Grotefend, l. l. p. 144.*

[4] *According to the Bohemian Calendar (cp. Voigt, Dissert. germ. de Calendario Slavorum III, 113; also Grotefend 82) the Conductus Pasche is the Sunday Dominica in Albis (cp. Denis II, 1504), i. e. the Sunday after Easter. In 1412, Easter fell on the 3d of April, cf. Grotefend, 196 and 144.*

[5] *Denis II, 1500 No. II.*

[6] *Denis II, 1504, and after him Lechler, Trial. 22 reads Turnow. Cp. also De Christo cap. XV note 44. For more particulars on the Codex, see Trial. 22—23.*

De Officio pastorali, Whitsun Programme of the Leipzig University, 1863, p. 3.[1] cod. E.

To this description I would add the following, which appears to me not without interest: At the end of the Codex fol. 258c is found an indication of its Bohemian origin: 2 S^ky^; *above on the margin of the front cover is written:* Tractatus wiclivi doctoris ewangelici, *below:* Nr. 292, *both in a very ancient hand. Quarto, 23 cm high, 15 cm broad, parchment, 258 leaves. On the inside of the front cover old and modern library marks, the same on the first fly-leaf:* 1337, *below:* VIII. J. 19. D*(enis)* v*(ol)* I p. 1437. Theolog. Lat. MS. N. 292, DCCCIIC. *Second fly-leaf follows, its first page contains theological quotations, below these the library mark:* 332 N. DCCCIIC ol. 292; *on its back page is the following Index in red ink:*

In isto volumine continentur infra scripta.

De officio pastorali 30 — Incipit sic Cum duplex debet
De vaticinacione 2 — ,, ,, Cum secundum sanctos
De purgatorio 1 — ,, ,, Unde quidam *and so on*
De triplici vinculo am. 10 — *with the Incipit, wich I do not*
De novis ordin. 3 — *set down further.*
De deteccione perfid. anticr. 1
De gradibus cleri 3
De demon. merid. 3
De concordacione fratrum cum secta simpl. Cristi 4
De ord. cristiano 5
Litera missa ad papam 1
Lit. m. Archiep. Cantuar. 1
Lit. m. Episc. Lincol. 1
Lit. ad simpl. sacerd. 1
De amore questio 1
De peccato in spir. sanc. 1
De citac. friv. 1
De Cruciata sive cont. bella cleri. 10
De dissens. pap. 1
De orac.˙et eccles. purgac. 5

[1] *cp. also Denis II, 1437.*

cod. E.

De exortac. cuiusd. doctor. 1
De perfecc. statuum 6
De quat. sect. nov. 12
Sermo pulcer Dom. vob. 1
De oracione domin. 8
De salut. angel. 3
De soluc. Sathane 1
De septem don. spir. s. 8
De graduacionibus 3
De octo question. 8
De iuramento collectoris pape 1
De nova prevaric. mand. 8
De Cristo et suo adv. ant. 15
De fundacione sect. 16
De fide cathol. 8
De sex iugis 6
De triplici ecclesia 1
De prelatis contenc. 1
De semine verb. dei 1
De clavibus ecclesie 1
De quest. utrum lic. thesaur. retinere 1
De condempnac. 10 conclus. 1
De duob. generib. heretic. 1
De trinitate 6
De ydeis 5
De quat. imprecacionibus 1.

Under this Index below to the left: Lymburg *in pale ink. The whole Codex is paged above to the right, and at the same time there is an independent paging of the quaterniones, sometimes above on the right, sometimes below on the left, in an old hand. Each folium is written in four columns, with an average of 44 lines to a column. — The back of the Codex is pasted over with the faded red paper; above on a white label:* Varia opuscula Wiclifi ut in pagina prima adnotandum est; *below:* Codex MS. Theolog. M. DCCCIIC olim 292. — *Copied and collated by me in Dresden, Winter 1876/77.*

VI. Codex *F, No. 3927, formerly No. 325, then Theol. No. DCCCXC, later with Denis CCCLXXXVI. Folio, paper, 31½ cm high, 23 cm broad, 3 cm thick. 124 leaves. Paged throughout on the upper right corner by a later hand, but the separate Tracts have an independent old paging, and at the same time Gothic letters a, b, c, d, over each of the columns (two to a page); over the open space between the columns the proper number is given.* *cod. F.*

Strong pasteboard binding, covered with beautiful parchment. On the back, above: Wiclefi Opuscula, *in the middle:* 3927 *in pencil, below on a red label as above:* Cod. MS. Theolog. N. DCCCXC. ol. 325. *On the upper cover, outside, in gold stamping:* E. A. B. C. V. *(i. e. Ex Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi), below the two-headed eagle of Austria, below again:* 17 G. L. B. V. S. B. 53. *(i. e. Gerardus Liber Baro Van Swieten Bibliothecarius 1753). Inside: above, on the left two new library labels, below in red pencil:* VIII. J. 2.,[1] *below in black pencil:* D*(enis)* v*(ol)*. I p. 1459. *A blank fly-leaf follows, water-mark no longer the head of an ox, but apparently the Austrian two-headed eagle, below some writing, which, owing to the stitching of the pages, is illegible. The text follows. At the end of fol. 124 (verso) in pencil:* 890, *in the right hand corner below:* 120. *The last leaf is blank, so too the inside of the back cover; on the outside the eagle in gold stamping is repeated.*

The text of the Tracts is written by two hands, a larger, angular hand, with on an average 54 lines to a column, and about 6 words to a line (fol. 1^a-51^c; 61^a-74^b; 122^a-123^b) and a smaller, round hand, which keeps the lines further apart, with on an average '48 lines of about 8 words per column (fol. 53^a-90^d and 77—122^a); it uses abbreviations much more freely than the angular hand. The hands of the correctors are also distinguishable; a small clear hand, a rather larger, confused hand, and a thick, very dark one; sometimes one, sometimes two, sometimes all three hands have been at work upon the separate Tracts. Of the date of composition, of the name of the copier, or former possessors of the Codex there

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[1] *Cp. cod. 1337, first fly-leaf above S. XLI.*

cod. F. *is no direct indication.*[1] *According to Denis*[2] *of the 15th Century. — Collated by me in Dresden, Spring of 1877.*

cod. G. *VII. Codex G, No. 4536, formerly 56, then Theol. No. DCCCCXXXVIII, with Denis DLIII. Quarto, paper. 21 cm high, 16 cm broad, 8 cm thick. 253 leaves with about 29 lines to a column; paged throughout on the right by a later hand (on fol. 80 only the 8 remains), below by an ancient hand. — The back pasted with the faded, red paper, upon a label:* Matthaei de Cracovia Praxis Curiae Romanae et Opuscula Varia Wicleff; *on the lower label:* Codex MS. Theolog. N. DCCCCXXXVIII olim 256. — *Binding of beech-wood covered with parchment, on the upper cover traces of knobs, above to the left is written:* S̄t Hussii tractatus, *near it on the right:* No. 256, *lower down:* H. 7. *(? 5). The inside is covered with paper, very worm-eaten. Above:*

Versa Berengarium. fuge Vicleff. cede picardis.

Implicat hic. errat hic. sacramenta retractat.[3] *Here follows the table of contents:* Isti tractatus continentur in ho *(here worm-eaten)* bello *(hoc libello):*

Primo tractatus Mgri Matthaei de Cracovia, de praxi curie Romane prim. foliis,
Item dyalogus Mgri Joh. Wickleff doct. ewangelici 33fo
Item Pastorale eiusdem Mgri Joh. Wickleff 67fo
Item de fundac. fratrum eiusdem Mgri Joh. 98
Item de Symonia eiusdem Mgri Joh. Wickleff 133fo
Item Respons. ipsius M. Joh. Wickleff ad argum. cuiusdam Socii emuli verit. 193fo

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[1] *cp. Denis II, 1461:* Toto Codice Wiclefi nomen non comparet, ita vel cauti vel ignorantes erant librarii bohemi.

[2] *II, 1459; cp. also the conclusion of the description by Denis 1462:* Ad compingendum adhibita est membrana, in qua Barnim dux Stetynensis . . . procuratorem constituit in Curia Rom. Ulricum Rudigerum de Sultzpach . . . ad litem, quam habet cum nobil. viris Wilhelmo de Hazmburg etc. anno 1390 indict. 13. die 21 Jun. Pontif. Bonifacii IX anno primo.

[3] *cp. above cod. 3933, inside the upper cover, p. XXXII.*

Item Replic. Mgri Joh. Hus contra intimacionem Mgri Mauricii Monachi 217 *cod. G.*

It. tr. prenotati Mgri J. Wickleff contra Cruciatam pape 237

De nova prevaricancia mandat. 122^fo;

below the Index: H. 5. K., *near this in pencil:* 4536; *a label with the same library mark below it on the left, near this:* 34 *in red pencil, below on the margin in pencil:* D(*enis*) v(*ol.*) 1 pg. 2103. *There follows a leaf of parchment, of about a third of the size of the other leaves, on which are written some Latin verses of an older poetical piece. The text then begins on folio 1, above this:* Theol. lat. MS. Nro. 256, *under the last line in pencil:* 214 N. DCCCCXXXIIX ol. 256. *The text continues as far as 253^a, 253^b blank, then comes the back leaf of parchment. Inside of the lower cover, which is also much worm-eaten, we find:* | N. 4026. | *The outside has traces of knobs and clasps. I am not clear about the different hands. A fresh hand, flourishing and hard to decipher, certainly appears from fol. 239^b—253^a. If one and the same hand wrote from fol. 1—239^b, the varieties in its outward appearance can only be explained by the change of calamus, paper and ink, and it is remarkable that the writing of fol. 119—132^b is very easily obliterated, even by the touch of the fingers.*[1] — *On the owner of this first, somewhat variable hand, we have several notices in the Codex itself. In folio 33^a, at the end of the first Tract, we find the following, underlined with red:*

Explicit tractatulus de praxi Romane Curie.
Mos est Romanis in caussis cottidianis
Si sonat ante fores, bona vita, sciencia, mores
Non exauditur, nisi nummus mox apperitur.
Adiu tonummo, quasi viso principe summo,
Dissiliunt value, nil auditur nisi salve,
Nummus procedit, loquitur pater, audit, obedit,

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[1] *fol. 1—132^b; fol. 133^a—187^b; fol. 188^b—191^b; fol. 193^a—239^b may perhaps be ascribed throughout to the same hand. The hand of the Cruciata fol. 237 ff. bears an extraordinary resemblance to the first hand of cod. 3927, even to the ductus of the* d.

cod. G. Omnia concedit, sine testibus omnia credit.
Qui scripsit dicta nomen eius vocatur paliczka.

Besides this in fol. 67[a] *after a long Explicit:* . . . . ad patriam anhelare. Anakonczy. Paliczka przietel.[1] *Lastly, in fol. 216*[a] *after the Explicit of the* Responsiones Magistri Joh. Wykleff ad argumenta cuiusdam socii emuli veritatis: Andreas paliczka, vester in omnibus. *A writer of the same name wrote in cod. γ fol. 133*[a] *the* Responsio doctorum ad 2 quasdam replicaciones: Mgr. R. Palecz, *who took part in the Council of Constance.*[2] *Of the date of the copy there is no direct proof, but we shall not err in assigning the Codex to the years 1415—20. — Collated by me in Dresden, Spring of 1878.*

cod. H. *VIII. Codex H, No. 4515, formerly 255, then Theol. No. DCCCCIV, with Denis CCCCII. Quarto, paper, 13 cm high. 16 cm. broad, 6 cm. thick. 148 leaves with an average of 42 lines to a column. The volume contains a collection of the most various works; there is also a great variety of handwritings and kinds of paper. About 11 hands are distinguishable, several correctors have also been more or less at work, always according to the importance of the Tract. Twofold paging, an old one in the lower right hand corner,*

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[1] *i. e. Et in fine Palicka amicus.*

[2] *He took a prominent part in the Husite wars. At first a friend of Hus, he became his enemy from the year 1412, placed himself at the disposal of the papal party, and from the very beginning of the Council of Constance he joined with Michael de Causis in labouring for the ruin of Hus. He formulated the charges against him, and, by unwearied exertions, brought together an alliance of influential men, cardinals, prelates and doctors of theology in opposition to him. Cp. Palacky, Documenta Mag. J. Hus vit. doctr. caus. illustr. Prague 1869. No. 77; No. 79. Also Mladenovitz, Relatio (ap. Palacky, Doc.) p. 246. In particular he was active in procuring Hus' illegal imprisonment in the Episcopal Palace of Constance on the 28*[th] *of November 1414. Cp. Mladenovitz, l. l. 247—252. — In Codex 4515 (Imperial Library of Vienna) fol. 209 there is a* Posicio Mag. Stephani Palecz Utrum de necessitate salutis sit hominem confiteri solis presbiteris omnia sua peccata tam mortalia quam venialia. *Denis adds with reference to this:* Tam de Andrea de Broda quam de Steph. Palecz dictum est sepius et haec utriusque Dissertatio catholica est.

beginning with the first (parchment) fly-leaf and ending with the concluding fly-leaf, from 1—247; a later one on the upper right hand corner, beginning on fol. 4 simultaneously with the first Tract, contains the numbers 1—237 (216 and 217 have never been cut open above, and have therefore been passed over in the paging; the last leaves are also not paged). — The back pasted with the faded red paper of the other codd.; above on a label: Wiclef de veritate et mendacit. et de Simonia; *below on the red paper:* Codex MS. Theologicus N. DCCCCIV olim 255. — *Front cover of beech-wood is encased in thick parchment, on which are traced double indented diagonals.*[1] *Remains of (5) knobs. Upon a piece of parchment pasted on:* D W *(sic); above on the right:* N. 255. *Inside: on the parchment covering in soft, easily erased pencil:* 4515, *below in red pencil:* VIII. J. 25,[2] *upon which the new library mark:* | 4515 | *is fastened; below in black pencil:* D*(enis)* v*(ol.)* I p. 1448, *below in ink:* Nro. 12. — *The fly-leaf (parchment) follows, with above a quotation from* Gregorius in Reg., *under this a table of contents, which has no special interest for us at present; on the lower margin in pencil:* 337 N. DCCCCIV ol. 255. *The back page of the fly-leaf is blank, as also the two following leaves. The text follows; a great number of pages are either blank, or only half covered. On the last (parchment) leaf below to the right:* 247, *on the back page:* cod. H.

M tria c ter X cessabunt pax simul et lex 1330
M quater c semel I redibunt omnia cum v 1401

Veritas vite quatenus deficiat homo in semet ipso — vite quoad se ipsum

Veritas doctrine ne deficiat in fide et veritate — doctrine quoad deum

Veritas iusticie ne deficiat in equitate et racione — iusticie quoad proximum (?)

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[1] *cp. Cod. 3933 and 3930, above p. XXXII and XXXVII.*

[2] *cp. inside of G* (H. 5. K.), *above p. XLIV and F* (VIII. J. 2.), *above p. XLIII, E* (VIII. J. 19.), *above p. XLI.*

cod. H.

Mors tua mors Cristi fraus mundi gaudia celi
Et dolor inferni sunt meditanda tibi
Mendax mendicus non est veritatis amicus
Gen. 3: Non in mendicacione vestieris alieno cibario sed in sudore vestrorum
Presbiter aut demon aut angelus est manifestus
Angelus est teste domino si vivit honeste
Si vivit inceste satan et Paulo michi teste.

Below the numbers: 902 *und:* M. | 3893 |. *On the inside of the back cover the wood is partly visible, upon it a quotation:* Jeronymus, Erubescant, qui dicunt Cristum salvatorem timuisse mortem etc., *under this another:* Berengaris, Omnis, qui alium iudicat etc. *Below:* Sluzba ma naprzy,[1] *below on the left a label:* | Quanto fiet istud |; *below this a longer quotation from the Canon. Law. Below is repeated the old library mark:* M | 3893 |. *Of the writer of the Codex nothing is known; the Bohemian origin of the MS. is indicated by the words* Sluzba *etc. quoted above.*[2] *Neither have I found any clue to the date of composition. Contents and handwriting point to the beginning of the 15th Century. — Collated by me in Dresden, Jan. and Febr. 1878.*

cod. J. *IX. Codex J, No. 1338, formerly 269, then DCCCIC, with Denis CCCLXXIX, 23 cm high, 15½ cm broad, 4½ cm thick, newly bound in leather. On the upper binding which is covered with yellow paper above to the left:* J. W. doctoris ewangelici, *below:* No. $\overline{269}$, *below:* Theolog. Lat. MS. *The innerside of the front cover pasted with paper; blank; above to the left the new library mark:* 1338. *Fly-leaf of white paper, blank. Four parchment leaves follow, not paged; on*

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[1] *properly: naprzyed, i. e.: My service beforehand.*

[2] *Denis II, 1492:* Codex . . . ad Bohemiam pertinens.

[3] *The new Catalogue of the Vienna Library III, 295, ascribes it to the XVth century, cp. also Denis II, 1492.*

the first in an old library hand: Theolog. Lat. MS. Nro. 269, *below in red pencil:* VIII. J. 20,[1] *below in black pencil:* D*(enis)* v*(ol.)* I p. 1443, *underneath in the margin in pencil:* 333 N. DCCCIC ol. 269. *The back page and three following leaves blank. It contains 141 leaves, each page in two columns, 45 lines on an average to each column. Without an old Index. Written by* o n e *hand, with beautiful illuminated initials and other decorations; the same ancient, regular hand, the same arrangement and execution as cod. 1337, therefore apparently like this belonging to the Lymburg library.*[2] *The paging above on the right in a later hand; also below on the right an old one for every 12 leaves. Contains from fol.* 1^a*—*141^b *nothing but Wiclifiana. At the end follow 44 blank parchment leaves.*[3] *Like cod. 1337 it is of Bohemian origin, and seems to have been written as its immediate successor,*[4] *therefore soon after 1415.*[5] *According to a letter, which Denis found in the Codex, without date* a quodam Simone opificio Victore *(Beczwarz) and addressed to the Dean of Lymburg (who is not named), the Codex appears, with four others, to have been in the private possession of this prelate.*[6] *— Collated by me in Vienna, Christmas 1881.* *cod. J.*

X. C o d e x K, No. 1387, formerly 873, then with Denis CCCLXXXIV,[7] *Folio, parchment, 40 cm high, 29 cm broad, 7 cm thick, written in two columns; part of it with great care and artistic* *cod. K.*

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[1] *cp. cod. E, above p. XLI; also F, p. XLIII and G, p. XLIV.*

[2] *cp. Lechler, De Offic. pastor. p. 3.*

[3] *With ref. to this cp. Lechler, Trial. p. 33.*

[4] *Denis, Codd. Theol. MSS. II, 1443:* olim Lymburgum sive Nimburgum pertinens, ut praecedens *(i. e. No. 1337)* cuius pars altera videri potest. *As to the connection of both, cp. the two library marks* VIII. J. 19. *and* VIII. J. 20., *above p. XLI.*

[5] *cp. Lechler, De Off. past. p. 3; Denis, II, 1443, assigns the compilation of cod. 1337 to this date:* Codicis aetatem ex ora *fol. 127* aliquatenus conicias: Joh. papa XXIII fuit in concilio Constanciensi . . . . . . condemnatus anno MCCCCXV.

[6] *cp. Denis, II, 1445—1446.*

[7] *Denis II, 1794.*

cod. K. *skill, dark ink, according to Lechler*[1] *written in Bohemia about the year 1400, has on the fly-leaf the following note in a later hand:* Doctor Martinus Luter *(sic); but whether we are justified in concluding from these words that the Codex has been in the hands of Luther, who certainly came into closer connection with the Moravian brethren immediately after his first public appearance,*[2] *there is not sufficient evidence to show. Contains on 215 leaves fourteen works of Wiclif's; in each column about 63 lines. Written by several hands. Without the name of the scribe and of the author of the separate Tracts. The Codex is valuable both intrinsically and on account of its careful workmanship; it was perhaps penned by order of a rich and distinguished Bohemian gentleman. It is of less importance for the Works printed in this volume, since it only offers five short Tracts for collation:* De Mendaciis Fratrum, Descripcio Fratris, De Solucione Sathane, De quat. Imprecacionibus *and* De Purgatorio *(last chapter of* De nova Prevaric. Mandat.). — *Collated by me in Vienna, Christmas 1881.* —

The MSS. of the University Library at Prague.

cod. α. *I. Codex X. E. 9. (α), Quarto, paper, 21½ cm high, 16 cm broad, 5 cm thick; the wooden binding covered with leather, which is damaged and turned yellow; on both covers the remains of knobs and clasps, the back overspread with white oil-paint, upon this in red paint:* Y. III., *below:* 15, *above this a paper label with the new mark:* E. 9; *this mark repeated on the inside of the upper cover:* [X. / E. 9.]. *Between fly-leaf and cover a quite new leaf of paper with table of contents of the Codex in the hand of a modern librarian.*[3] *The fly-leaf then following (parchment) was formerly written over on the upper page, traces*

[1] *Trialog. 21:* saeculo ineunte XV, circa annum 1400 scriptus, ut videtur in Bohemia.

[2] *cp. Köstlin, Luther 2, 287; Gindely, Hist. of the Bohem. Brethren, 2, 162.*

[3] *In a foot note reference is made to Lechler's edition of the Offic. Pastorale. Leipzig 1863.*

of a very ancient hand are still in existence; over the erasure a table of contents of the Codex: cod. α.

P } *hole in the parchment* { rale Ewangelici
He } { dicta

Ewangelici de Symonia

De septem donis spir. s.

De triplici vinculo amoris

Responsio Ewangelici ad argum. cuiusd. emuli verit.

De fund. sect.

De Religione privat.

Racio. cuiusd. disc. Wikleph quibus probat licere secul. magistratui clerum delinquentem punire *(this last title in a later hand)*

De dissens. paparum

Tract. de ymaginibus.[1]

There is also writing in the ancient hand on the back page (by a dominus Tasso *of Bohemia). — The text begins on the fourth leaf, with the* Pastor Herme *in a very beautiful, firm, and large hand, with rich coloured decorations (initials and arabesques). This hand goes down to fol.* 120^b *(32 lines to the page), then it becomes smaller (36 lines to a page) to fol.* 180^a *below; with fol.* 180^b *the larger hand begins again, continuing to the end. — The paging, in pencil, by a later hand, is very defective; often leaves are passed over etc. The page is written straight across, not in two columns. — No clue to the time of composition; from the writing it is apparent that the Codex is of the same date as the Vienna MSS. Written in Bohemia. Collated by me in Dresden in the Autumn of 1881.*

II. Codex III. G. 11. (β), Quarto, paper, 22 cm high, $15^1/_2$ *cm broad,* $6^1/_2$ *cm thick. Wooden binding, covered with leather, which is* cod. β.

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[1] *This old index is incomplete; there are besides the following Tracts in the Codex fol.* 146^b—150^a De ordine cristiano; 150^b—151^b De ordinib. eccl.; 151^b—156^b De citac. frivolis; *fol.* 209^a—209^b Epist. m. ad episcop. Cantuar. *The Tract* De Rel. priv. *given in the Index, contains the two parts printed below under I and II., cp. below p. 491 and 524.*

cod. β. *turned brown, and partly damaged; on the covers traces of former knobs, clasps and nails. On the upper cover is stamped on the leather:* ꝛ 2°. *The back (like X. E. 9.) painted with white oil-colour, on this in red paint:* Y. II. 3., *below:* 68, *above this a modern paper label:* | G. 11 |. *The mark is repeated in the middle of the inside of the upper cover:* | III. G. 11. |. *There is besides on the inside of this cover an (inaccurate) table of the contents of the volume, which also fills the first fly-leaf. Then follows the original fly-leaf (parchment), upon it above in an ancient hand:*

Que continentur in isto volumine
Item pastorale Johannes Wykleff et incipit: Cum debet esse officium
Idem Conclusiones 33 de paupertate Cristi
Conclus. de vita clericorum
Ep. Origenis
Chrysost. de reparac. lapsi
J. W. Sermones
J. W. De detecc. perf. ant.
Idem de nov. ordin.
Script. de fratr. ad schol.
J. W. Specul. secul. dom.
J. W. de incarc. fidel.
J. W. Questio ad fratr. de sacr. alt.
Resp. ad tria dubia
Gesta cum Rych. Wycz presb. in Anglia
Sermones
Tercium dubium
Sermo incip.: O curas homini
Episc. venator arguitur
J. Hus contra Joh. Stokes *(below is written:*
Explicit hoc totum, cuius est, non sit tibi notum)

(Back side of the fly-leaf): J. W. de sept. don. spir. s.
J. W. Argum. contra Strode

J. W. de dyab. et memb. eius cod. β.
Idem Tract. de magisterio
Idem Sermones
Idem de relig. priv. I
Idem de apostasia
Idem de soluc. Sathane
Idem de vaticinac.
Idem de condempn. 19 conclus.
Forma iuram. Arnoldi
J. W. de confessionibus
Idem de fide cathol.
Idem de perf. stat.
De apocalypsi
Questio de absolucione
Sermones
Respon. ad argum. cuiusd. verit. amici *(is not the Wiclifian Tract often mentioned in the earlier Indices)*[1]
Sermo.

Upon this back page above in the margin: Jam alterius scripture tractatus sequuntur, Item de septem donis spir. et incipit: Çum spir. sit tercia persona *etc. — Fol. 1 follows with the text of the* Pastorale. *The paging by a later hand. Three hands at work, the first fol.* $1—153^b$, *the second* 154^a *(beginning with* De septem don. spir. sanc., *cp. back page of the second fly-leaf) to* 285^a; *from thence a third, which wrote only the short sermon* ($285^a—286^a$), *the last five leaves blank. Next comes an old, dirty and torn leaf of parchment. Inside of the back cover now blank, at least an erasure makes illegible the words formerly there. The volume contains a collection of writings by Wiclif, Hus, Origen, and Chrysostom. Contains an interesting account of the end of Richard Whyche (fol.* $89^b—99^b$: Gesta cum Rychardo Wycz presbitero in Anglia). — *Of Bohemian origin (as, for example, the form* Wycz *for* Wyche *indicates). No clue to*

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[1] *Incipit:* Quia predicando ewangel. *Expl.:* sed non ex proprietatibus persona, *cp. with Shirley, Catal. No. 58 p. 21.*

cod. β. *the date of composition, but doubtless belonging to the early part of the 15*[th] *century. — Collated by me in Dresden, Autumn of 1881.*

cod. γ. *III.* Codex *XI. E. 3. (γ), Quarto, paper,* $22^1/_2$ *cm high, 16 cm broad, 4 cm thick, 139 leaves; wooden binding, half covered with soiled, yellowish leather. Traces of knobs and clasps. Back painted with white oil-paint; upon it in red paint:* YII. 3. *(cp. cod. α and β, back), below in red paint:* 64, *above this the later library-mark:* E. 3. *Inside of the upper cover lined with paper, on which is a table of contents by a later hand, including the writings down to fol. 119; this table is continued on the inside of the back cover. Fly-leaf follows, a piece of parchment from a theological Codex of the 12*[th] *Century, written in 2 columns; between these the more recent library-mark:* XI. E. 3. *Upon the back page above the text:* Rex est vicarius deitatis, Episcopus vicarius Iesu Cristi *etc., in the hand of the Oxford letter (which follows afterwards fol. 1*[a]*), between the two columns a longer quotation from Augustine,* de Civ. Dei *in the hand of the corrector of the Tract* De novis ord. *which comes from fol. 12*[b]*—13*[b]*. Fol. 1*[a] *follows, on which is written in a firm hand the letter of the University of Oxford to that of Prague,*[1] *below is the stamp of the Prague University library. Back page blank. Then begins on fol. 1 (so paged, but really 2) the characteristic, very small, pearl-like hand,*[2] *which (with the exception of fol. 13*[a] *and* [b]*) continues to fol. 54*[a]*,*[3] *about 66 lines in the column. Here begins another hand, also small, but very distinct in character from the first,*

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[1] *Often printed, cf. Wilkins, Conc. Magn. Brit. III, 302; John Hus et Hieron. Hist. et Monum. Nürnberg 1558, II, 366*[2]*; Lewis, Hist. (ed. 1820) Append. 343 ff.; Höfler, Concil. Prag. 1862, 53 ff.*

[2] *See the phototype preceding te title page of this vol., under I.*

[3] *By it are written: 1*[a]*—5*[b] de quatuor Sect. nov.; *5*[b]*—11*[b] de Fund. Sect.; *11*[b]*—12*[a] de Dem. merid.; *12*[b]*—13*[b] de nov. Ord.; *14*[a]*—54*[a] Wiclif Tract. de Eukaristia maior *with the Prologue.*

which goes as far as 65^b.[1] *After this comes different paper, dirty and in bad preservation, and a third, totally distinct hand, which resembles the hands of codd. α and β, also some of the Vienna MSS. The Codex contains almost exclusively Husitica (Hus, Jacobellus) in Latin, also a Bohemian work fol.* 96^a*—*97^b*:* Petri de Uniczova revocatio dictorum contra Hus, *a German one* 98^a *–* 99^b*:* Dy Wyderrufung des Meisters Petrus, predegrs der deutzen Zu Sant Clementenin der Stat zu Prag. Vor euch Ersamen mannen vnd herrn Meistern *etc. This German work in a new (4th) hand; on fol.* 100^a *the former one reappears, and gives writings by, and extracts from various authors, also letters and judgments, having reference to the Husite movement, and e. g. fol. 107 a letter of King Wlatislaus of Poland, under which:* Anno milleno quadringeno quoque deno, Ense polonorum cecidit gens putinorum *(?)*; 112^b—113^a Epist. ad Hus de Anglia; 113^a—113^b Resp. ad Angliam Mgri Hus; 114^a—116^a Concil. theol. facult. studii Pragensis contra Wicliffistas; 116^a—119^a Conc. domin. doctorum fac. theol. pro expurgacione terre; 119^a—119^b Conc. Mgri Hus cum sibi adherent.; 119^b—122^a Replic. falsa etc. contra consil. doct. ut dicitur Gessenicz; 122^a—123^a Replic. ut dic. Hus garrulla et inutilis, *but above in another hand:* multum grata et utilis; 123^a—124^b Cons. fac. theol. aliud de expurg. terre; 124^b—133^a Resp. doct. ad duas quasd. replic.; 133^a—134^b Bulla Ioh. XXIII[2] pro adiut. adv. Ladislaum reg. Apulie (translata Pragam 1412); 134^a—137^a Excerpta ex eiusdem bulla de indulg.; 137^a—139^a Probacio et fundacio doctorum defendens indulgencias, scil. falsa et insulsa. *The two following, last leaves are blank. A parchment leaf follows, corresponding to the first fly-leaf, lastly on a loose slip of paper a new list of the Wiclifiana contained in the Codex. That the Codex is of Bohemian origin appears from the observations already given* cod. γ.

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[1] *By it fol.* 54^b—58^a de Eukaristia Tract. minor.; 58^a—59^a Protestaciones multiplices Mgri. Joh. Wiclif *(a collection of the protestations to be found in his works); fol.* 59^a Concl. de Off. Regis, Concl. de triplici Causa Paupert.; 59^b—61^a Protestacio laudab. 18 Conclus.; 61^b Errare in Materia Fidei.

[2] *Close to the first line with reference to* episcop. servus serv. dei *is added in margin in red ink by a new hand:* qui anno 1415 est condempnatus pro dyabolo incarnato in Constancia.

cod. γ. *on the separate works, which point to Bohemia, and to Prague in particular. For fixing the time of its composition (1416), we are helped by the conclusion of the Tract* De corp. Cristi, Mgri Joh. Hus *fol. 68[b]:* anno domini 1401 scripstus *(sic)* hic tractatus a sancto viro Mgro Joh. Hus combusto in causa veritatis Iesu Cristi in Constancia anno dom. 1415, die 6 mens. Iulii; *especially by the conclusion of the* Tractatulus Mgri Iacobelli de suffocatis *fol. 95[b]:* anno dom. millesimo CCCCXVI⁰ currente ista currebant, propter que et collecta sunt, ne iusti decipiantur et scandalizentur per Iacobellum de Miza, baccal. sacre pag. pro consolacione et fide catholica. *Lastly, we read at the end of the* Respons. doctorum ad 2 quasd. replic. *fol. 133[a]:* Mgr. S. Palecz,[1] scriptum Constancie an. dom. mill. CCCCXV⁰ circa vel prope festum Scti Viti.[2] — *Collated by me in Dresden, Spring 1882.*

cod. δ. *IV. Codex III. G. 16. (δ), Quarto, 22 cm high, 16 cm broad, 5 cm thick, a collection of very different works, mostly however bearing on the Husite movement;[3] only the collated four last capp. of De Christo etc. and the judgment upon the oath of Arnold de Granario are by Wiclif. A recent hand has paged the Codex throughout, and written an Index (incomplete, only going as far as fol. 40) on the inside of the upper cover; continued on the inside of the lower cover, but only from fol. 126, so that fol. 41—125 are wanting). An earlier Index, corresponding with the later one in import, but not verbally, and likewise incomplete, covers the upper page of the fly-leaf. On its back page begins a very beautiful hand:* Regnum celorum presentis temporis super terram bipharie scissum est *etc. — The XI[th] cap. of De Christo etc. begins fol. 36[a]; above on the margin there were formerly about 5 more lines, now only marked by the quite illegible remains of an erasure. Upon the erasure the present title:* Capitulum XI[m] ex tractatu wikleff *etc., cp. below De Christo cap. XI note 1.*

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[1] *cp. above p. XLVI, cod. G.*

[2] *i. e. Saturday, June 15[th], 1415, cp. Grotefend, Chronol. 139 and 117.*

[3] *Husite Sermons, polemical writings against the followers of Wiclif, Letter of Pope John XIII. and the like.*

The Manuscript in the Imperial and Royal Students Library at Olmütz. cod. Ol.

Codex I. V. 34. (Ol) contains only two of the less important of the Tracts printed below. It is of small value: so that the few remarks which follow may suffice. It is in quarto, paper, and contains a collection of a great number of writings, mostly having reference to the Husite movement (by Hus, Jacob of Misa, a report of the Council of Basel etc.), all in the most various forms, handwriting and ink. The five Wiclif Tracts[1] *form the number 25 (the Codex is not paged) and are written in a very careless hand, with no divisions by spaces, and one title written within another. Both, contents and place of discovery, point to its Bohemian origin; of the date of composition there is no nearer indication. To judge from the handwriting, the Wiclif Tracts belong to the beginning of the* 15th *Century. Collated by me in Olmütz, January* 13th*, 1882.*

Lord Ashburnham's MS.

Ashburnham XXVII (Ash), on this MS. see Matthew, E. W. h. u. VIII.

V. The present Edition.

I have adhered in the main to the general principles laid down by distinguished historians,[2] *during the last ten years, for the editing of mediaeval texts. To the guiding principles represented by Theodor Sickel for the publication of the Monumenta Germaniae, and by Julius Weizsäcker for editing the 'Akten' of the German Reichstag, I am especially indebted. At the same time the fact that it is here a question of editing texts, not diplomas and documents in the narrower sense,*

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[1] *1)* De Officio pastorali, *2)* Epist. ad simplic. Sacerd., *3)* Dialogus sive Speculum milit. Eccles., *4)* De Officio Regis Concl *and 5)* De Relig. vanis Monach. sive De Fundatore Relig.

[2] *Böhmer in Friedemanns Zeitschr. für Archiv. Deutschl. II, 135 Art. 4; G. Waitz, Wie soll man Urkunden edieren, in H. v. Sybels Hist. Zeitschrift IV, 442. Th. Sickel, Mon. Germ., Diplom. Part I, Vol. I, New Series, 1879, p. VI ff., and Jul. Weizsäcker, Deutsche Reichstagsakten, München 1867, I. Part LXII ff.*

has necessitated some departures from the regulations of Sickel, who is, I believe, too strict as to the requirements of the critical apparatus.

(a) The outer page-title of the single Tracts is printed in modern spelling, but in the other cases the title is always given in the form found in the best MS. In the case of the few Tracts, where, on account of their small extent, there has been no critical enquiry as to the original MS., I have followed the tradition.[1]

After the heading, and before proceeding to the text, follow explanatory remarks in six divisions.

(b) In the first division a general survey is given of the arrangement of the Tract, so far as its extent allows of such a thing. Short headings, which give the inner reason of the foregoing outline, are put over the separate parts.

(c) The second division gives in the form of short summaries, and adhering as closely as possible to the language of the author, the contents of the Tract following strictly the separate chapters, so far as there is a division into chapters. Special care has been taken to make clear the train of throught. In no one of the Tracts is a disposition of the whole to be found, and turns of speech such as Relicta ista abstracta materia *etc. p. 663;* Scrutata mat. fund. *etc. p. 308;* Et sic dictum est leviter *etc. p. 354;* ut brev. comp. *etc. p. 602, which at least form a landmark in the course of thought, are of extremely rare occurrence. I fear therefore that I have not in all cases hit the mark correctly. For often secondary matters are treated at great length, and the return to the leading thought is so slightly indicated, that it is no easy matter, especially where one has also to contend with the difficulties of the language, to hold fast the clue.*

This summary of contents is intended as a substitute for the editorial marginal notes so popular in English, and after their example, in German editions of Latin texts,[2] *in which form they do not give a general view of the whole, convey a wrong impression of the text of the MS. and unnecessarily overload and extend the body af the text.*

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[1] *According to Shirley, Cat. and Denis, II, 1437 ff.; Bale, Summarium, fol. 154 ff. and lastly according to the Wiclif-Catal. of the Vienna MSS. which follow p. LIX ff.*

[2] *e. g. in Lechler's Edition of the Trialogus.*

(d) The question of the date of authorship follows in the third division. In the case of most of the Tracts the time of their origin has been fixed with more or less certainty; only in that of a few are the termini a quo and ad quem given with hesitation. Particulars must be looked for in the passages concerning them.

(e) Fourthly, the question of genuineness is treated. The external testimonies are given first. These can be traced back in a direct line to the very ancient tradition, which in the 30 years immediately succeeding Wiclif's death, attributed a whole series of works to the Prereformer. These works are specified in four extensive catalogues, which may be found in the Vienna MSS., No. 3933 fol. 195^b—196^b, No. 3935 fol. 223^b—224^b, No. 4514 fol. 102^b—104^b, No. 7980 fol. 5^a—8^a. The first and third of these catalogues have been printed by Shirley, Catal. 56—69.[1] *These Indices lay no claim to completeness; they simply give the title of the Wiclifiana belonging to the libraries, the contents of which the catalogues registered. In fact below some of the titles there are library marks, which indicate the place which the Tract in question held in the library; for inst.* De Salut. angel. quere in Q., *p. LX;* Liber tertius de sermone Domini in monte super Matt. Quere in l. 74, *p. LXI;* De responsione *etc.* quere in j. q. Spfʒ *p. LXI and many more. It would be extremely interesting, but only possible to one closely acquainted with the Imperial Library of Vienna to reconstruct by the light of these library notes the contents of this old library, the home of the Wiclif MSS.*[2]

The Wiclif-Catalogues of the Vienna MSS.

I. Cod. 3933 (B) fol. 195 ff.

De ordine Christiano. capp. 7.

Ad declarandam veritatem. *finis.* et libere accipienda. capp. 2.

Amice preclare ex scriptis. *finis.* fidei lucem veram.

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[1] *For the sake of completeness, I repeat in this place these two 'unaltered' from Shirley's edition, together with the two new ones.*

[2] *The library marks still to be found in the codd. would afford great help in the matter, see above p. XLVII note 1.*

Littera parua.
Amice karissime.

De octo questionibus propositis discipulo.
Amice preclare ex scriptis vestris. *finis.* insensibiliter introducunt.

Dialogus, et intitulatur speculum ecclesie militantis.
Cum ydemptitas sit mater. *finis.* facilius cognoscantur. 39.

Trialogus. Supplementum ejus quere in V.
Cum locucio ad personam. *finis.* secundum quemlibet beatorum. 100.[1]

De officio pastorali libri duo.
Cum duplex debet esse officium. *finis.* Domini regis regum.

De noua preuaricancia mandatorum. capp. 8.
Cum secundum veritatis testimonium. *finis.* a bonis homines spoliantes.

De duodecim legibus. capp. 8.
Cum philosophi pseudo apostoli so. *finis.* in clericis iam peruersis.

De oratione Dominica. capp. 8.
Cum heresi *(sic)* diebus istis. *finis.* laude dignum.

De salutatione angelica Quere in Q.

De perfectione statuum. capp. 6.
Cum viantes et specialiter fratres. *finis.* populo predicantes.

De seruitute ciuili et dominio seculari. capp. 6.
Cum secundum philosophos sit relativorum. *finis.* multiplici atque graui.

Contra bella clericorum et vocatur cruciata. capp. 10.
Cum secundum fidem catholicam, 13. 8. *finis.* sacerdotibus deputandum.

De speculo secularium dominorum. capp. 7.
Cum veritas fidei eo plus. *finis.* concorditer invehendum.

De quodam periculoso mendacio nouiter practisato. capp. 7.
Cum paruus error et missibilis. *finis.* alijs modicum deleantur.

De materia et forma. capp. . . .
Cum materia et forma sint universalia. *finis.* animam essenciam preter Deum.

De concordacione fratrum. capp. 4.
Cum Christus sit primus et novissimus. *finis.* mendacio sit fundatum.

De septem donis Spiritus Sancti. capp. 8.
Cum Spiritus Sanctus sit tertia persona Trinitatis. *finis.* multipliciter prophetat.

Expositio textus, Matt. xxiii. capp. 12.
Cum sapiencia Dei Patris. *finis.* in istis perfidis sine fine.

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[1] 100] The two zeros are barred across. The number refers, no doubt, to the chapters.

De vaticinacione. capp. 2.

Cum secundum sanctos spectat ad of. *finis.* ecclesie est sedata.

De condemnacione 19 conclusionum.

Cum secundum apostolum Heb. xi. *finis.* et pie in euangelica paupertate.

Cum autem Spiritui Sancto appropriatur. *finis.* in Anglia germinare.

Epistola.

Cum prelati contentionum. *finis.* suos acucius puniendi.

Liber tertius de sermone Domini in monte super Matt. Quere in 1 74.

Completo tractatu primo ewangelium. *finis.* appetent se non esse.

Sermones de tempore per circulum anni super ewangelia.

Cum Deus vndiquaque plenus abhor.

Triginta tres conclusiones.

Cristus Deus noster caput universalis ecclesie. *finis.* compendiosius dabit pacem.

De confessione siue de Eukaristia et penitentia. capp. 6.

Duo sunt sacramenta precipua. *finis.* constancius confiteri.

De oracione et ecclesie purgacione. capp. 7.

Dicturus de oratione. *finis.* quomodo sunt ab ecclesia expellenda.

Dictum est de gradibus ecclesie. *finis.*

De comodis convenientibus ex reductione cleri ad ordinem Christi.

Dictum est in solutione cujusdam argumenti. *finis.*

Quartus liber de sermone Domini in monte super Matt. 14.[1]

Dictum est superius quod tercius tractatus. *finis.* sed . . . . . .[2]

Duo sunt genera hereticorum. *finis.* obseruanciam faciendo.

Recommendacio assumencium gradus.

Dominus vobiscum, Ruth ii. *finis.* cum corpore resumendum.

De quadam questione pro thesauris retinendis in regno. Quere in h. forma[3] **juramenti.**

Dubium est vtrum regnum Anglie. *finis.* regni inpediat in futurum.

De responsione cujusdam doctoris. capp. 8. Quere in j. q. Spfaȝ[4] **sermones.**

Doctor quidam veritatis catholice. *finis.* aut cesset finaliter altibore.

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[1] 14] So MS.

[2] MS. illegible (*perhaps:* disserere potestates).

[3] forma] *Read formam.*

[4] Spfaȝ] So MS. Probably for S, p, f. alios.

Responsiones ad argumenta cujusdam monachi Quere in q. S. et j.

Doctor meus reverendus et magister. *finis.* et subtilia argumenta.

Responsiones 6 utrum licet seculari clerum delinquentem castigare.

Discipulus quidam venerabilis doctoris. *finis.* laicos moraliter practicantes.

De diabolo et membris ejus.

Fertur qvendam fratrem inflatum. *finis.* de ecclesia Jesu Christi.

De demonio meridiano. In C. et v. habes fere talem.

Frons meretricis facta est populo. *finis.* in Anglia germinare.

Epistola missa pape. In h. et v. plures epistole.

Gaudeo plane. *finis.* patens condicio antichristi.

XL sermones compositi dum stetit in scolis. Quere XX sermones in R. Rogate etc.

Hora est iam nos de sompno. *finis.*

Epistolarum sermones de tempore per circulum anni.

Hora est jam nos de sompno. *finis.*

Epistola missa Lincolniensi episcopo. In t.[1] et v. plures quere.

Humilis servus Chr. et devotus. *finis.* et testimonio confirmetur.

Forma juramenti Arnoldi de Granario collectoris Domini pape. Quere in D. quoniam.

Hec est forma juramenti. *finis.* fuit gracius repetita.

De necessitate futurorum.

Inpugnante quodam ingenioso. *finis.* in veritate poterit defensare.

De universalibus. capp. 17.

Inpungnando errores circa universalia. *finis.* aperit agressuros.

De tempore.

In tractando de tempore. *finis.* pro quibus modo instat orationis suffragium.

De responsione. Quere in D. et v.

Inter alia doctor meus reuerendus. *finis.* rationali et honesta.

De dissensione facta in Romana ecclesia.

Jam incidit tractare de ista.

Exhortacio cujusdam doctoris.

Labora sicud bonus miles. *finis.* concedat Dominus veritatis.

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[1] t] h, possibly; the letter is doubtful.

De 8 beatitudinibus. capp. 21.

Licet totum evangelium. *finis.* quasi vna sit anima.

De sermone Domini in monte super Matt. et dividitur in quatuor libros.

Licet totum ewangelium. *finis prime partis.* sufficiunt pro presenti. 62.

Secunda pars sic incipit.

Sequitur in textu ewangelii. *finis.* ex Dei gracia surgere.

Explicit tratatus de sermone Domini in monte divisus in duos libros ad similem[1] scripti Augustini.

Tercius liber sic incipit.

Completo tractatu primo ewangelii. *finis.* non appetent se non esse.

Quartus liber sic incipit.

Dictum est superius quod tercius tractatus est. *finis.* potius disputator. Hec Augustinus.

De fundacione sectarum. capp. 16.

Motus sum per quosdam veritatis a. *finis.* ecclesia sit ablata.

De eo qui contra Spiritum Sanctum peccat.

Non peccat in Spiritum Sanctum ad sensum e. *finis.* cuius[2] huiusmodi sunt prelati.

Deteccio perfidie sectarum antichristi.

Paulus docet Eph. iv. *finis.* est questio ventilata.

De mendacio fratrum.

Pseudo-fratres putant quod non licet. *finis.* Gregorii omelia sexta[3] in fine.

De incarnatione Verbi prologus.

Prelibato tractatu incipit.[4]

Quia autem spiritualiter viantibus. *finis.* eiusdem Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

Decem et octo conclusiones.

Protestor publice ut sepe alias. *finis.* stare pro ewangelica paupertate.

Responsiones ad argumenta cujusdam emuli veritatis. capp. 18.

Quidam socius quem suppono esse e. *finis.* regulariter cleri talem legem.

Responsio ad argucias monachales contra 44 conclusiones.

Quidam doctor vtinam veritatis. *finis.* mendacii nequicia dominetur.

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[1] similem] Read *similitudinem.*

[2] cujus] C9. MS. Read *cum.* The error has arisen from the *huius* immediately following..

[3] Gregorii omelia] Gregio ocl^a, MS.

[4] incipit] This word should perhaps have followed *prologus.*

Responsiones ad argumenta Radulphi de Strode.

Quia secundum philosophum sanctum est prehonorare. *finis.* tocius ecclesie causatiui.[1]

De amore. Quere plures responsiones in d. j. et s.

Quidam fidelis in Domino querit. *finis.* miserie dirumpamus.

De salutatione angelica que sequitur sanctam oracionem Dominicam.

Quamvis autem salutacio angelica. *finis.* rose proprietatibus senciendum.

De gradibus cleri.

Quidam secularis probus zel. *finis.* multipliciter illum mundum.

De dissensione paparum. Et est alius parvus, qui eciam sic incipit.

Quia ista monstruosa dis. *finis.* est in clericis iam peruersis.

De versucijs antichristi.

Quamvis diabolus ex naturali.

Exposicio textus, Matt. xxiv.

Quia ewangelium istud. *finis.* sit melius intellecta.

Quia clerus regni Anglie. *finis.* rationabilis ex fide scripture.

Sermones XX compositi in fine vite sue. Et debent stare post XL sermones: quere in h.

Rogate que ad pacem s. *finis.*

Differencia inter peccatum mortale et veniale.

Restat nunc discutere. *finis.* sine discrimine nesciut (*sic*).

Contra religiones priuatas, et intitulatur purgatorium secte Christi.

Sepe assumptum est vt fides. *finis.* irremissibile multis regnis.

De quatuor sectis nouellis et eorum erroribus XII.

Secundum tres virtutes theologicas. *finis.* ad ecclesie prodessendum.

De Christo et suo aduersario antichristo.

Secundum catholicos ecclesia est. *finis.* a Christi vestigiis deviare.

De nouis ordinibus.

Secundum apostolum Eph. vi. *finis.* in parte cognoscere ex scriptura.

Responsiones ad alium doctorem.

Secundus doctor meus Willelmus Rynnan. *finis.* libro secundo partis 2. capp. 7.

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[1] causativi] c̄atiui, MS.

De corpore Christi. Quere in c. alium maiorem tractatum.
Sepe confessus sum et adhuc. *finis.* quantum in episcopis est.

De contrarietate duorum dominorum suarum partium ac eciam rerum.
Sicut est unus verus et summus. *finis.* triumphante ecclesia exstante.

De citacionibus friuolis et aliis versuciis antechristi.
Si papa uel eius vicarius. *finis.* sive seruiat libertate.

De fide catholica. capp. 8.
Suppositis dictis de fide ca. *finis.* Christi et diaboli stabilire.

De Trinitate.
Superest est investigare de distinccione. *finis.* per qualem essenciam qualitationem *(?)* essencie.

De Eukaristia. Quere parvum tractatum in S.
Tractando de Eukaristia *finis.* in Christo Iesu finaliter obseruare.

De ydeis.
Tractando de ydeis. *finis.* habet ideam propriam in Deo.

De composicione hominis. capp. 8.
Tria mouent me ad tractandum. *finis.* alibi satis sepe.

De triplici vinculo amoris.
Tria sunt vincula amoris. *finis.* regulam legis Dei.

De sex jugis.[1]
Vt simplices sacerdotes zelo a. *finis.* huiusmodi nouitates.

Epistola missa episcopo Cantuariensi.
Venerabilis in Christo pater et domine. *finis.* legislator.

Epistola missa ad simplices sacerdotes.
Videtur meritorium bonos colligere. *finis.* taliter operando.

De gradibus cleri et ecclesie militantis.
Videtur autem sanctis doctoribus. *finis.* multipliciter istum mundum.

Supplementum trialogi id est de dotacione ecclesie et debet stare inmediate post trialogum. capp. 10.
Vtrum clerus debuit dotacionem. *finis.* adiutorio postulando.

De s.[2] **capp. 10.**
Vt supra dicta magis. *finis.* de dominio clericorum.

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[1] De sex iugis] Inserted by a later hand in the margin.
[2] s.] The rest of the title illegible. It should be *statu innocencie.*

Nota multi sunt alij libri Magistri Johannis Wiclif, videlicet proprium sanctorum, commune sanctorum, et epistolarum dominicalium. Eciam est summa in theologia que in Boemia habetur, summa in logica, tres tractatus, postilla super totam bibliam que hocce non habetur, et quam plures alii libri. Summa ejusdem in theologia continet duodecem libros in se. Primus est liber mandatorum, presupponens tres libros de dominio divino, quorum prologus sic incipit.

Cum quilibet Christianus.

Primus liber sic incipit et habet 19 capp.

In tractando de dominio.

Secundus sic incipit et habet 7 capp.

Jam vlterius restat.

Tercius sic incipit et habet 6 capp.

Reddeundo iam tercio ad materiam. *finis.* habentur hic.

Liber primus de mandatis sic incipit et habet capp. 30.

Premissa sentencia de dominio in quibus. *finis.* dicitur aliena.

Secundus de statu innocentie. capp. 10.

Vt supra dicta magis ap. *finis.* de dominio clericorum.

Tercius de dominio civili, et continet in se tres libros. Primus sic incipit. 44 capp.

Tractando de ciuili dominio. *finis.* conferat liber vite.

Secundus sic incipit, et est quartus in ordine, habens 18 capp.

Licet capitulo 37°. rogarem obnixius. *finis.* adversarios crucis Christi.

Tercius sic incipit, et est quintus in ordine, continens 27 capp.

Vt supra dicta de lege Christi. *finis.* procuratorie sic orare.

Sextus de veritate sacre Scripture. 31 capp.

Restat parumper discutere. *finis.* diffusius pertractare.

Septimus de ecclesia. 23 capp.

Quia nonnulli eciam illi. *finis.* de isto alibi.

Octavus de officio regis. 12 capp.

Consequenter ad ordinem clericalem. *finis.* partem suam.

Nonus de potestate pape. 13 capp.

Jam ultimo restat. *finis.* membris diaboli ad infernum.

Decimus de Symonia. 8 capp.

Post generalem sermonem. *finis.* totam ecclesiam semper regnat.

Undecimus de apostasia. 18 capp.
Restat vlterius ponere aliud principium. *finis.* hoc venerabili sacramento.

Duodecimus de blasfemia. 18 capp.
Restat succincte de blas. *finis.* ministerium limitare.

II. Cod. 3935 fol. 223c ff.[1]

De ordine cristiano capitula 7.
Ad declarandam ueritatem. *finis.* et litere acceptanda.

ca 2

Amice preclare ex scriptis. *finis.* fidei lucem ueram.

Littera parua
Amice carissime. *finis.*

De octo questionibus propositis discipulo.
Amice preclare ex scriptis. *finis.* insensibiliter introducunt.

Dyalogus et intitulatur speculum ecclesie militantis 39.
Cum ydentitas sit mater. *finis.* facilius cognoscatur.

Trialogus Supplementum eius quere in littera 7.
Cum locucio ad personam. *finis.* secundum quemlibet beatorum. 100.

De officio pastorali libri duo.
Cum duplex debet esse officium. *finis.* domini regis regum.

De noua preuaricancia mandatorum ca 8.
Cum secundum ueritatis testimonium. *finis.* a bonis homines spoliare.

De duodecim legibus ca 8.
Cum philosophi pseudo apostoli. *finis.* in dictis iam peruersis.

De oracione dominica capla 8. De angelica salutacione, quere in litera A.
Cum heresi diebus istis. *finis.* laude dignum.

De perfeccione statuum.
Cum uiantes et specialiter fratres. *finis.* proprio predicare.

De seruitute ciuili et dominio seculari caa 6.
Cum secundum philosophos sit relacionum. *finis.* multiplici atque graui.

Contra bella clericorum et uocatur cruciata ca 10.
Cum secundum fidem catholicam Ro. 8. *finis.* sacerdotibus deputandus.

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[1] *For the copy of the following Catalogue, which in the main agrees with the Index of cod. 3933, I am indebted to the kindness of Herr Studiosus R. Beer in Vienna. I must add, however, that a number of readings of the Catalogue, some of which are difficult reading, appear to me very doubtful.*

De speculo secularium dominorum capitula 5.
Cum ueritas fidei eo plus. *finis.* concorditer inuehendum dilactantur *(?).*

De quodam periculoso mendacio nouiter peccati *(?)* **sato ca 5.**
Cum paruus error et in. *finis.* insensibiliter modicum.

De materia et forma capitula.
Cum materia et forma sint universalia. *finis.* aliam essenciam preter deum.

De concordacione fratrum. ca 4.
Cum christus sit primus et nouissimus. *finis.* mendacio sit fundatum.

De septem donis spiritus sancti. ca 8.
Cum spiritus sanctus sit tercia persona trinitatis. *finis.* multipliciter prophetat.

Exposicio textus Mt 23 ca 12.
Cum sapiencia dei patris. *finis.* in istis perfidis sine fine.

De uaticinacione ca 2.
Cum secundum sanctos spectat ad off. *finis.* ecclesie est sedata.

De condemnacione 19 conclusionum.
Cum secundum apostolum Hebr. 11. *finis.* et pie in euangelica paupertate.
Cum autem spiritui sancto apropriatur. *finis.* in Angliam geminare *(?).*

Epistola.
Cum prelati contencionum. *finis.* suos acucius puniendi.

Liber tercius de sermone domini in monte sec. Mt. quere in 1. caa 4.
Completo tractatu primo ewangelii. *finis.* repeteret se non esse.

Sermones de tempore per circulum anni secundum ewangelia.
Cum deus undiquaque plenus. *finis.*

33 conclusiones.
Cristus deus noster capit *(?)* uniuersalis esse. *finis.* compendiosius dabit pacem.

De confessione siue de eucharistia et prima *(?)* **ca 6.**
Duo sunt sacramenta precipua. *finis.* constancius confiteri.

De oracione et ecclesie purgacione ca 7.
Dicturus de oracione et. *finis.* quomodo sunt ab ecclesia expellenda.

(Colon vacat.)

Dictum est de gradibus ecclesie. *finis.*

De commodis conuenientibus ex reduccione dei ad oracionem *(?).*
Dictum est in solucione cuiusdam argumenti. *finis.*

Quartus liber de sermone domini in monte secundum Mattheum ca 14.

Dictum est superius quod tercius tractatus. *finis.* sed disserere potestas.

(Colon vacat.)

Duo sunt genera hereticorum. *finis.* observanciam faciendo.

Recomendacio assumencium gradus.

Dominus vobiscum Ruth et *(?)*. *finis.* cum corpore resumendum.

De quadam questione pro thesauris retinendis in regno quere in h. forma.

Dubium est utrum regnum Anglie. *finis.* regi inpediat in futurum.

De responsione cuiusdam doctoris quere in g. s. plenus dominaciones *(?)*

Doctor quidam ueritatis catholice. *finis.* alius cesset finaliter a labore.

Responsiones ad argumenta cuiusdam monachi quere in q. s. et f.

Doctor meus reuerendus et magister. *finis.* et subtilia argumenti.

Raciones sex utrum licet secularem clerum delinquentem castigare.

Discipulus quidam venerabilis doctoris. *finis.* laicos morientem peccatur *(?)*.

(Cola vacant.)

De dyabolo et membris eius.

Fertur quidam *(?)* fratrem inflatum. *finis.* de ecclesia iesu christi.

De demonio meridiano in c et v habemus fere tale.

Frons meretricis facta est populo. *finis.* in anglia germinare.

(Colon vacat.)

Epistula missa pape in h. et v plures epistule.

Gaudeo plane. *finis.* patens condicio antichristi.

Quadraginta sermones compositi dum stetit quere 20.

Sermones in r Rogate VII etc.

Hora est iam nos de somno *(?)* *finis.*

Epistularum sermones de tempore circulum anni *(?)*.

Hora est iam nos de somno *(?)* *finis.*

Epistola missa lincoln. episcopo.

Humilis seruus christi et deuotus. *finis.* et testacio *(?)* confirmatur.

Forma iuramenti arnoldi de granario collectoris domini pape . . .

Hec est forma iuramenti. *finis.* fuit gracius repetita d. questionem.

De necessitate futurorum.

Impugnant quodam ingenioso *(?)* *finis.* in ueritate poterit defen. . . . .

De uniuersalibus ca^{la} 15 *(?)*.
Inpugnando errores circa uniuersalia. *finis*. aperit aggressurus.

De tempore.
In tractando de tempore. *finis*. instat oracionis suffragacio.

De responsione quere in. d. q. et v.
Inter alia doctor meus reuerendus. *finis*. racionali et honesta.

De dissensionibus *(?)* **facta in romana ecclesia.**
Jam incidit tractare de ista. *finis*.

Exhortacio cuiusdam doctoris.
Labora sicut bonus miles. *finis*. concedat dominus ueritatis.

De octo beatitudinibus ca 21.
Licet totum ewangelium. *finis*. quasi una sit anima.

De sermone domini in monte super Matheum et diuiditur in quattuor libros 62.
Licet toto ewangelio. *finis prime partis*. sufficiunt pro presenti.

Secunda pars sic incipit.
Sequitur ex textu ewangelii. *finis*. dei gracia surgere.
Explicit tractatus de sermone domini in monte
diuisus in duos libros ad similitudinem scripti Augustini.

Tercius liber sic incipit.
Completo tractatu primo ewangelii. *finis*. non appetent se non esse.

Quartus liber sic incipit.
Dictum est superius, quod tercius tractatus. *finis*. posiciones *(?)* disputat habet Augustinus.

De fundacione sectarum 16.
Motus sum per quosdam ueritatis a. *finis*. ecclesia sit ablata.

De eo qui in spiritum sanctum peccat.
Non peccat in spiritum sanctum, peccat. *finis*. cuius huiusmodi sit prelati.

Deteccio perfidie sectarum antichristi.
Paulus docet Eph. IV. *finis*. est questio ventilata.

De mendacio formali *(?)*.
Pseudo fratres putant. *finis*. greg. omel. sexta in fine.

De incarnacione verbi prologus prelibato tractatu et cetere.
Oportet autem spiritualiter uiantibus. *finis*. eisdem domini nostri iesu cristi.

Decem et octo conclusiones.
Protestor publice ut se. *finis*. pro ewangelica paupertate.

. . . .
. . . .

Responsiones ad argumenta cuiusdam emuli ueritatis 18.
Quidam socius quem suppono esse. *finis.* regulariter cleri talem legem.

Responsio ad argucias monachales 44 conclusiones.
Quidam doctor utinam, *finis.* mendacii nequicia dominetur.

Responsiones ad argumenta Rudolfi de strode.
Quod secundum philosophum sanctum est philosophari *(?)*. *finis.* tocius esse causatiui.

De amore quere plures responsiones in d. et in s.
Quidam fidelis in domino querit. *finis* miserie dirumpamus.

De salutacione angelica, que sequitur statim oracionem dominicam.
Quamuis autem salutacio angelica. *finis.* rose proprietatibus senciendis.

De gradibus cleri.
Quidam secularis probus zelat. *finis.* multipliciter illum mundum.

De dissensione paparum et est alius paruus, qui eciam sic incipit.
Quia ista monstruosa dis. *finis.* est in dictis *(?)* iam peruersis.

De uersuciis anticristi.
Quamuis dyabolus ex naturali. *finis.*

De exposicione textus Mt. 24.
Quia ewangelium istud. *finis.* sit melius intellecta.
Quod clerus regni Anglie. *(lacuna)* ex fide scripture.

Sermones 20 compositi in fine uite sue et debet stare post 40 sermones quere in h.
Rogate quam ad pacem sunt. *finis.*

Differencia inter peccatum mortale et ueniale.
Restat nunc discutere. *finis.* Sine discrimine nesciunt.

Contra religiones priuatas et intitulatur purgatorium secte christi.
Sepe assumptum est, ut fidendum *(?)* *finis.* irremissibile multis regnis.

De quattuor sectis nouellis et eorum erroribus ca 12.
Secundum tres uirtutes theologicas. *finis.* ad ecclesie prodessendum.

De cristo et suo adversario anticristo.
Secundum catholicos ecclesia est. *finis.* a Christi uestigiis deuiare.

De nouis ordinibus.
Secundum apostol. Eph. *finis.* in parte cognoscere ex scriptura.

Responsiones ad alium doctorem.
Secundus doctor meus et uillereus *(?)*. *finis.* libro 2 partis et capitulo 7.

De corpore christi quere in c maiorem tractatum de eucharistia.
Sepe confessus sum. *finis.* quantum in episcopis est.

De contrarietate duorum dominorum suarum parcium ac eciam rerum.

Sicut est unus uerus et summus. *finis.* triumphante ecclesia exemplate *(!)*.

De citacionibus friuolis et aliis uersuciis antichristi.

Si papa uel eius uicarius. *finis.* sibi seruiat libertate.

De fide catholica capitola octo.

Suppositis dictis de fide catholica. *finis.* christi et diaboli stabilire.

(Colon vacat.)

Superest investigare de dis. *finis.* per communem aliis communicacionem essencie *(?)*.

(Colon vacat.)

De eucharistia magnus tractatus parvum quere in s.

Tractandum *(?)* de eucharistia. *finis.* in christo iesu finaliter obseruare.

De ydeis.

Tractando de ydeis. *finis.* habet ydeam propriam in deo.

De composicione dominis ca° 8.

Tria mouent me ad tractandum. *finis.* alibi satis sepe.

De triplici uinculo amoris.

Tria sunt uincula amoris. *finis.* regulam legis dei.

De sex iugis.

Ut simplices sacerdotes zelo. *finis.* huiusmodi nouitates.

Epistula missa episcopo Cantuariensi.

Venerabilis in Christo pater et dne. *finis.* legislator.

. . . .

. . . .

Videtur meritorium bonos colligere. *finis.* taliter operando.

Epistula missa ad simplices sacerdotes.

Videtur autem sanctis doctoribus. *finis.* multipliciter istum mundum.

De gradibus cleri et ecclesie militantis.

Utrum clerus debuit dotacionem. *finis.* adiutores postulando.

Supplementa trialogi in de dotacione ecclesie et de stare immediate post *(?)*.

Ut supra dicta magis. *finis.* de dominio clericorum capitula X.

Notandum summa Wiclif in theologia continet 12^cim libros in se primus est liber mandator. presupponens tres libros de dominio domino *(!)* quorum prologus sic incipit.

Cum quilibet christianus.

Primus liber cap. 19.
In tractando de dominio.

Secundus ca 7.
Jam ulterius restat. *finis.*

Tercius 6 cap.
Redeundo iam tercio ad materiam. *finis.* habentur hic.

Liber primus etc. de mandatis incipit ca 30.
Premissa sentencia de dominio in communi. *finis.* de aliena *(?)*.

Secundus de statu innocencie ca 10.
Ut supradicta magis ap. *finis.* de dominio clericorum.

Tercius de dominio ciuili et continet in se tres libros primus 44 ca.
Tractando de ciuili dominio. *finis.* conferat liber uite.

Secundus sic incipit et est quartus in ordine habens 18 ca.
Licet capitulo tercia *(?)* rogarem ob. *finis.* adversarios crucis christi.

Tercius incipit et est quintus in ordine continens 27 ca.
Ut supradicta de lege christi. *finis.* procuratorie sic orare.

Sextus de ueritate sacre scripture 31 ca.
Restat parumper discutere. *finis.* diffusius pertractare.

Septimus de ecclesia 23 capitula.
Quia nonnulli eciam illi. *finis.* de istọ alibi.

Octauus de officio regis 12 a.
Consequenter ad ordinem cleri:alem. *finis.* partem suam.

Nonus de potestate pape 13 capitola.
Jam ultimo restat. *finis.* membrum *(?)* dyaboli ad infernum.

Decimus de Simonia continens 8 ca.
Post generalem sermonem. *finis.* totam ecclesiam semper regnat.

Undecimus de Apostasia 18 ca.
Restat ulterius ponere aliud princip. *finis.* hoc uenerabili sacramento.

Duodecimus de Blasphemia 18 capitula.
Restat succincte de blasphemia. *finis.* ministerium limitare.

Nota sunt multi sunt *(?)* alii libri magistri Johannis doctori-ewangelii scilicet proprium sanctorum Commune sanctos rum et epistolarum dominicalium. Summa in logica tres tractatus. De Exponendis proposicionibus. Postilla super totam bibliam et alii plures libri eiusdem uiri catholici 1473 *(?)* assumptionis.

III. *Cod. 4514. fol. 102 ff.*

INCIPIUNT NOMINA LIBRORUM MAGISTRI JOHANNIS WYCLEFF JUXTA ORDINEM ALPHABETI.[1]

De ordine Christiano sic incipit.
Ad declarandum veritatem. *finis.* et libere accipienda. capp. 3.
Amice preclare ex scriptis. *finis.* fidei lucem veram. capp. 3.
Amice karissime. Epistola prima est.

De octo questionibus propositis discipulo.
Amice preclare ex scriptis vestris. *finis.* imsensibiliter introducunt.

Dialogus seu speculum ecclesie militantis. capp. 39.
Cum ydemptitas sit mater. *finis.* facilius cognoscantur.

Trialogus habet capp. 100.
Cum locutio ad personam. *finis.* secundum quemlibet beatorum.

De officio pastorali libro duo. cap.
Cum duplex debet esse officium. *finis.* domini regis regum.

De noua preuaricancia mandatorum. capp. 8.
Cum secundum veritatis testimonium. *finis.* a bonis homines spoliantes.

De duodecim legibus. capp. 8.
Cum pharisei pseudo-apostoli. *finis.* in clericis iam peruersis.

De oracione dominica. capp. 8.
Cum heresis diebus istis. *finis.* laude dignum.

De perfeccione statuum. capp. 6.
Cum viantes et specialiter fratres. *finis.* populo predicantes.

De servitute civili et dominio seculari. capp. 6.
Cum secundum philosophos sit relativorum. *finis.* multiplici atque gravi.

Cruciata seu contra bella clericorum. capp. 10.
Cum secundum fidem catholicam. *finis.* sacerdotibus deputandum.

Speculum secularium dominorum. capp. 5.
Cum veritas fidei eo plus. *finis.* concorditer invehendum.

De quodam periculoso mendacio noviter practisato. capp. 7.
Cum parvus error et missensibilis. *finis.* alijs modicum delectatur.

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[1] *The following Index has been collated with the MS. by Dr. O. Stange, of Dresden. The MS. offers a number of readings differing from Shirley's; I have given above only the more significant ones which will easily be ascertained by a comparison with Shir'ey's print.*

De materia et forma, capp. . . .
Cum materia et forma sunt universalia. *finis.* animam essenciam prete deum.

De concordacione fratrum. capp. 4.
Cum Christus sit primus et novissimus. *finis.* mendacio sit fundatum.

De septem donis Spiritus Sancti. capp. 8.
Cum Spiritus Sanctus sit tercia persona. *finis.* multipliciter prophetat.

Expositio textus, Matt. xxiii. capp. 12.
Cum sapiencia Dei patris. *finis.* in istis perfidis sine fine.

De vaticinacione. capp. 2.
Cum secundum sanctos spectat. *finis.* ecclesie est sedata.

De condempnacione 19 conclusionum.
Cum secundum apostolum Heb. xi. *finis.* et pie in ewangelica paupertate.
Cum autem Spiritui Sancto appropriatur. *finis.* in Anglia germinare.

Epistola.
Cum prelati contencionum. *finis.* suos accucius puniendi.

Liber tertius sermonis Domini in monte. capp. 74.
Completo tractatu primo ewangelii. *finis.* appetent se non esse.

Sermones de tempore per circulum anni super ewangelium.
Cum Deus vndiquaque plenus.

XXXIII conclusiones.
Cristus deus noster caput. *finis.* compendiosius dabit pacem.

De confessione sive de eukaristia et penitentia. capp. 6.
Duo sunt sacramenta precipua. *finis.* constantius confiteri.

De oracione et ecclesie purgacione. capp. 5.
Dicturus de oracione quomodo. *finis.* quomodo sunt ab ecclesia expel.
Dictum est de gradibus ecclesie. *finis.*

De commodis convenientibus ex reduccione cleri ad ordine Cristi.
Dictum est in solucione cujusdam. *finis.*

Quartus de sermone Domini in monte. capp. 14.
Dictum est superius quod tertius. *finis.*
Duo sunt genera hereticorum. *finis.* obseruancia faciendo.

Recomendacio assumencium gradus.
Dominus vobiscum. Ruth. ii. *finis.* cum corpore resumendum.

De quadam questione pro thesauris retinendis.
Dubium est utrum regnum. *finis.* regni inpediat in futurum.

De responsione cuiusdam doctoris.
Doctor quidam veritatis. *finis.* aut cesset finaliter altiborus (?).

Responsiones ad argumenta cuiusdam monachi.
Doctor nimis reverendus. *finis.* et subtilia argumenta.

Responsiones sex utrum licet seculari clerum deliquentem castigare.
Discipulus quidam venerabilis. *finis.* laicos mortaliter peccantes.

De diabolo et membris ejus.
Fertur qvendam fratrem. *finis.* de ecclesia Jesu Christi.

De demonio meridiano.
Frons meretricis facta est. *finis.* in Anglia germinare.

Epistola missa pape.
Gaudeo plane. *finis.* patens condicio antichristi.

Quadraginta sermones compositi dum stetit in scolis.
Hora est iam nos. *finis.*

Epistola missa Lincolniensi.
Humilis servus Christi et de. *finis.* et testimonio confirmetur.

Forma juramenti Arnoldi de Granario.
Hec est forma juramenti. *finis.* fuit gracius repetita.

De necessitate futurorum.
Inpugnante quondam. *finis.* in veritate poterit defensare.

De universalibus. capp. 15.
Inpugnando errores. *finis.* apperit agressurus.

De tempore.
In tractando de tempore. *finis.* per consequens modo instat oracionis suffragium.

De responsione.
Inter alia doctor nimis. *finis.* racionali et honesta.

Dissensione facta in romana curia.
Iam incidit tractare. *finis.*

Exhortacio cujusdam doctoris.
Labora sicud bonus. *finis.* concedit deus veritatis.

De octo beatitudinibus. capp. 12.
Licet totum ewangelium. *finis.* quasi una sit anima.

De Sermone domini in monte. Habet quatuor libros. capp. 62.
Licet totum ewangelium. *finis.* prime partis sufficiunt pro presenti.

Secundus liber sic incipit.
Sequitur in textu ewangelii. *finis.*

Tertius tractatus sic incipit.
Completo tractatu primo. *finis.* non appetent se non esse.

Quartus liber sic incipit.
Dictum est superius.

De fundacione sectarum. capp. 6.
Motus sum per quosdam. *finis.* ecclesia sit ablata.

De eo qui contra Spiritum Sanctum peccant.
Non peccat in Spiritum. *finis.* cuius huiusmodi sunt prelati.

Deteccio perfidie sectarum antichristi.
Paulus docet Eph. iv. *finis.* est questio ventilata.

De mendacio fratrum.
Pseudo fratres. *finis.* Gregorii omelia[1] sexta in fine.

De incarnacione verbi prologus.
Prelibato tractatu. *finis.* eiuus Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

XVIII conclusiones.
Protestor publice. *finis.* stare pro ewangelica paupertate.

Responsiones ad argumenta cujusdam emuli veritatis. capp. 18.
Quia socius quoniam supp. *finis.* regulariter talem legem.

Responsio ad argucias monachales et 44 conclusiones.
Quidam doctor vtinam. *finis.* mendacii nequicia dominetur.

Responsiones ad argumenta Rudolphi et strode.
Quia secundum philosophum. *finis.* tocius ecclesie cautiui *(sic).*

De Amore.
Quidam fidelis in Domino. *finis.* miserie dirrumpamus.

De salutacione angelica.
Quamvis autem salutacio. *finis.* rose proprietatibus senciendum.

De gradibus cleri.
Quibus secularis probus. *finis.* multipliciter illum mundum.

De dissensione paparum.
Quia ista monstruosa dis. *finis.* est in clericis iam peruersis.

De versucijs antichristi.
Quamuis diabolus ex naturali. *finis.*

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[1] Gregorii omelia] gregis ocl̄ª, MS.

Exposicio textus, Matt. xxiv.

Quia ewangelium istud. *finis.* sit melius intellecta.

Quod clerus regni anglie. *finis.* racionabilitas ex fide scripture.

Sermones XX compositi in fine vite sue.

Rogate que ad pacem. *finis.*

Differencia inter peccatum mortale et veniale.

Restat nunc discutere. *finis.* sine discrimine nesciunt.

Contra religiones priuatas et intitulatur purgatorium secte Christi.

Sepe assumptum est ut. *finis.* irremissibile multis regnis.

De quatuor sectis nouellis. capp. 12.

Secundum tres virtutes theologicas. *finis.* in parte cognoscitur ex scriptura.

Responsiones ad aliquem doctorem.

Secundus doctor nimis. *finis.* quantum in episcopis est.

De contrarietate duorum dominorum.

Sicut est unus verus et summus. *finis.* triumphante ecclesia exemplate *(!).*

De citacionibus friuolis et alijs versucijs anticristi.

Si papa uel eius vicarius. *finis.* sibi seruiat libertate.

De fide catholica. capp. 8.

Suppositis dictis de fide. *finis.* Christi et diaboli stabilire.

Superest investigare de dis. *finis.* per consequentem essenciam communacionem essencie.

De Eukaristia.

Tractando de Eukaristia. *finis.* in Christo Jesu finaliter obseruare.

De ydeis.

Tractando de ydeis. *finis.* habet ideam propriam in deo.

De composicione hominis. capp. 8.

Tria movent me ad. *finis.* alibi satis sepe.

De triplici amoris vinculo.

Tria sunt vincula amoris. *finis.* regulam legis dei.

De sex iugis.

Vt simplices sacerdotes ze. *finis.* huiusmodi nouitates.

Epistola missa episcopo Cantuariensi.

Venerabilis in Christo pater et domine. *finis.* legislator.

Epistola missa ad simplices sacerdotes.

Videtur meritorium bonos col. *finis.* taliter operando.

De dotacione ecclesie seu supplementum trialogi.

Vtrum clerus debuit do. *finis.* adiutorio postulando. capp. 10.

Vt supra dicta magis. *finis.* de dominio clericorum. capp. 10.

Summa theologie hec est et continet in se duodecim libros presupponens librum de dominio qui habet in se tres libros. Primus sic incipit. Prologus sic.

Cum quilibet Christianus.

Primus liber incipit.

Tractando de dominio. **Habet capp. 29.**

Secundus liber habet 5 capp.

Jam vlterius restat. *finis.*

Tercius sic, et habet 6 capp.

Reddeundo iam tercio ad. *finis.* habentur hic.

Primus liber de mandatis habet capp. 30.

Premissa sentencia de dominio. *finis.* dicitur aliena.

Secundus de statu jnnocentie. capp. 10.

Vt supra dicta magis ap. *finis.* de dominio clericorum.

Tercius de[1] dominio civili et continet tres libros. Primus sic incipit.

Tractando de civili dominio. *finis.* conferat liber vite. capp. 44.

Secundus sic incipit, et est quartus in ordine. Habet capp. 18.

Licet capitulo 37°[2] rogarem. *finis.* adversarios crucis Christi.

Tercius sic incipit, et est quintus in ordine. capp. 27.

Vt supra dicta de lege Christi. *finis.* procuratorie sic orare.

Sextus de veritate sacre Scripture. capp. 31.

Restat paruper discutere. *finis.* diffusius pertractare.

Septimus de ecclesia 23 capp. habet.

Quia nonulli eciam illi. *finis.* de isto allibi.

Octavus de officio regis capp. 12 habet.

Consequenter ad ordinem cleri. *finis.* partem suam.

Nonus de potestate pape capp. 13 habet.

Jam vltimo restat. *finis.* membrum diaboli ad infernum.

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[1] de] om. MS.

[2] capitulo 37°] ca° 37°, MS.

De uniuersalibus ca^{la} 15 *(?).*
Inpugnando errores circa uniuersalia. ***finis.*** aperit aggressurus.

De tempore.
In tractando de tempore. ***finis.*** instat oracionis suffragacio.

De responsione quere in. d. q. et v.
Inter alia doctor meus reuerendus. ***finis.*** racionali et honesta.

De dissensionibus *(?)* **facta in romana ecclesia.**
Jam incidit tractare de ista. ***finis.***

Exhortacio cuiusdam doctoris.
Labora sicut bonus miles. ***finis.*** concedat dominus ueritatis.

De octo beatitudinibus ca 21.
Licet totum ewangelium. ***finis.*** quasi una sit anima.

De sermone domini in monte super Matheum et diuiditur in quattuor libros 62.
Licet toto ewangelio. ***finis prime partis.*** sufficiunt pro presenti.

Secunda pars sic incipit.
Sequitur ex textu ewangelii. ***finis.*** dei gracia surgere.
Explicit tractatus de sermone domini in monte diuisus in duos libros ad similitudinem scripti Augustini.

Tercius liber sic incipit.
Completo tractatu primo ewangelii. ***finis.*** non appotent se non esse.

Quartus liber sic incipit.
Dictum est superius, quod tercius tractatus. ***finis.*** posiciones *(?)* disputat habet Augustinus.

De fundacione sectarum 16.
Motus sum per quosdam ueritatis a. ***finis.*** ecclesia sit ablata.

De eo qui in spiritum sanctum peccat.
Non peccat in spiritum sanctum, peccat. ***finis.*** cuius huiusmodi sit prelati.

Deteccio perfidie sectarum antichristi.
Paulus docet Eph. IV. ***finis.*** est questio ventilata.

De mendacio formali *(?).*
Pseudo fratres putant. ***finis.*** greg. omel. sexta in fine.

De incarnacione verbi prologus prelibato tractatu et cetere.
Oportet autem spiritualiter uiantibus. ***finis.*** eisdem domini nostri iesu cristi.

Decem et octo conclusiones.
Protestor publice ut se. ***finis.*** pro ewangelica paupertate.

. . . .

Responsiones ad argumenta cuiusdam emuli ueritatis 18.
Quidam socius quem suppono esse. *finis.* regulariter cleri talem legem.

Responsio ad argucias monachales 44 conclusiones.
Quidam doctor utinam, *finis.* mendacii nequicia dominetur.

Responsiones ad argumenta Rudolfi de strode.
Quod secundum philosophum sanctum est philosophari *(?)*. *finis.* tocius esse causatiui.

De amore quere plures responsiones in d. et in s.
Quidam fidelis in domino querit. *finis* miserie dirumpamus.

De salutacione angelica, que sequitur statim oracionem dominicam.
Quamuis autem salutacio angelica. *finis.* rose proprietatibus senciendis.

De gradibus cleri.
Quidam secularis probus zelat. *finis.* multipliciter illum mundum.

De dissensione paparum et est alius paruus, qui eciam sic incipit.
Quia ista monstruosa dis. *finis.* est in dictis *(?)* iam peruersis.

De uersuciis anticristi.
Quamuis dyabolus ex naturali. *finis.*

De exposicione textus Mt. 24.
Quia ewangelium istud. *finis.* sit melius intellecta.
Quod clerus regni Anglie. *(lacuna)* ex fide scripture.

Sermones 20 compositi in fine uite sue et debet stare post 40 sermones quere in h.
Rogate quam ad pacem sunt. *finis.*

Differencia inter peccatum mortale et ueniale.
Restat nunc discutere. *finis.* Sine discrimine nesciunt.

Contra religiones priuatas et intitulatur purgatorium secte christi.
Sepe assumptum est, ut fidendum *(?)* *finis.* irremissibile multis regnis.

De quattuor sectis nouellis et eorum erroribus ca 12.
Secundum tres uirtutes theologicas. *finis.* ad ecclesie prodessendum.

De cristo et suo adversario anticristo.
Secundum catholicos ecclesia est. *finis.* a Christi uestigiis deuiare.

De nouis ordinibus.
Secundum apostol. Eph. *finis.* in parte cognoscere ex scriptura.

Responsiones ad alium doctorem.
Secundus doctor meus et uillereus *(?)*. *finis.* libro 2 partis et capitulo 7.

De corpore christi quere in c maiorem tractatum de eucharistia.
Sepe confessus sum. *finis.* quantum in episcopis est.

De comodis convenientibus ex reduccione cleri ad ordinem Christi.
Dictum est in solutione cujusdam. *finis.*

Quartus de sermone Domini in monte. cap. 14.
Dictum est superius quod tercius. *finis.*
Duo sunt genera hereticorum. *finis.* observancia faciendo.

Recommendacio assumencium gradus.
Dominus vobiscum, Ruth II. *finis.* cum corpore resumendo.

De quadam questione pro thesauris retinendis.
Dubium est vtrum regnum. *finis.* regni impediat in futurum.

De responsione cujusdam doctoris.
Doctor quidam veritatis. *finis.* accessit finaliter ulli bonorum.

Responsiones ad argumenta cujusdam monachi.
Doctor nimis reverendus. *finis.* et subtilia argumenta.

Responsiones 6 utrum licet delinquentem clerum seculari castigare.
Discipulus quidam venerabilis. *finis.* laicos moraliter peccantes.

De diabolo et membris ejus.
Fertur qvendam fratrem. *finis.* de ecclesia Jesu Christi.

De demonio meridiano.
Frons meretricis facta est. *finis.* in Anglia germinare.

Epistola missa pape.
Gaudeo plane. *finis.* patens condicio antichristi.

XL sermones compositi dum stetit in scolis.
Hora est iam nos. *finis.*

Epistola missa licentiato *(?).*
Humilis servus Christi et de. *finis.* et testimonio confirmetur.

Forma iuramenti Arnoldi de Granuario.
Hec est forma iuramenti. *finis.* fuit gracius repetita.

De necessitate futurorum.
Impugnante quondam. *finis.* in veritate poterit defensare.

De universalibus. cap. 17.
Impugnando errores. *finis.* aperit agressurus.

De tempore.
In tractando de tempore. *finis.* per consequens modo instat oracionis suffragium.

De responsione.
Inter alia Doctor nimis. *finis.* racionali et honesta.

ispensatione [illegible]

Jam incipit [illegible]

xhortacio cujusdam [illegible]

Labora sicut [illegible]

e VIII beatitudinibus cap. [illegible]

Licet totum ewangelium [illegible]

e sermone Domini in monte [illegible]

Licet totum ewangelium [illegible]

ecundus liber sic incipit.

Sequitur in textu ewangelii [illegible]

'ercius tractatus sic incipit.

Completo tractatu primo [illegible]

juartus liber sic incipit.

Dictum est superius.

De fundacione sectarum cap. [illegible]

Motus sum per questionem [illegible]

De eo qui contra Spiritum Sanctum peccavit.

Non peccant in Spiritum [illegible]

Deteccio perfidie sectarum antichristi.

Paulus docet Eph. IV. [illegible]

De mendacio fratrum.

Pseudofratres. *finis.* Greg. omelia [illegible]

De incarnacione Verbi prologus.

Praelibato tractatu. *finis.* eum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum [illegible]

Here follows fol. [illegible] Polemica against Hus and his followers. [illegible] where stands at the top:

Johann. Wicl[illegible]

to the left, at the side:

Ex registris universitatis [illegible] . . . . [illegible] et collegii Caroli IV[1].

Then follows:

Universalia.

Exposicio c. 23 Mathei

De inprobacione fratrum

De papa

De Christo et eius aduersario

De cruciata
Dialogus
Pastorale
Due epistole
De quinque questionibus
De septem donis spiritus sancti
De uerbo communiter dicendo clero et dominis
De prevaricacione decem mandatorum
Item de cantate
Trialogus

Hec omnia uno libro signato 16 et theologia 31.

Item de officio regis 18
Wiklef de Ecclesia
De ueritate sacre scripture 18
Registrum supra libros Wiklef penes ordinem alphabeti 19
De Universalibus
De ydeis
De materia et de forma
De tempore
De composicione hominis
De ente in communi & predicantis
Item de attributis
Item de ampliacionibus huius uerbi et
Idem de pro materia et de modis Z
De uero et falso
Responsiones ad occultum.

In the second place we must consider the evidence to be gathered from the incidental remarks contained in some of the Manuscripts, these being sometimes in the form of a monogram, as  *(see e. g. cod. 3930, on the inner side of the front cover), sometimes of initials, or the first syllables of Wiclif's name, such as J. W., Jo. Wy., J. Wig. and occasionally his title:* doctoris ewangelici, magistri ewangelici. *Particulars are given in their proper place.*

Here we must especially note the cryptographic subscriptio, for hich cod. 4527 is remarkable, and which was at that time the well-nown mark of many a pamphlet of heretical origin, though it at the me time effectually hinted at, and concealed its author. — On one casion we have the Czech form of Wiclif's name, cp. cod. III. G. 6. fol. 39ᵃ, at the conclusion of De Christo, see p. 692.

Further reference is made to Wiclif's works in the writings of is opponents. The most valuable in this respect are Thomas Netter's octrinale Fidei and Fasciculi Zizaniorum, Wilkins, Concil. Magn. Brit. and Orth. Grat. Fasciculus Rerum Expet.,[1] the latter of which ontains an extensive controversial treatise of Woodford against Wiclif; vidence of one kind or other may be gleaned also from Walsingham's Historia Anglicana and Twysden, Hist. Anglic. Scriptores X. — The works of Hus and his followers are important as affording us further proofs of the authenticity of those of Wiclif. In a much lower scale however we must place evidence obtained from second hand sources, such as Leland,[2] who establishes the authenticity of a small number of works, Bale,[3] whose extensive catalogue is not always reliable in smaller details, the learned Jesuit Michael Denis in his large bibliographical work on the Vienna Library[4] and, among modern Wiclif scholars, Shirley[5] and Lechler.[6]

As internal *evidence of authenticity are adduced, in addition to many chance proofs, (a) any reference made by the Author himself to the treatises in question as being his, (b) the accordance of thought on the same subjects as are contained in writings undoubtedly genuine, (c) the kind of words employed, and (d) the general style.*

As to Wiclif's language, it bears such a peculiar stamp, that for experts a doubt as to origin can scarcely exist, when pamphlets of

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[1] *Ort. Gratius, Fascic. Rerum Expet. ed. Edw. Brown, London 1690, fol. 190—195.*

[2] *Comment. de Script. Britann. Auct. J. Leland, Oxonii 1709, tom. I. p. 378 to 387.*

[3] *Illustr. Mag. Brit. Script. Summarium fol. 154 ff.*

[4] *Codices Manuscr. Theolog. Biblioth. Vindobon. Vindob. 1794. 3 voll.*

[5] *Catalogue of the orig. Works of J. W.*

[6] *Joh. v. W. II, 559—573.*

not to small a compass are concerned. Wiclif writes a heavy and not easily intelligible style. Being in his choice of words and construction of sentences the son of a far-off scholastic century, he cannot of course be judged by the same standard we now set up for classical Latin. For this standpoint he would be utterly unintelligible in spite of the unity of his absorbing thoughts, his masterly dialectic art and the keenness of his criticism. Even the reader who approaches him without such expectations needs to think deeply over the sentences and constructions in order to become master of the strange idiom. Wiclif has a clear and forcible manner of presenting his ideas, but his formation of sentences, more especially their great length is remarkable and, at first, apt to confuse. To the latter the reader soon becomes accustomed, but what still more renders his perusal difficult is the writer's habit of following the construction of his mother language in the rules of syntax and in his general mode of expressing his thoughts (see e. g. p. 313, l. 9; 13; 25; p. 143, l. 6; 135, 11; eorum *174, 9, etc.; also* mensum, incolis, legiancie *256, 1;* rehabeant *283, 5;* erronee *335, 1;* intim. *344, 16 etc.. This is quite apart from the peculiarities and unevenness which render the language of the writers of the latter part of the Middle Ages so intricate and difficult. It requiresat first some mental effort to arrive at a full understanding of his arguments, but then Wiclif is recognisable from the singularity of certain turns of expression, which are peculiar to him. For transitions of thought he has certain regularly recurring forms; see e. g.* racione cuius *etc. p. 311, 1; 9; 313, 9 etc.; certain terms for persons and things which are constant with him:* vas eleccionis *p. 18, 1;* doctor gencium *and* apostolorum princeps *p. 30, 5;* sol iusticie *p. 302, 13;* veritas *333, 9;* Cristus omnipotens, omnisciens, omnivolens *p. 94, 3; 90, 4 and others; he is especially rich in such terms of expressions as the following, which occur over and over again in all his Tracts:* nisi ut loquar yronice, ad sui prodessendum, per sui pulcritudinem, *further* nec est color *etc., p. 139;* et sic racio *etc., p. 302, 8; 21;* secundum quod deus *285, 30; 286, 16;* omnes de istis sectis *277, 8;* unde prob. cred. *464, 6;* ficcio caret ra. col. *324, 18;* absit fid. cred. *595, 20;* ut loq. sens. *383, 1;* et vel oport. *etc. 313, 6; 585, 18; 703, 27; 712, 12; also 277, 20.*

So much for the language. On the other hand, the arguments circle round certain favourite ideas, affording unmistakeable evidence of these pamphlets having originated from the pen of the same author. I can here mention but a few instances: nearly in all the Tracts mention is made of the novi ordines, the quattuor secte, the quattuor secte novelle, ordines moderni, the single parts of which are the clerus cesareus, monachi, canonici and fratres. These Four Sects, if fully mentioned, always follow each other in the same order; if one or two only are discussed, those omitted are presupposed even in the same order, see, e. g., p. 341; 348; also 101, 1 ff. The Friars (fratres) always receive the severest and most emphatic rebuke. The reproaches hurled at them appear repeatedly if not the same in form, at least in substance. The papal Schism and its consequences are always placed in the foreground. The Crusade to Flanders is a favourite theme. English relations with the Pope and Friars are constantly introduced, and these local allusions are in themselves sufficient proof of the birth of these writings on English soil, even if they did not proceed directly from the pen of the great early Reformer. Finally I must call attention to the various indications of W.'s peculiar view of the Holy Communion, or as he terms it the hostia consecrata quid sit, of the accidens sine subiecto.

These general examples must suffice for the present. I am of opinion that in all these instances, if taken as a whole, we have the most conclusive evidence, that the Tracts in question proceeded from the pen of a man, whose general style and mode of thought in his undoubtedly genuine compositions invariably flow in the same direction.

(f) After having treated of these more material questions some notices follow concerning such, or parts of such Tracts, as have appeared in print.

(g) All the MSS. and their present place are enumerated, the folia[1] marked, and to spare time and trouble the respective 'Siglen' of the various codices noted (cod. A, cod. α), as well as the correctors and glos-

[1] fol. rectum is to be understood when [a], fol. versum when [b] is placed to the right of the number of the folium; if the page contains two columns, which is often the case with the Bohemian manuscripts, those of the fol. rect. are given by [a] and [b], those of fol. vers. by [c] and [d].

sers (or scholiasts) of each MSS. with the addition of short characteristic notes. — To come to a conclusion as to how many revisers, if there were any at all, have been at work, and to which extent they corrected is an exceedingly difficult matter. To me at any rate it has proved so. — Whether the scribe of the text was at the same time the corrector, whether the corrections in black, red or blue ink belong to the same hand, these and similar questions cannot be answered with certainty, even after the most careful examination of the various inks, ductus of letters, general mode of writing and other orthographical peculiarities. Not till our bibliographical study of the Bohemian libraries, to which the Vienna MSS. belonged, will be, by the addition of fresh materials for investigation, further advanced than at present, will it be possible for certainty to take the place of mere conjecture. Therefore I give the correctors in several of the Tracts with all necessary reserve. On the whole, I hope to have hit upon the right, but in the consciousness of the limits of my knowledge and experience I cannot claim absolute accuracy on every point throughout in this direction. I did not, in the face of the expectations attendant on the First Edition of a Fifteenth Century MS., deem it necessary to examine more closely into the relation of the several correctors, who were at work in the single consecutive treatises, to each other, this being of no fundamental importance. — On the other hand, I have in the critical examination of the MSS. taken pains as far as lay in my power to show which of the Manuscripts the reviser must have had before him as his authority for corrections, and from which to form his glosses and summaries of contents etc.

(h) In the following division the critical examination of the Manuscripts I had access to is given. In this part of my labour I have bestowed special pains. Whether I have always chosen wisely those must decide who are intimately acquainted with the peculiarities of Fiftheenth Century MSS. and with the no small difficulties connected with a critical examination of them. Si male quid feci, veniam peto, si male, grates, I say with the scribe of a prettily written Bible of the Fourthenth Century.[1] *I can only state my intentions and endeavours.*

[1] *Czerny, Bibl. von St. Florian, 247; Wattenbach, Schriftwesen des Mittelalters, p. 427.*

The splendid collection of Manuscripts contained in the Royal Library at Vienna to which belong the Wiclifiana require to be critically examined. What has as yet been accomplished in this direction is hardly worth mentioning. The questions as to which copy is the most perfect and reliable, and how the various MSS. stand in connection with each other, must naturally be first considered in the attempt at a production of the text in print.[1] *To be enabled to answer these, it is not sufficient to read carefully simply the first chapters of a Tract, at the same time comparing the readings of the Manuscripts where they differ from each other, and from the result thus obtained arbitrarily to determine their comparative merits. This standpoint of the 'naive critic' beyond which most editors of Wiclif literature have not proceeded, must be abandoned. That it has not been given up yet is the more surprising, since we have in the Monumenta Germ. and the Corpus Script. Ecclesiast. (of the Vienna Academy of Science) excellent models after which to work. If the method I have adopted should not be the correct one I have at least endeavoured that it should be thorough; I have spent a great deal of time in the critical examination of the various texts.*

I. As a first step, all such readings as were at variance with each other were extracted from each Tract and noted on separate sheets; three or four columns were formed in which were placed in order (a) such as might possibly be correct (e. g. readings like seu—sive—vel, et—ac, intraverunt—intrarunt, illis—istis, ecclesia militans—militans ecclesia *etc.), (b) those (undoubtedly) correct, (c) those (undoutedly) wrong. If a doubt existed as to which of the two latter divisions a reading should be counted to, it was assigned a place in the first division (a). In every case, after having proceeded thus far, it became evident, that a certain relation, more or less intimate, existed between the several MSS., between the correctors and their original, and sometimes even between all the single groups of the manuscripts. By a more particular comparison of the differing readings, their*

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[1] *Perhaps the most naive are certain English scholars when they say in their printed programs that the text 'will be copied from the best codices extant', but do not discuss the difficult question which codex is in fact the best.*

connection and numbers, more especially by the common omissions, should these consist of words only or whole sentences, it became more and more apparent in the case of nearly each Tract, that its various copies stood in close relationship, or were at least to be traced back to a common archetype, however remote it was. In many cases it was even possible to determine many of the peculiarities of the latter.

In the second place, the accordance of the marginals, especially when written by the texthand, throws great light on the mutual relationship of the texts, the accordance of the various glosses with reference to their arrangement and position being of special value for determining the critical question.

As a rule there was no lack of proofs to show that the numerous members of these single related groups had in some measure depended on each other. If a less perfect codex or its correctors were traced to a source still extant and being of greater value than the copies, it was not thought necessary to include its own peculiar readings in the lectio variorum; they were only then specified when it was thought they would serve to characterize the codex and its correctors in their peculiarities. The relation of the single revisers to each other or to their original text has in some cases also been examined, but the materials were sometimes so slender, that the questions pending could not be brought to an issue.

II. This previous enquiry having been prosecuted thus far, the next critical question to be considered, as to which codex should receive preference from its greater correctness, was entered into.

(1) For this purpose the various readings of the above three divisions were added up and noted in round numbers,[1] as it was impossible in most cases to return the exact sum of the relative figures.

The codex that was able to show the highest figure in the second division won for itself a prejudice in its favour.

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[1] *that is to say, for instance, instead of 591 and 592 I give 590, instead of 593, 594, 596, I note down 595.*

(2) More regard was then paid to the inner nature of the readings, whether or not they were merely marks of haste, or slips of the pen, such as missing compendiums, insignificant words placed in their wrong order or entirely omitted etc. If the number of suchlike mistakes was comparatively large, the prejudice in favour of the codex was strengthened; on the other hand, at this stage already it often happened that the candidature of the codex, which stood nearest to the manuscript just described, came forward in the foreground.

(3) In the third place, the original readings of such codices as came in question as the eventual basis of the text were compared with the readings of its principal correctors. If they were found not to affect the results which had been arrived at with reference to the original manuscript, this was considered a further proof in its favour.

(4) Fourthly attention was directed to any special text-peculiarities of the codex competing for preference. It was noted whether, for example, its readings in corrupted passages were reliable, whether from it alone it was possible to supply the omissions occurring in other copies; regard was also paid to the form in which it presented an unusual word or less known name (e. g. contrata *p. 350;* Iesselini *p. 419;* Teut. *168, 13).*

(5) Finally such passages were enumerated where in opposition to all the rest it alone gave the correct reading.

Not till after the application of all these various tests was a codex employed as the basis of the text in question.

It became, however, often evident that not every codex, that safely stood the first test, underwent the following with equal success. This was the cause of many new and great difficulties arising to the editor. It was then necessary to return to codices of the second class, to examine, if their chances were not greater in the end, or if it were not possible to find a codex of the same group which should be able to supply the deficiencies of the first. Only in a few cases, however, was it necessary to employ, on account of lack of critical material, two manuscripts for the formation of the text (see No. VIII, XI, XX, XXI).

After a judgment had been arrived at as to the comparative merits of the codices, the one chosen as best was almost exclusively followed,

except in such passages as were undoubtedly and absolutely wrong. In doubtful passages the text-codex had always the preference, and its readings were retained, even where in corresponding places some, or all of the others contained a more nicely turned expression, a better choice of words, or a smoother construction (subjunctive or indicative after a certain conjunction, the plural following collective nouns, construction κατὰ σύνεσιν etc.).

For the better understanding of this, see e. g. De Perf. Stat. cap. II, p. 451, 15, where I have even retained the et *of the textcodex.*[1]

Only in manifestly corrupt passages it became necessary to depart from the model and, where there was not a reliable corrector to fall back upon, to look to the next best manuscript for help.

In some instances it was necessary to modify these tests and to consult the editor's discretion as to the niceties of language. Those who are acquainted with critical research of this kind must determine whether the time and trouble I deemed it necessary to expend on this work is in proportion to the attained result, in other words, wether I have succeeded in most cases, if not in all, in procuring a readable text.

With the help of the results attendant on this critical examination, I have endeavoured to draw a diagram in the case of the many Tracts which possessed from the diversity of their readings sufficient material for the purpose. This diagram is intended to show the relation which exists between the various manuscripts. I give however these figures with all necessary reserve.

I may at the same time state that all the labours of my predecessors and my own point to Czechish (frequently Prague), but never to English originals as having been employed as texts for the later copies.

In such cases, where it was not possible to trace back the single texts to the archetype, the missing branch or branches have been intimated in the diagram by a mark of interrogation.

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[1] *See also De Fund. Sect. p. 53, l. 7, where I have, even against the consensus of all the rest, omitted the* non *which very likely stood in the original text; cp.* reput. *also p. 461, 22;* ra. *467, 16;* illi *517, 16.*

The waved lines denote the dependence of the manuscript or of its correctors on some other existing original.

I think I ought not to add that the 'best' codex is the most nearly related to the original text, while the most corrupt is the furthest removed. It has been endeavoured to make this clearly manifest in these diagrams.

(i) After these precursory preparations the text of the manuscript as well as everything which originally formed part of the codex, is reproduced in Roman type, whereas anything not found in the MS., such as additions made by the editor, the General and Special Introductions, critical and explanatory notes, were according to the now usual custom printed in Italics.[1]

An attempt has been made in the text given below to afford the reader as faithful a copy as was possible of the manuscript, chosen as the basis for the text.

For this reason nothing heterogeneous will strike the eye with the exception of a few insignificancies.[2] *Even the marginal glosses have been given, not in their proper place, but below the text, although they are sometimes of but little value; in no case however are they entirely without interest.*

On the other hand I have not included the hand-marks, numbers, asterisks, notabenes etc. which very frequently appear in the margins of the original, see p. 645, note 1.

The titles of the various Tracts rest for the most part on well established tradition. In doubtful cases, that e. g. of De Ordinatione Fratrum p. 81 ff., the most perfect codex was followed. In nonpareil follow the Explicit or Incipit, when they are in the MS., and, when they were contained in the original text, also the numbers of the chapters. In the case of certain Tracts which have come down to us without the division into chapters (as e. g. Purg. Sectae Chr., De quatt. Sect. nov. cap. II, 1 etc.), I have myself supplied the want, in

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[1] *Words or letters of the text printed in Italics and closed in brackets signify that, though being intrinsically indispensable, they are not always actually contained in the MS., but were supplemented or conjectured by the editor.*

[2] *for instance, occasional brackets, the marks which signify the end of each column and the like.*

such a manner as to enable a better understanding of the sequence of thought. Where this step was necessary, mention is made of it in the notes.

The pages (and lines) of the text-codex have been given on the outer margin, the first pages of the other texts are marked in the beginning of the lectio variorum. To retain the unbroken aspect of the text, I have made no attempt at noting in the text the progress of the pages of the various codices. — All the marginals of the main codex have been reproduced in their proper places among the critical notes, and they appear with their proper corrector's mark, as far as it was possible to determine the difference of handwritings.

Then the text itself follows. — It was, apart from the division into chapters, written with one exception (De Relig. priv. I cod. a) in the scriptio continua in the manuscripts.

I have thought proper to deviate from this course, chiefly on practical grounds. The reader will find that W.'s style is fraught with difficulty, both as to matter and to form. This difficulty would be increased, were the text continued without break, thus affording no point of rest either to the eye or to the mental conception,[1] *the punctuation at the same time being arbitrary and very often meaningless. I have, therefore, made a free use of full stops, dashes and breaks to separate the parts logically, thus lessening the difficulties of perusal. The representation of the original may have suffered a little in consequence, but this was a consideration which it appeared to me must give way to the other, the greater facility in perusal. Whether I have gone too far or not far enough in my endeavour to attain this end may be a matter of doubt. I have at all events done my best to prevent it being the latter.*

All abbreviations have been solved. In the few instances when the first syllables only of the words of a Bible quotation were cited, the whole passage has been given according to the Vulgate, see e. g. p. 342, 12; 472, 21 etc. — In many instances it was difficult to

[1] *The small Tract De vanis Relig. Monach. p. 437 ff. has been printed exactly according to the original, so that the reader has an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the inconsistencies of the codices.*

discover the correct meaning of the abbreviations, and in some it proved even to those who have skill and experience in deciphering MSS. of the Middle Ages to be totally impossible. In cases where the scribes themselves did not understand their originals, they evidently intentionally left riddles for their readers to discover for themselves, and, instead of transcribing simply the forms of their original, allowed themselves perfect liberty of the pen. For examples see p. 15 no. 37; 94, 43; 187, 5; 188, 8; 19; 191, 28; 606, 26. The solution — in the generality of cases — was then usually supplied by a parallel text,[1] *but occasionally had to be conjectured according to the style of the Author, to the general rules of abbreviation, or to the ductus oft he scribe. In many other cases, the mistakes were often caused by the scribe's carelessness in reading and writing. The abbreviations for* consequenter — communiter, cum — tum — tamen, quum — quoniam, tam — causa, mortalis — moralis, vel — ut — nichil, aliud — aliquod — aliquid, manifestum — mandatum, fratri — fieri, fratris — sanctis — factis, habent — hunc, verum — bene — unde, questio — conclusio, domini — dei, assumptum — argumentum, debemus — deus, debent — dent, istorum — illorum[2] *etc. are in many cases, as far as the eye can judge, impossible of solution, because the form of the letters either requires a solution quite at variance with the clear sense of the passage, or the same forms are used indiscriminately for the different words.*

This part of my work in particular cost me much time and thought: εἰδὼς λέγω. *I have honestly striven to discover the solutions by minutely comparing the forms in question with those to which no doubt as to their meaning was attached. or where this was not possible, to conjecture the right sense.*[3] *All undoubtedly in-*

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[1] *In most cases it became evident, that the form in question as far as it was possible to decipher it was against all palaeographical rules and, therefore. incorrectly written.*

[2] *Cp., for instance, on the phototype tables which are given after the fly-leaf of this volume:* tam *in the first text l. 13 from above, and* tria *third text l. 5 from above, also* frater *third text l. 8 from above with the abbreviation of* super.

[3] *Schönemann, Handbuch der Diplomatik, vol. I, p. 588 says: Man wird leicht einsehen, dass bei den Abbreviaturen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts oft bloss*

correct forms were banished to the notes, for I am, with Wattenbach,[1] *of the opinion that it is due to a sort of superstition 'that editors of the writings of the Middle Ages think to perform their duty the more thoroughly by renouncing all independent thought'. — Often little abbreviated forms, such as* neuter — neutri, derivatur — divinatur, dei — divini — domini *etc. cannot be solved with absolute certainty, and it became necessary for the editor to consult his own judgment in many of these cases.*

The general rule of giving the equivalents for all abbreviations was not followed, when the latter are, or were, in general and universal use, e. g. lib. cap. fol. col. qu. *(quaestio),* dist. *(distinctio),* c. *(causa in the Corp. iur. canon.).*

I have finally a few words to say concerning the orthography *of the printed texts. In this matter I am not able to follow Theodor Sickel in his consequences.*[2] *It must be taken into consideration that we have not here to do with (Imperial) diplomas which, I admit, may require to be treated more cautiously. To go so far in the reproduction of the original text 'that even faults should be faithfully transcribed, because the habit, hitherto in vogue, of amending the text has led to so many inconsistencies, which afford to readers a false conception of the nature and condition of the original', cannot surely be required of an editor. For of the inconsistencies of an exact reproduction of the text there would still be a considerable number.*[3] *On the one hand, an accurate reproduction of the original with all the apparent faults*[4] *of the scribes, with the various peculiarities of the manuscripts is merely impossible as long as the photographic art is not made use*

Raten gilt. Nur die anhaltende Übung kann es zu einiger Fertigkeit bringen, und nie darf man derselben trauen, ohne erst den besonderen Charakter der vorliegenden geprüft zu haben. Wahr ist es allerdings, dass die Buchhandschriften ungleich mehr damit angefüllt sind als die Urkunden.

[1] *Cp. his review of F. Tadra's Cancellaria Arnesti in the Deutsche Litt.-Ztg. 1881, June 10th (No. 23), p. 826.*

[2] *Cp. Mon. Germ. Diplom. Part I., tom. I., New Series 1879, Hanover, p. VI ff.*

[3] *Cp. them even in Sickel, l. l. p. VII.*

[4] *Sickel even prints such forms as* archiepcapellani, archiarchicapellani, archipellani, archicapellarii.

of for reproducing the single pages,[1] *on the other it is of interest neither to the student of history, theology or law, but merely to the palaeographical scholar, and even to him only to a certain degree.*

Moreover, evident mistakes of the copyist afford no help towards characterizing w r i t i n g s *of a certain period. For this reason I have not admitted the mistakes of the MSS. into the text, and have only given them sometimes in the notes, as being occasionally of undoubted use in characterizing the* s i n g l e *MSS.: for, in order to judge conclusively of the copyist, the consideration, how often his errors occur, over what words, and in what connection, is not without importance; cf. especially on this point the readings of the very poor MS. 1337 (E.)*

Capital letters have been used in the texts only for the names of persons and places, and for the beginning of the sentences. I have doubted whether to confine their use to the beginning of the alinea, according to Weizsäcker's view.[2] *Certainly the advantage of the capitals, as distinguishing the proper names, is somewhat diminished by my arrangement; on the other hand, it must be remembered that personal and local allusions are in the nature of things of more importance in the decrees of a Diet than in theological texts, and also that the capital at the beginning of a sentence is no small help towards the understanding of the text. Even such words as* dominus, deus, eucharistia, *the names of the months, the festivals etc., retain therefore the small letter.*

As to the orthographical reproduction of the MSS. in my texts, it seems to me that all considerations of language, construction, nomenclature and verbal accuracy directly forbid our suffering an author of the latter part of the 14th century to appear in the garb of the Augustan age. The English Rolls Series, in which Shirley has published the Fasciculi Zizaniorum, has fallen back upon the confessedly variable standard of classical Latinity:[3] *the Oxford Delegates also have retained*

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[1] *Even photography cannot in all cases give an exact picture of the MS., for instance in the reproduction of the paper, the painted initials, of words repeatedly corrected etc.*

[2] *Cf. Reichstagsakten, p. LXX.*

[3] *H. Maunde Thompson still keeps to this fashion in printing his Chronicon*

this usage in their edition of Wiclif's 'Select Works English and Latin', in the only latin volume they have printed. Lechler therefore, in his critical edition of the Trialogus, had to deprive Wiclif's thoughts of their mediæval clothing.[1] *He draws attention to the fact that the orthography varies, and that inconsistencies occur even within a single Codex. This is certainly true in the highest degree. Inconsistencies are not only to be found within the same MS., but within the same Tracts, the same chapters, the same folia, the same pages, even the same line. The sense of inconsistency has long since departed from the copyists — there is bare, unbounded license. In all the MSS. — in some more, in some less — they make free use with the h and qu, the v and u, the i and y, the s, ſ and z, the double consonants, the large and small initial letters, with names and their derivatives, with the Greek and Oriental words etc. I give here a few glaring instances, which might easily be increased. You may find, often in the same line, or in two or three immediately following one another,* ipocrite, ypocritas, ippocritarum, yppocrite, ipocryte, ypokrite, yppokrisis; simoniam, Symonia, simonyare, symonyacis, siimoniam; syrum, sirum, Siro; apocriphus, apocryphum, apocryfam, apokryphis, apokryfam, *once even* appogriffus *and* ypogrypha; difiniciones, diffinicione, definicio, difniciones, deffinicioni, dyffiniciones *etc.;* ypostatice, yppostatice, ipostatice; ierarchie, eremo, edus (= *haedus)* armonia, *but* heresis; *then* appreciatur, apreciatur; verumtamen, veruntamen, verumptamen; numquam, nunquam, nuncquam; hee *beside* he; communi, conmuni, comuni; cottidianum, cotidianum, quottidianum, qottidianus; elemosine, eleemosine, helemosine, elemosyne, eleemosyne; wlt, wult, vult; wlgariter, vulgarem, wulgari; sanguinem, sangwis, sagwini; equus, equs, eqwus, eqwm; *the more usual* secuntur (locuntur) *beside* sequuntur, seqwuntur *and* sequntur; solicitudinem, sollicitudini; erreccione, ereccionem, erecione; tollerarent, tolerarunt; voluntatis, woluntate, volumptatis; auctorisat, autorisando, auctorizaverit; blasphemare, blasfemaret, blazphemando,

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Angliae, but in his recent Chronicon Adae de Usk he gives the mediæval spelling of the original; cf. Chronicon A. de Usk, London 1878, p. XIII.

[1] *In his edition of the Off. pastoral., published in Leipzig, he rightly retains the mediæval form.*

blazfemiam; exupplevit; orrenda; efundendo; ffratres; llicet; cismarinis, tcismarinos *and many more. To preserve to posterity these vagaries*[1] *of the mediæval copyist cannot be the duty of an editor. Just as little has he the right to perpetuate misconceptions and ignorance. To reproduce these corrupt forms in the text is, I believe, nothing else than to share in the carelessness or ignorance of the old scribe. I have therefore, without special remark in the notes, at once given correctly in my text those forms which differ from the universal usage of the MSS.*

For, despite all the license with which we must charge them, the copyists keep within certain fixed limits. These have been observed in the printing. I can here only indicate a few.

The letters u and v, which in the text are used interchangeably — their employment is not entirely arbitrary — have been printed according to their consonantal or vocal power: this is not strictly an orthographical question, but rather a graphical or alphabetical one. For there is no reason for preserving the varying usage of the mediæval scribe, which is often very inconvenient for the modern reader: vue — vve *for uvae;* uiuimus — viuimus — uivimus *for vivimus (cf.* inuuuuus *= innuimus; cf. also* uuuuuum *= innuimini (nummum);* ue *= vae;* vngwium *= unguium. J (j) hardly ever occurs in these MSS.; I therefore always print i for j. The distinction of the scribe between* s *and* ſ, *being a graphical one, has not been retained in print, but* s *has always been chosen. In the MSS. æ and œ are always, without exception, replaced by* e; ci *when followed by a vowel is throughout written for ti;*[2] *between m and a consonant following, p invariably appears* (presumpcio, *also* verumptamen)*; Christus and its derivatives are almost always given in the customary abbreviations; where it is written at length, the h disappears, and only in very few*

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[1] *Still more contemptible is it, if what Weizsäcker says of the transcribers of the decrees of the Diet applies to these Bohemian scribes, viz. that this troublesome multiplication of letters (erczbisschoff) owed its frequent occurrence partly to the fact that the copyists of that time (1376—87) were paid by the line. Cf. Wattenbach, Schriftwesen, 2. ed., p. 406 ff.*

[2] *The only exception is* instruentium *in cod. 3933, cf. De Christo cap. I, note 11 and p. 649; and a Tract in cod. C fol.* 226^b *ff., cf. below p. 523.*

instances have I come across Christus; dyabolus *is the rule, and* diabolus *the very rare exception;* michi, nichil, ewangelium, wlgaris, communis *are the usual forms.*

Proper names and foreign words, which often occur in a corrupt form in all the MSS., — for inst. Endoxum *for Eudoxium,* ermofroditis *for hermaphroditis etc., — are always printed in the text in the form at present received, generally with the forms of the MS. noted below the text.*

Lastly, such forms as dirumperit *p. 280 l. 11;* poterint *p. 284 l. 25; 277 l. 5;* relinquerat *p. 288 l. 26;* consuleris *p. 216 l. 8;* dyaconibus *p. 268 l. 1, cf. p. 267 l. 25; perhaps also* exiunt *p. 281 l. 3 show, that grammar as well as spelling have suffered much during the fourteenth century.*

I have had recourse to conjectures only in the most urgent cases; wherever one of the existing readings could possibly be retained, I have done so. My few proposed readings are distinguished by brackets ( ) and Italics. How far I have been happy in my suggestions, those more skilled in these matters must decide.

A.

JOHN WICLIF'S
POLEMICAL TRACTS AGAINST THE SECTS.

I.

DE FUNDATIONE SECTARUM.

DE FUNDATIONE SECTARUM.

I. Division of the Tract.

A. Introduction: Motive that led to the composition of the Tract. — The controversy considered as to matter and form; the severity of the attack explained, chap. I.

B. Argument: The Four Sects are superfluous, hurtful to both Church and State, chap. II—XV.

- *(a) Historical proof: chap. II—V. The Sects, what they are, and what they do.*
- *(b) Biblical proof: chap. V—XV. The pernicious tendency of the Sects proved by*
    - *(α) St. Peter, chap. V,*
    - *(β) St. Paul, chap. V—VIII,*
    - *(γ) the four Canonical Epistles,*
        - *(1) St. James, chap. IX—X,*
        - *(2) St. Peter, chap. XI,*
        - *(3) St. John, chap. XII– XIII,*
        - *(4) St. Jude, chap. XIV—XV.*
- *(c) Answer of the author to an objection raised against W.'s method of argument, chap. XVI.*

Conclusion. The Sects should be abolished, chap. XVI.

II. Summary of its Contents.

Chap. I. *The following Tract is compiled at the request of lovers of truth, p. 13. The author first deals with his Polemics as to their matter: love to the Church should lead to opposition to the Sects; it is false love not to take notice of them (John XIII), p. 14. As to the form, p. 15: strong measures should be resorted to against them, p. 15; for Christ himself in just anger denounced them (proved by Matth. XXIII; Marc. VIII; I John II and V; John VI; Matth. XVI and XV), p. 16.*

Chap. II. *In regarding their existence and practises, it is evident they have no foundation in Scripture, p. 17. They are in exact opposition to what Paul says, Acts XX: they are not 'pure from the blood of all men', p. 18 (Crusade); they incite to wars, p. 19—20; deprive the people of the Gospel, p. 20; enrich themselves at the cost of the country, and, more especially, of the poor, p. 21.*

Chap. III. *There is but* *One* *true Sect (definition and etymology of* secta, *p. 21—22); that is, the Sect of Christ, p. 22, while the other known Four are not authorised by God, and are hurtful to the first, p. 22—23 (statement of their errors, p. 23—25).*

Chap. IV. *Their deviation from the simple Sect of Christ proved, p. 25—28; on account of their great numbers (4,000), and the many tithes they compel the country annually to pay (£ 40,000, p. 28), they are burdensome without bringing any advantage to the country, p. 29. They should therefore be done away with. Why God should have permitted them is a difficult question to answer, p. 29.*

Chap. V. *On looking into Scripture for their foundation, the first passage bearing on them occurs in* *II Peter II, 1—3, p.29—30 (the author here protests against the imputation that he is arbitrarily expounding the Scriptures, p. 31). According to these verses, Sects (1) 'bring in damnable heresies', p. 31; (2) 'deny the Lord', p. 31: (3) 'bring upon themselves swift destruction', p. 32; (4) 'through covetousness with feigned words make merchandise' of the people in that they (especially the Pope and his priests) oppress both individuals and the country with heavy burdens, p. 32—33; (5) 'their judgement lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not', p. 33.*

Chap. VI. *Paul* *also says* *I Tim. IV, 1: (1) 'they depart from the faith', because they place their religion above that of Christ, which should be the model of every true sect, p. 34—35: (2) they are 'seducing spirits', because they introduce new doctrines, p. 35; (3) 'they speak lies in hypocrisy', for they spread lies and seduce virtuous women etc., p. 36; (4) 'their conscience is seared with a hot iron', in as much as their heart burns for worldly possessions, p. 36; (5) 'they forbid marriage', yet are themselves within their communities highly immoral, p. 36; (6) 'they abstain from meats' far beyond the commands of the Apostles and Evangelists, p. 36—37. It is, therefore, wrong to suppose that the Apostle's term 'brethren' refers to them, except in such a passage as* *II Cor. XI, 26: 'in perils among false brethren', p. 37—38.*

Chap. VII. *Again,* *Paul:* *II Tim. III, 1—9.* ***First part,*** *p. 38—41: (1) they are the originators of 'perilous times', p. 38; destroying the peace of the Church, p. 38—39; (2) 'they are lovers of selves': looking only for their own gain in temporal possessions, p. 39; (3) 'lovers of money': robbing both rich and poor, p. 39; (4) 'boasters': ranking their order above the apostolic, p. 39; (5) 'haughty': refusing to*

be taught by the Scriptures and the Apostles, p. 39; (6) 'blasphemers': placing Christ's Sect below their own, p. 39; (7) 'disobedient to parents': robbing them of their children to take Orders, p. 39; (8) 'unthankful', p. 40; (9—10) 'unholy, without natural affection': for they will not part with their gold, even to help their suffering brethren, p. 40; (11) 'implacable', p. 40; (12) 'slanderers': accusing others of heresy, p. 40; (13) 'incontinent': their bodily incontinence is well known to the people, but worse still is their spiritual fornication with the Word of God, p. 40—41; (14) 'fierce' among themselves and against their brethren, the welfare of whose souls they ignore, p. 41.

Chap. VIII. *Second part, p. 41—45: (1) they are 'despisers of those that are good': exciting envy by the heaping up of riches, p. 42; (2) 'traitors' to the Church and State, which they harm by their love of temporal things, p. 42; (3) 'headstrong': they attempt the overthrowal of their superiors and worldly masters, p. 42—43; (4) 'puffed up': one order trying to exclude the other, p. 43; (5) 'lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God': seeking a luxurious life, p. 43; (6) 'having a form of godliness' before Christ as well as the Church, which they destroy instead of building up, p. 43—44. — Conclusion: on account of these and many other moral defects, p. 44—45, they should be avoided, p. 45—46.*

Chap. IX. *The four Canonical Epistles. First James I, 27 alludes to them as visiting widows and orphans, not to render them spiritual or bodily help, but to rob them, p. 46—48. In like manner chap. I, 26 (cp. Matth. XV) because they allow their parents to want, making idle and false excuses as to their own apparent poverty, p. 49; their religion is therefore empty, p. 50.*

Chap. X. *Neither are their Rules founded in Scripture, p. 50; they are not inspired by God, but invented by human and diabolical cunning, p. 51—52; according to James chap. II they are guilty of judging from appearances, p. 52—53. In like manner, chap. III, 1; V, 1; IV, 1 refer to them, p. 53—54.*

Chap. XI. *St. Peter IV, 9: they are hospitable not to their own brethren, but to rich lords, women of rank and their maids, p. 54—55; for which reason Matth. XXV, 43; I Peter IV, 9—11 apply to them, p. 56; they preach God's word, but for the sake of gain, I Peter, V, 8 p. 56; in every particular, therefore, this Apostle's words bear witness against them, p. 57—58.*

Chap. XII. *Especially St. John, the Apostle of love, condemns*

them, because out of selfish jealousy they guard the privileges of their Order, p. 58—61.

Chap. XIII. *They are without true love, p. 62, I John I, 6: (a) have no communion with Christ, p. 63; (b) despise his Sect, p. 63, and because they love neither God nor Christ, they can have no love (c) for their brethren, p. 63 – 65; proved by I John III, 15; IV, 3; II, 15; II John 10.*

Chap. XIV. *Jude v. 19: (1) 'these are murmurers, complainers' of their (feigned) poverty, p. 66; (2) 'walking after their own lusts', because they beg for gifts, wherewith they satisfy their guilty desires, p. 66; (3) 'their mouth speaketh great swelling words', saying they are the most perfect of men, p. 66; (4) 'they have men's persons in admiration', paying regard to others for the sake of their money. p. 66. Likewise v. 18 applies to them: (1) 'mockers' who falsify Christ's religion, p. 68; (2) 'walk after their own ungodly lusts': they contend, the bishops have no authority over them, p. 69—70.*

Chap. XV. *Lastly they are reproached in v. 12, on many accounts, more especially as they, for the sake of a luxurious life, either make friends of the rich or indulge in excesses in their own convents at the expense of the plundered poor, p. 70—74. — In this way the Scripture very frequently reproaches and rejects them, p. 74.*

Chap. XVI. *Objection of the Orders to the above as being a exposition of the Scriptures, not taught by any of the Fathers, and in itself false p. 74. Reply: (1) let them first prove their foundation in Scripture, then they will be credited, p. 75—76; (2) many a doctrine of the old Fathers must be set aside, or, in consequence of the experience and progress of the Church, developed, p. 74; (3) Christ, of purpose, but hints at them, hoping by his slight terms to touch them, p. 77. The writer's present exposition of the Bible was not made through malice, but for the honour of God, and the good of the brethren, p. 78—79.*

Conclusion: The above may, perhaps, give occasion to the Sects to state anew their position as founded in the Bible, p. 79—80. Their entire exstirpation would, assuredly, be a gain for the Church, p. 80.

III. Date of Composition

may be inferred (1) from the notice taken of the hostia consecrata, *chap. IV, p. 28, which is mentioned in such a manner as presupposes W.'s opposition to the Romish transubstantiation theory — sum-*

mer of 1381;[1] *— to have taken place already; and (2) from the allusion made to the Crusade to Flanders undertaken by Bishop Spenser in the interest of Urban VI, cp.* ad istam pugn. *chap. II, p. 19;* in isto bello *etc., chap. VI, p. 35, and the passage* de nostro exerc. *etc., chap. II, p. 19, which unmistakeably refers to this campaign. The Crusade lasted from May to October 1383. The first news of the success of it was extremely favourable. It allured about 60,000 volunteers*[2] *across the Channel, who arrived in Flanders during the dog-days.*[3] *Now we may conclude from the hint* ut probabiliter creditur, *chap. II, p. 19, that an authentic information of the real losses in Flanders — cp.* multi eorum mortui *ibid. — had not yet reached England. W. mentions only the first bad tidings of the change of fortune,*[4] *which reached home about the beginning of August. On the return of Spenser, at the beginning of October, but not later, came the first definite news of the disaster. The date of Composition must, therefore, lie between the end of July, and, at the very latest, Michaelmas 1383.*

IV. Genuineness.

(a) External evidence:

(1) Wiclif-Catal. in cod. B fol. 195 ff., cod. 4514 (Vienna) fol. 102 ff., cod. 3935 fol. 23ᶜ ff. and cod. 7980 fol. 5.[5]

(2) Bale, Illust. Script. Summ. 156 (It is however uncertain,[6] *if Bale, under his title, alludes to the present Tract; he gives it but one chap.: but to understand the worth of these notices, cp. Bale's remarks on the number of the chapters of De 4 Sect. Nov. fol. 156; of De Ordine Christiano fol. 157 and many others.*

(3) De 7 Donis Spir. Sancti, chap. IX. Conclusion, see below p. 230.

(4) Notice on the front cover of cod. E.

(5) Index on the inner side of the front cover of cod. G.

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[1] *cp. Shirley, Fasc. Ziz. 104.*

[2] *See Walsingham, Hist. Angl. II, 96.*

[3] *„Fervore dierum" Walsingham, Hist. Angl. II, 98.*

[4] *See Hist. Ric. II Mon. Evesh. ed. Hearne II, 46, 47; Pauli, Gesch. Engl. IV, 546.*

[5] *Shirley has printed the two first mentioned catalogues, see Catal. 56 ff. For the last mentioned, see above, General Introduction V, e.*

[6] *According to Shirley, Catal. Nr. 91 'it is the same 'no doubt' with Bale's De Origine Sectarum.'*

(6) *Index on the fly-leaf of cod. α.*
As to 4, 5 and 6 see General Introduction IV, Description of the codices.
(7) *Lewis, Hist. of Life & Suff. No. 68 p. 153; his reference is taken from No. 2 above.*
(8) *Shirley, Catal. No. 91.*
(9) *Lechler, J. v. W. II, 568.*

(b) *Internal evidence:*
(1) *see above General Introduction V, e.*
(2) *the repeated allusions to English affairs.*
(3) *W.'s well-known attacks against the Sects in his genuine writings, which are to a great extent repeated here.*
(4) *the great conformity in words, and, more especially, in matter, with W.'s other undoubtedly genuine works, cp. e. g. chap. I not. e; p. III, a; c; e; f; k; l; IV, a; d; f; m; n; VI, c; d; g; h; k; l; etc.*

V. *Not yet printed.*

VI. *Extant in*

cod. 4527 = C fol. 19^a—34^a	C^1 = *Corrector* C^2 = *Chief-Glosser* C^3 = *Corrector* C^4 = *Glosser*
cod. 3930 = D fol. 250^c—264^d	D^1 = *Gloss. (small black hand)* D^2 = *Gloss. (thin pale hand)* D^3 = *Gloss. (thick red hand)*
cod. 1337 = E fol. 134^d—150^c	E^1 = *Corrector (pale hand)* E^2 = *Chief-Corrector (dark hand)*
cod. 3927 = F fol. 25^a—36^b	F^1 = *Corrector*
cod. 4536 = G fol. 98^a—122^a	G^1 = *Glosser and Corrector*

(all in the Imperial Library at Vienna)

cod. X. E. 9. = α fol. 174^b—194^a	α^1 = *Corrector (pale hand)* α^2 = *Glosser*
cod. XI. E. 3. = γ fol. 5^b—11^b	γ^1, γ^2 = *Correctors*

(these in the Univ.-Library at Prague).

VII. The Manuscripts.

A. Their relationship *1) Class E–F. Both codd., by about 1080 different readings of the text, in about 745 cases concur.*

This number becomes, as an evidence of their connection, the more important, as E is copied very carelessly, for inst. words being left out here and there. In the following tract I have counted no fewer than 50 such omissions, and these independently of those made in F, that is to say, a larger number than any of the other codd. in any degree approach to. Closest akin to E follows F which does not fall far short of E's negligence, with 23 omissions of this kind, so that the 69°/₀ of the conforming readings would still increase. — As an additional evidence observe (2) that in the whole of the readings, E–F read the same in 196 instances, while, at the same time, differing from the consensus of the rest; and it is characteristic to note that (a) neither cod. gives in any case the l e c t i o v e r a *against the consensus of the rest (this, of course, only in the 690 conclusive readings) and that they both (b) in very many instances offer, in common, the wrong reading. (3) As a conclusive evidence of their connection, cp. the following passages:* De Cristo et suis apost. *cap. II, note 24,* paul. ampl. faciem meam *II, 25, an order of words which can only be explained by E having copied from F (or vice versa, or both having made use of the same original); cp. further:* veneficicio *III, 31;* viduarum *(om.) VII, 10;* sed *VII, 42;* alie *(om.) XII, 14;* est ex *etc. XIII, 4;* en. cre. sanct. *XIV, 27;* bis mor. ex. *XV, 53; also* mort. *XV, 80, where, in the original, the word was indistinctly written;* int. mat. *XVI, 38;* hu. verb. *V, 11.*

Notwithstanding that these latter readings are all important as proving the connection between E–F, they prove nothing as to a mutual dependence of these MSS on each other; on the other hand, because in many places they differ, it must not be concluded that they were not of the same family, because their dissensus consists chiefly in slips of the pen. The very numerous passages, however, in which E gives an order of words, differing from all the other MSS (F included), but, at the same time, irrelevant in itself, may serve as proof that both codd. do not immediately depend on each other (e. g. that either has been copied from the other) cp. for instance a. s. m. *XVI, 29;* l. d. v. *XVI, 59;* n. e. i. *XVI, 63;* i. in. *XVI 67;* e. e. i. *XVI, 75;* v. d. s. *XVI, 99;* p. s. c. *XVI, 118;* s. d. *etc. XVI, 120 and so on; the number may easily be increased.*[1]

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[1] *In the following critical list of readings, only the most important variations are given.*

To prove that E was not copied from F, cp. et de ind. *etc. IV, 7;* suffr. dic. en. *IX, 56;* eccl. ille e. *XII, 33;* pred. et suis *XIV, 50;* nost. fidem et *XVI, 5; especially* prepar. *XV, 39.*

That F was not copied from E, cp. di. beat. qui. *VIII, 29:* rea. nec qu. *XII, 70; F has also in many instances correct readings, where E at first wrote the wrong word, and afterwards had it altered into the correct one (in most cases by E^2), cp. e. g.* sed verit. piet. *VIII, 34;* decal. pl. lab. *VIII, 55;* est *VIII, 68;* sectis *VIII, 71:* illor. *VIII, 72 and in many other cases.*

Conclusion: E and F are of the same family, but are not derived one from the other.

As to the original of the corrector E^2 (beside whom none of the others are of special value), I have arrived at no certain conclusion: from the marginals ponunt *XIV, 21;* mortis *XV, 80 it is evident that none of the codd. I have used here was copied from by the corrector.*

II) C is of the same family with α. This may be concluded from the following: (1) Among the 390 irrelevant readings, C and α conform with each other in 303 instances; the 86 differing passages are, mostly, insignificant errors in the sense, nec — et non, vel — aut, domini — dei *and such like, or mistakes in writing, such as* sint — sunt, et *(om.). — (2) Still more favourable to the acceptance of the connection is their consensus in the 690 conclusive readings; in about 600 instances they read the same (in some chapp. they agree word for word with the exception of a few small orthographical slips, e. g. in chap. XII), the remaining 90 differing passages being nearly all to be traced to α's errors in copying. — (3) see as decisive evidence, the extraordinary conclusion of chap. I, which in α reads thus:* in suis org. sic vocavit. Pseudofrater degens *etc.* — machinatus, *as to which $α^1$ remarks in mar:* vacat. *This is an entirely heterogeneous fragment that does not belong at all to De Fund. Sect.: it is the opening of the Descriptio Fratris, see Shirley, Cat. No. 89 (it is also printed below). Now this same foreign passage appears, incorporated into De Fund. Sect. a few lines further down fol. (196ᵇ below in mar.) in the same place in C, whereas in none of the other codd. before us does it exist. If the codd. were not copied one from the other, the original must be held responsible for this heterogeneous piece. — (4) cp.* et cum ap. doc. *II, 60 with the parallel recension as given by the other codd.;* secte naamet *V, 34 where, even in orthographical conformity, the nonsense* mabuiet, *afterwards* macometis

has been added. — *(5) cp.* inhabilitabant *V, 69;* suspecta *with its marginal note* suscepta *II, 64;* inimic. *III, 30;* fugere *IV, 25,* emit *V, 5;* fertil. *VIII, 46.*

It is possible that α was copied from C, when this had already been corrected, cp. roset. *IV, 29 and* secundum *VIII, 65; and α*[1] *afterwards added his corrections to the text. For that C and α are not derived immediately from the same source is to be concluded from passages such as* eos *V, 27;* ceci *XV, 30;* d. e. *XIII, 60;* quam *XIII, 56;* esse *XIV, 11;* voc. *I, 49;* m. q. dei *VIII, 24;* sic. *IX, 33;* ep. *XIII, 64;* freq. *XIV, 17;* vol. *XIV, 54;* per *XVI, 71 and others, for these lacunae cannot originate in oversights and carelessness, as probably did* beat. *VI, 26;* diuc. *VIII, 53;* ergo *VI, 60 and a few others, because the remaining codd. contain these omissions in the very same place.*

Conclusion: C and α are connected, but have not originated immediately one from the other.

III) There still remain the codd. D, G and γ. Of these, D and G appear to me to be also connected, but less closely. (1) Of the 1080 readd. in question, not less than 883 in both codd. agree. The importance of this consensus is increased by the circumstance, that neither D nor G was copied carefully,[1] *and so each cod. has for itself a number of independent readings of its own (insignificant omissions and such like). (2) cp.* prestare *VI, 47;* paup. *XI, 4,* edif. *XI, 9; in particular* inmund. *XVI, 52;* ergo *V, 65, where D and G differ from the consensus of the others, and give a reading of the text peculiar to them alone. (3) cp. the very characteristic monstrosity* veneficicia *III, 31, which can only be traced to a common original. — (Compare also below the relative numbers of the text-readings in both codd.)*

D (and G?) appear also to be kindred with α; but I have arrived at no certain conclusion on this matter.

B. ***The best Codex.*** *Class E–F is the most corrupt, as even a hurried glance will show. E was most carelessly copied: among 690 readings, not less than 346 are false ones, making 50%.*[2] *F follows with 270, γ with 105: and here it is to be noted that γ alone, in no fewer than 74 passages, gives, independently from the rest of the MSS which all agree, a wrong reading (α and G with only 33 such cor-*

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[1] *It is worthy of note that G omitted passages difficult to read, cp. IV, 8; VI, 7.*

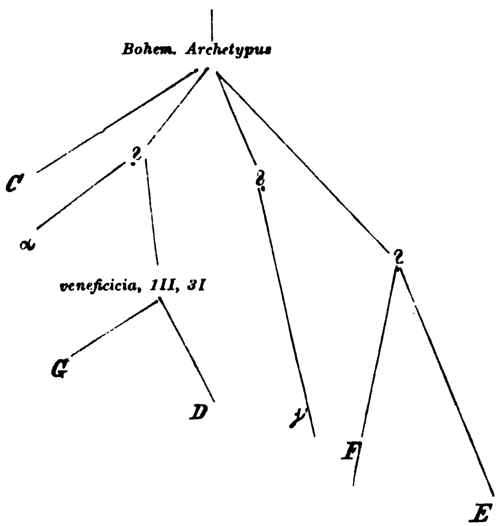
[2] *Its corrector E^2 is likewise not worth much, cp.* deo in isto *XII, 41.*

ruptions approach nearest to it); D follows with 91, G with 89, α with 77, and C, which has the least corrupted text, with 53.[1]

From the preceding it appears, that C is the best MS as the basis of the text. Its false readings are, with two exceptions unimportant in themselves — minucia *III, 30;* corripi *IX, 34 — to be traced to mistakes of reading and writing, or are marks of haste (omissions). Among the 690 decisive readings, C has only 6 false ones peculiar to itself, whereas α, which approaches nearest to C, has as many as 33, D 29, G 33 and γ 74. — It almost appears that the texthand of C is preferable to that of corrector* C^3*, whose corrections are not always happy; once, indeed,* tamen *X, 40* C^3 *is right against the consensus of the rest; but, on the other hand, in no fewer than 9 passages* C^3 *altered the correct reading of the text into a false one; cp. especially* verius *VI, 25; also* moluntur *VI, 32; further VIII, 19; 20; 21; 28.*

For these reasons I conclude that C must be taken as the basis of our text.

From the above the following diagram as pedigree of the MSS may be drawn:



[1] *These relative numbers also are characteristic for the inner connection of the groups of E-F, G-D and C-α.*

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE FUNDACIONE SECTARUM.

Plexitic de Sanctha Enciosolu.[1]

CAP. I.

|| [2]Motus sum per quosdam veritatis amicos originaliter detegere | fundacionem fratrum vel verba contra ipsos, si inveniri poterint | ex scriptura. || *C fol. 19a lin. 20*

Non enim valet, ut dicunt, vocare ipsos falsos | fratres, pseudofratres, ypocritas, anticristos, dyabolos vel aliquo nomine tali ficto, sed ex caritate Cristi et sue ecclesie micius[3] est loquendum.

Hic dicendum est, quod caritas Cristi et sue ecclesie urgeret[4] fideles loqui[5] acute[a] contra vicia in hiis sectis.

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[a] *see Matthew, E. W. h. u. 313*

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[1] *i. e.* Explicit de Sathane Solucione Explicit Cruciata etc. *D* Explicit de Cristo et suo adversario anticristo Incipit de fundacione sectarum *E* De fundacione sectarum Cristo in oppositum *(om.:* introductarum *cp. title of γ) F without Expl., Inc. and title G, an index to W.'s Pastorale here precedes this tract* Explicit responsio ad argumenta cuiusdam emuli veritatis *(fol. 174[a] end)* de fundacione sectarum *above col. 174[b] in α by α[1]* de fundacione sectarum Cristo in oppositum introductarum *γ* [2]*cod. D fol. 250[c] lin. 16 cod. E fol. 134[d] lin. 41 cod. F fol. 25[a] lin. 29 cod. G fol. 98[a] lin. 10 cod. α fol. 174[b] lin. 1 cod. γ fol. 5[b] lin. 33, opposite this line:* Nro. 2 *modern hand* [3] micius *CDFGαγ* inicio *E* [4] urgeret *CDGαγ* urget *EF* [5] loqui *CDFGαγ, E[1] in margin* qui *(crossed out) E*

Chap. III. *There is but One true Sect (definition and etymology of* secta, *p. 21—22); that is, the Sect of Christ, p. 22, while the other known Four are not authorised by God, and are hurtful to the first, p. 22—23 (statement of their errors, p. 23—25).*

Chap. IV. *Their deviation from the simple Sect of Christ proved, p. 25—28; on account of their great numbers (4,000), and the many tithes they compel the country annually to pay (£ 40,000, p. 28), they are burdensome without bringing any advantage to the country, p. 29. They should therefore be done away with. Why God should have permitted them is a difficult question to answer, p. 29.*

Chap. V. *On looking into Scripture for their foundation, the first passage bearing on them occurs in II Peter II, 1—3, p.29—30 (the author here protests against the imputation that he is arbitrarily expounding the Scriptures, p. 31). According to these verses, Sects (1) 'bring in damnable heresies', p. 31; (2) 'deny the Lord', p. 31; (3) 'bring upon themselves swift destruction', p. 32; (4) 'through covetousness with feigned words make merchandise' of the people in that they (especially the Pope and his priests) oppress both individuals and the country with heavy burdens, p. 32—33; (5) 'their judgement lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not', p. 33.*

Chap. VI. *Paul also says I Tim. IV, 1: (1) 'they depart from the faith', because they place their religion above that of Christ, which should be the model of every true sect, p. 34—35; (2) they are 'seducing spirits', because they introduce new doctrines, p. 35; (3) 'they speak lies in hypocrisy', for they spread lies and seduce virtuous women etc., p. 36; (4) 'their conscience is seared with a hot iron', in as much as their heart burns for worldly possessions, p. 36; (5) 'they forbid marriage', yet are themselves within their communities highly immoral, p. 36; (6) 'they abstain from meats' far beyond the commands of the Apostles and Evangelists, p. 36—37. It is, therefore, wrong to suppose that the Apostle's term 'brethren' refers to them, except in such a passage as II Cor. XI, 26: 'in perils among false brethren', p. 37—38.*

Chap. VII. *Again, Paul: II Tim. III, 1—9. First part, p. 38—41: (1) they are the originators of 'perilous times', p. 38; destroying the peace of the Church, p. 38—39; (2) 'they are lovers of selves': looking only for their own gain in temporal possessions, p. 39; (3) 'lovers of money': robbing both rich and poor, p. 39; (4) 'boasters': ranking their order above the apostolic, p. 39; (5) 'haughty': refusing to*

be taught by the Scriptures and the Apostles, p. 39; (6) 'blasphemers': placing Christ's Sect below their own, p. 39; (7) 'disobedient to parents': robbing them of their children to take Orders, p. 39; (8) 'unthankful', p. 40; (9—10) 'unholy, without natural affection': for they will not part with their gold, even to help their suffering brethren, p. 40; (11) 'implacable', p. 40; (12) 'slanderers': accusing others of heresy, p. 40; (13) 'incontinent': their bodily incontinence is well known to the people, but worse still is their spiritual fornication with the Word of God, p. 40—41; (14) 'fierce' among themselves and against their brethren, the welfare of whose souls they ignore, p. 41.

Chap. VIII. *Second part, p. 41—45: (1) they are 'despisers of those that are good': exciting envy by the heaping up of riches, p. 42; (2) 'traitors' to the Church and State, which they harm by their love of temporal things, p. 42; (3) 'headstrong': they attempt the overthrowal of their superiors and worldly masters, p. 42—43; (4) 'puffed up': one order trying to exclude the other, p. 43; (5) 'lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God': seeking a luxurious life, p. 43; (6) 'having a form of godliness' before Christ as well as the Church, which they destroy instead of building up, p. 43—44. — Conclusion: on account of these and many other moral defects, p. 44—45, they should be avoided, p. 45—46.*

Chap. IX. *The four Canonical Epistles. First James I, 27 alludes to them as visiting widows and orphans, not to render them spiritual or bodily help, but to rob them, p. 46—48. In like manner chap. I, 26 (cp. Matth. XV) because they allow their parents to want, making idle and false excuses as to their own apparent poverty, p. 49; their religion is therefore empty, p. 50.*

Chap. X. *Neither are their Rules founded in Scripture, p. 50; they are not inspired by God, but invented by human and diabolical cunning, p. 51—52; according to James chap. II they are guilty of judging from appearances, p. 52—53. In like manner, chap. III, 1; V, 1; IV, 1 refer to them, p. 53—54.*

Chap. XI. *St. Peter IV, 9: they are hospitable not to their own brethren, but to rich lords, women of rank and their maids, p. 54—55; for which reason Matth. XXV, 43; I Peter IV, 9—11 apply to them, p. 56; they preach God's word, but for the sake of gain, I Peter, V, 8 p. 56; in every particular, therefore, this Apostle's words bear witness against them, p. 57—58.*

Chap. XII. *Especially St. John, the Apostle of love, condemns*

quod fidelis increpet eos dure. Attendunt[43] enim ad iudaicas fabulas et mandata hominum aversancium[44] se a veritate, cum plus appreciantur[45] obligacionem ad suum ordinem et carius observant[46] mandata sui privati prepositi, quam carissima mandata Iesu Cristi.[e] Ideo Cristus Matth. 23[f] octuplex ve imponit istis ypcoritis, et Matth. 24[g] vocat ipsos[47] pseudoprophetas et Matth. (7)[48h] vocat ipsos falsos prophetas. Iohannes vero I Ioh. 2[i] et 4[k] ipsos nominat anticristos. Cristus eciam Ioh. 6[l] vocat Iudam dyabolum et Matth. 16[m] Petrum[49] sathanam,[50] et indubie ex maxima caritate, ut patet Matth. 15,[n] et crebro alibi sepe a Cristo vocantur ypocrite. — Condicio[51] autem ypocritarum[52] inseparabiliter fratres consequitur in hoc, quod plus horrent sic vocari in presencia populari, quam sic vivere, ut vocentur taliter in presencia domini Iesu[53] Cristi. Et Paulus I[54] Tim. 4[o] vocat ipsos demonia. — Cum ergo supponi potest, quod aliqui eorum sint[55] fideles in domino, et aliqui sint perversi,[p] quare non debet fidelis sic specificare nomina perversorum, cum Cristus in persona propria et in suis organis sic vocavit?[56]

[e] *cp. Trial. 371* [f] *v. 13 ff. W. wrote a special tract concerning the Ve Octuplex, cp. Shirley, Catal. Nro. 43 p. 17* [g] *v. 11* [h] *v. 15* [i] *v. 18* [k] *v. 3* [l] *v. 71* [m] *v. 23* [n] *v. 7 cp. Marc. 7, 6* [o] *v. 1* [p] *cp. Trial. 349: Suppono autem, quod aliqui fratres etc.; cp. also another passage which is a little more vague in De Apostasia, cod. 1343 fol. 51ª: Si placet benefacere istis sectis, . . . reducantur ad perfeccionem religionis primeve, cp. Tract. de Pseudo-freris ed. Matthew. E. W. h. u. 298: ȝit cristen men shulden be war in here speche aȝen freris, & for somme ben goode and somme evele, men shulden specifie þise evele etc.*

[43] attendunt *CEαγ* attendite *DFG* [44] aversancium *CDGαγ* versancium *F* adversancium *(the* d *cr. out & ud.) E* [45] appreciantur *CDGαγ* appreciant *EF* [46] observant *CDEFGγ* servant *α* [47] ipsos *Cαγ* eos *DEFG* [48] Mt. 8 *CFGαγ* Mrc. 8 *DE* [49] Petrum *CE* vocat Petrum *DGαγ* [50] vocat Iudam — sathanam *CDEGαγ* vocat Petrum sathanam *F* [51] condicio *CDGαγ* contradicto *EF* [52] *in D is add. in mar.:* Condicio ypocritarum *D¹* [53] Iesu *CDFGαγ* nostri Iesu *E* [54] 1ª *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [55] sint *CDFGαγ* sunt *E* [56] vocavit *CEFGγ* vocavit etc. *D* vocavit Pseudofrater degens in seculo est dyabolus incarnatus cum adinventis suis signis sensibilibus desponsatus ad seminandum discordias in militante ecclesia summa ex cautela sathane machinatus *α, in mar. is add.* vacat *α¹*

CAP. II.

Restat videre ulterius supponendo primum principium, si fides scripture alicubi loquitur de hiis sectis, quia certum est, quod ut spiritus sanctus sectas[1] ponderat, sic de ipsis loquitur specialiter sive communiter, cum sit summe sapiens et tantum diligens suam ecclesiam instruendam.

Primo autem applicari potest illud Act.[2] 20:[a] nunc, inquit, ecce[3] ego scio, quia amplius non videbitis faciem meam vos omnes, per quos transivi predicans regnum[4] dei. Quapropter contestor vos hodierna die, quia mundus sum a sangwine omnium. Non enim subterfugi, quominus annunciarem[5] omne consilium dei vobis. Attendite vobis et universo gregi, in quo vos[6] spiritus sanctus posuit episcopos[7] || regere ecclesiam dei, quam acquisivit sangwine suo. | *C fol. 20a* Ego scio, quoniam[8] intrabunt post discessionem meam lupi rapaces in vos, non parcentes gregi, et ex vobis ipsis[9] exsurgent[10] viri loquentes perversa, ut abducant[11] discipulos post se. Propter quod vigilate, in[12] memoria retinentes, quoniam[13] per triennium[14] nocte et die non cessavi, cum lacrimis monens unumquemque vestrum. Et nunc commendo vos deo et verbo gracie ipsius, qui potens est edificare et dare hereditatem in sanctificatis[15] omnibus. Argentum autem[16] et aurum aut vestem[17] nullius[18] concupivi, sicut ipsi[19] scitis, quoniam[20] ad ea, que opus michi erant[21] et hiis, qui mecum sunt, ministraverunt manus iste.

CAP. II. [a] *v. 25—34*

CAP. II. [1] sectas *CDEFαγ* sectat *G* [2] Act. *CDGαγ* apostoli Act. *EF* [3] ecce *Cαγ* *om. DEFG* [4] regnum *CDEFGα,γ*[1] *in mar.* verbum *γ* [5] anunciarem *CDGαγ* nunciarem *E* necessitarem *F* [6] vos *CDEGαγ* *om. F* [7] *in C fol. 19b in the lower mar. is added:* Pseudofrater degens *etc.* — machinatus, *cp. cod. α cap. I not. 56* [8] quoniam *CDGαγ* quod *EF* [9] ipsis *CEFGαγ* *om. D* [10] exsurgent *CDEGαγ* exsurgunt *F* [11] abducant *CDEGαγ* adducant *F* [12] in *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [13] quoniam *CDGαγ* quia *E* ex *(?) F* [14] triennium *CDGαγ* trigennium *EF* [15] da. her. in sanct. omn. *E* da. her. iustificatis omn. *F* dare iustificatis om. he. *CDGαγ* [16] autem *CDEGα* *om. Fγ* [17] aut ve. *CDEFαγ* vestrum *G* [18] nullius *CDEGαγ* in nullis *F* [19] ipsi *CDEFGα* *om. γ* [20] quoniam *CDFGαγ* quomodo *E* [21] erant *CDEGαγ* erat *F*

Ex isto textu huius vasis eleccionis[b] manifestum videtur, quod iste doctor gencium[b] loquitur prophetice de hiis sectis.

Sed ut planius procedamus, sine calumpnia suppono, quod deus vel organum suum loquitur[22] de homine dupliciter[23] in scriptura, scilicet approbative, sicut scriptura loquitur de Cristo et suis apostolis, et reprobative,[24] sicut loquitur de pseudoapostolis et prophetis. Manifestat autem Paulus imprimis spiritum suum propheticum: ego, inquit,[c] scio, quia amplius non[25] videbitis faciem meam, quod oportet intelligere in hac vita. Et debet fidelis credere dicto, quod tantus apostolus dixerit in hac forma.

Protestacio[26] autem apostoli indirecte pertinet istis sectis. Apostolus autem contestatus fuit, ut debuit, quod mundus[27] sit[28] a sangwine omnium[29] illorum[30] propter duo,[31] primo, quia annunciavit[32] fideliter ex integro consilium dei ipsis, secundo, quia non fuit ipsis[33] in bonis corporalibus onerosus.

Cum ergo[34] fratres in utroque istorum agunt[35] oppositum, quis negaret, quin[36] spiritus sanctus hic de hiis fratribus loquitur indirecte. Scio, inquit,[d] quoniam intrabunt post discessionem[37] meam lupi rapaces in vos, non parcentes gregi. Cum, inquam,[38] spiritus sanctus[39] istud futurum satis clare cognovit de fratribus, quo spiritu fidelis[40] negaret[41] ipsum notificare[42] hoc suo apostolo[43] de hiis

[b] *i. e. St. Paul* [c] *Act. 20, 25* [d] *Act. 20, 29*

[22] loquitur *CDFGαγ* loquatur *E* [23] dupliciter *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [24] suis apostolis et reprobative *CDGαγ* suis apostolis Paulus imprimis spiritum suum propheticum. ego, inquit, scio quia et reprobative *EF* *in D in mar.:* Deus dupliciter loquitur de homine in scriptura *D*[3] [25] Paulus imprimis spir. — amplius non *CDGαγ* Paulus amplius non *EF* [26] protestacio *CDGαγ* pro testamento *(!) EF* [27] quod mundus *CDGαγ* esse mundus *E* ex mundus *F* [28] sit *CDGαγ* sic *EF* [29] omnium *CDEFGγ* *om. α* [30] illorum *CDEFGα* istorum *γ* [31] *in D is add. in mar.:* Apostolus contestatus fuit, ut debuit, quod mundus sit a sangwine omnium illorum *D*[1] [32] anunceiavit *CDFGαγ* anunciat *E* [33] ipsis *CDEGαγ* *om. F* [34] ergo *CDEGαγ* igitur *F* [35] agunt *CDEFαγ* agant *G* [36] quin *CDFGαγ*, *E*[2] *in mar.* quium *(!) E* [37] discess. *CDEGαγ* decess. *F* [38] inquam *CDFGαγ*, *E in mar.* in quam *E* [39] *in γ, before* sanctus, *an illegible correction* [40] fidelis *CDEGαγ* fidele *F* [41] negaret *CEFGαγ* negare *D* [42] notificare *CDEFαγ* *om. G* [43] apostolo *CDFGαγ* populo *E*

sectis, cum ille[44] magis inter homines ad dampnum ecclesie faciunt oppositum verbis Pauli. Sunt autem propter hanc causam duplicem rei sangwinis plebis, quam visitant, sicut particulariter[45] patet de[46] nostro exercitu, qui in ista cruciata[47] exivit Angliam.[e] Subterfugerunt[48] enim dicere huic populo veritatem catholicam in hac parte. Et cum multi eorum sunt mortui, ut probabiliter creditur, in ista perfidia, ex isto consensu fratrum[f] proditorio manifestum[49] videtur, quod non mundi sunt a sangwine eorum, cum iuxta dicta communia de consensu,[g] qui emendare[50] potest et negligit, absque dubio delicti participem se constituit. Fratres autem in ista materia nedum dicere veritatem fidei vecorditer differebant,[51] sed per multas hereses ad istam pugnam proditorie hortabantur.[h] —

Quis igitur foret reus sangwinis utriusque[52] partis populi, si non illi, et eo dampnabilius, quo participant lucro furato[53] tam in

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[e] *The crusade of Bishop Spenser of Norwich to Flanders against the adherents of Clement VII, the antipope, began in May 1383 and came to an end in the beginning of Oct.* [f] *The mendicants, in particular, had embraced the cause of Pope Urban VI and encouraged the crusade in sermons. In different places W. makes this a particular reproach to them, cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 491, Lechler, J. v. W. I, 706. Also Walsingham, Hist. Angl. II, 95: Religiosi cuiuslibet sectae, petita licentia, licet non obtenta, illud iter arripere praesumpserunt in magnum personarum suarum dedecus et detrimentum; cp. also the privileges of the bishop respect. the crusade ibid. II, 78, Wilkins, Conc. III, 177, Knighton in Twysden's X Script. 2671* [g] *A Versus memorialis known in the Middle Ages, on the six kinds of assent, runs as follows:*

Consentit cooperans, defendens, consilium dans
Ac auctorisans, non iuvans nec reprehendens

cp. cod. C fol. 145ᵇ, also cod. D fol. 166ᶜ and cod. H fol. 84ᵇ [h] *The mendicants, by the pressure of the confessional, by threats of*

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[44] ille *CDGαγ* illi *EF* [45] particulariter *CDGαγ* pertinenter *EF* [46] de *CDEFαγ* ex *G* [47] ista cruciata *CDGαγ* isto cruciatu *EF* [48] subterfugerunt *CDGαγ* subterfugiunt *EF* [49] manifestum *CDEGαγ* malum *F* [50] emendare *CDEGαγ* enim dare *F* [51] vecor. differebant *G,αC, but here by α[1] (resp. C[1] ?) above the* i *in* diff. *an* e *is add.* vec. defferebant *D* vec. deserebant *γ* deferebant vecorditer *EF* [52] utriusque *CDGαγ* in utriusque *EF* [53] furato *CDEGαγ* servato *F*

Anglia quam eciam[54] extra illam.[55] — Et sic totum[56] dictum apostoli de lupis rapacibus verificatur dampnabiliter[57] de hiis[58] sectis. Non enim parcunt ovibus transmarinis[i] vel cismarinis vel pugnatoribus, quoad corpus | vel[59] animam, sed consensu multiplici perpetrant istam culpam. *C fol. 20b*

Et cum apostolus doceat, quod non debet esse populo onerosus,[60] sed vivere laboricio manuali,[61] quod fratres fugiunt ut venenum, patet, quod multiplicius culpa eorum gravatur in ficticia huius pugne. Quodsi in personis propriis ipsam aggrediuntur horrendum facinus committendo, tunc sunt meridiani lupi rapaces, et iste textus fidei[k] verbis huius apostoli excellit regulas omnium harum sectarum noviter introductas.[62] Non enim indiget hec regula confirmacione papali,[63] nec racione patronorum culpabilium est suscepta.[64] Probat autem apostolus hanc regulam per hoc, quod dominus Iesus Cristus dixit,[l] quod[65] beacius est magis dare,[66] quam accipere.[67] Secte autem iste[68] affirmant oppositum ex[69] mendicacione ficta de dominio[70] in blasphemo mendacio se fundantes.[71] Condicionem ergo[72]

church penances etc., made the greatest exertions to enlist as many soldiers of the cross as possible, cp. Wilkins, Conc. III, 176 ff. In England the prelates with their followers worked very hard for this purpose. For a more accurate account of the papal and, more especially, of the episcopal agitation cp. Walsingham, Hist. Angl. II, 72 ff. [i] *W. has in view the crusaders in Flanders* [k] *cp. above cap. II in the beginning, Act. 20, 25—34* [l] *Act. 20, 35*

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[54] eciam *CDGαγ om. EF* [55] illam *CEF* ipsam *DGαγ* [56] totum *CDEFGα* tota *γ* [57] dampnabiliter *CDGαγ* dampnatur *EF* [58] hiis *CDFGαγ, E² in mar.* suis *(?) E* [59] vel *CDEGαγ* et *F* [60] Et cum ap. doceat — onerosus *Cαγ, in C written above the line (by the texthand):* Et cum apostolum deceat non esse populo onerosum, *the same add. in α in mar. by α¹* et cum apostolum deceat populo non esse onerosum *E* et c. ap. dec. non e. p. on. *DFG* [61] laboricio manuali *CDGαγ* labori conmanuali *EF* [62] introductas *CDFGα* introductarum *Eγ* [63] papali *CDFGαγ* populi *E* [64] suscepta *DEFGγ,α¹ C¹ (?) in mar.* suspecta *α,C (cr. out)* [65] quod *CDEFGα om. γ* [66] bea. e. ma. da. *CDGαγ* ma. be. e. da. *EF* [67] *in D above the col. is added with mark of ref.:* Beacius est magis dare quam accipere *D¹* [68] iste *CDFGαγ om. E* [69] ex *CDFGαγ* quis negaret *(cr. out & ud.)* ex *E* [70] dominio *E* domino *CDFGγ, α, but by α¹ corr. into* dominio [71] mend. se fund. *CDFGαγ* mendiciose fundamento *E* [72] ergo *CDGαγ* igitur *EF*

dandi laudabilem acceptarent, si darent copiose doctrinam fidei in hac parte et non[73] forent populo elemosinanti nec ipsis pugnatoribus onerosi. Nec dubium, quin talis rapina per ficta mendacia et signa subdola excedit violentam rapinam demonii meridiani, cum sic rapit fidem ab anima et non solum argentum, aurum aut[74] vestes, sed cum in[75] hiis habundant[76] fratres et plebs pro se et suis familiaribus tantum egent,[77] patet, quam[78] impia est ista rapina wlpina et vite ac verbis apostolorum contraria.

Ideo[79] secundum consilium Pauli fideles debent esse memores, quoniam[80] beacius est magis[81] dare quam accipere, et ad imitacionem Cristi dare largiter et gratis doctrinam spiritualem et iterum de parca[82] et pauca corporali elemosina quando est necesse accipere,[83] contentari.

Istam ergo doctrinam, quam Paulus de Cristo acceperat, iste secte implerent in opere, cum sit pocior quam omnes sue regule noviter introducte.[84]

CAP. III.

Restat videre ulterius, quid secundum fidem scripture dicendum est[1] de hiis sectis.

Et primo videndum est, quid descriptive[2] sit secta.[3] Dicitur autem communiter, quod secta sit multitudo hominum unum patronum sequencium, unam regulam admittencium.[a] Sic[4] secta cristia-

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CAP. III. [a] *cp. a similar definition of* secta *in the Tract. de Pseudo-freris, ed. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 301: it semeþ to many men þat*

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[73] et non *CDEFGγ* nec *α* [74] aut *CDEFGγ* et *α* [75] in *CDFGαγ* *om. E* [76] habundant *CEFGαγ* habundat *D* [77] egent *CDEFG,γ, before* eg. *a correct.* egeret *(?) α* [78] quam *CDEGαγ* quod F [79] ideo *CDFGαγ*, *E¹ in mar. (?* idem*)* non *(cr. out) E* [80] quoniam *CDGα* quomodo *EE* quam *γ* [81] magis *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [82] parca *CDEGαγ* pauca *F* [83] accipere *CDEFGα* *om. γ* [84] intr. cap. 3m *C* intr. etc. *D* intr. etc. sequitur *E* intr. cap. secundum *F* intr. *Gαγ*

CAP. III. [1] est *DFGαγ* *om. CE* [2] descriptive *CDFGαγ* de scripture *E* [3] *in D is add. in mar.:* Secta quid sit *D¹* *in G in mar.:* Secta quid et Cristi secta oppositum *G¹* *in F in mar.:* Nota [4] sic *CEF* et sic *DGαγ*

norum debet includere singulos viatores. Quod autem ista sit secta, patet Act. 28:[b] nam de secta hac notum est nobis, quod ubique ei contradicitur. Et cum secta a 'sequor' dicitur, patet, quod cuncti fideles debent esse de secta cristiana,[c] ut dicitur Act. 11.[5d] Patronus autem huius secte est dominus Iesus Cristus, et regula sua est fides catholica, scilicet lex ewangelica. Et patet, quod ista[6] secta nulla melior vel generalior potest esse. Nam patronus est deus et homo Iesus Cristus, et regula est lex dei,[e] que generaliter cuilibet homini[7] debet competere.

Et videtur, quod nulle private secte preter sectam istam communem[8] sunt a domino approbate. Ista enim secta est per se sufficiens cuilibet cristiano. Ad quid ergo[9] oportet novam divisionem introducere sine causa?[f] Unde videtur quemcumque,[10] qui nove secte[11] obligatur, innuere, quod[12] privatum patronum suum inordinate diligit, contempnendo[13] sectam domini Iesu[14] Cristi. Et hinc[15] *C fol. 21a* apostolus I Cor. 1[g] sic loquitur: gracias ago || deo,[16] quod neminem vestrum baptizavi nisi Crispum et[17] Gaium, ne[18] quis dicat, quod in nomine meo baptizati estis. Et necessitat racio sectarum huiusmodi private diligere suum patronum et ordinem[19], cum aliter superflueret talis secta et sic foret personarum accepcio et[20] secte Cristi discors diminucio,[21] quam divisionem[22] necesse est peccatum sapere. Unde I Cor. 3:[h] cum enim inter vos sit zelus et contencio,[23] nonne

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a secte is a newe ordre bi newe patroun & newe lawe, as was þe secte of cristen men etc. [b] *v. 22* [c] *cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 301* [d] *v. 1 ff.; 18; 20* [e] *cp. for inst. also Arnold, S. E. W. I, 28* [f] *cp. below De 7 Donis Spir. Sa. cap. IX* [g] *v. 14* [h] *v. 3—5*

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[5] 11 *CDGαγ* 2 *EF* [6] ista *CDGαγ* illa *EF* [7] homini *CDEFGα* fideli *γ* [8] pre. s. i. c. *CDFGγ* pre. i. s. c. *E* pre. c. i. s. *α* [9] ergo *CEF* igitur *DGαγ* [10] quemcunque *CGαγ* quod quicunque *EF* quod quemcunque *D* [11] secte *CDFGαγ* secta *E, above the* a *an* e *is corr.* [12] *from here the copier of E has put over the full* quod *of the text another* quod *in the usual abbreviation* [13] contempnendo *CDGαγ* contempnens *EF* [14] Iesu *CDFGαγ* nostri Iesu *E* [15] et hinc *CDFGαγ* *om. E* [16] deo *CDGαγ* domino *EF* [17] Crispum et *CDFGαγ*, *E² in mar.* *om. E* [18] ne *CDFGαγ* spiritu et gracia *(ud.)* ne *E* [19] ordinem *CDEFGγ* ordine *α* [20] et *CDGαγ* eciam *EF* [21] diminucio *CDEFGγ* divinucio *α* [22] divisionem *CDEGαγ* derisionem *(!) F* [23] cum en. i. v. s. ze. et con. *CDGαγ* cum s. ze. et con. i. v. *E* cum s. i. v. ze. et con. *F*

vos[24] carnales estis et secundum hominem ambulatis?[25] Cum enim quis dicit: ego sum Pauli, alius autem:[26] ego sum Apollo, nonne homines estis et seq. Itaque neque qui plantat, est aliquid,[27] neque qui rigat, sed qui incrementum dat, deus. Ubi manifestum est, Paulum sectas tales comtempnere et in unam sectam Cristi et dei velle omnes fideles reducere.

Similiter in istis privatis sectis manifestum est esse contenciones et invidias et preponderanciam in amore[28] rei,[29] quam deus minus diligit, quod necesse est a voluntate domini discordare. Quis, rogo, privati ordinis plus diligit meliorem de secta alia, quam personam accipiens fratrem proprium diligit minus bonum. Et sic de invidia[30] sectarum, de bonitate patronorum et regularum, que secte in amore communiter male librant. Unde ad Gal. 5[i] scribit apostolus: manifesta autem sunt opera carnis, que sunt fornicacio, immundicia, impudicicia, luxuria, ydolorum servitus, veneficia,[31] inimicicie, contenciones, emulaciones, ire, rixe, dissensiones, secte, invidie, homicidia, ebrietates, commessaciones[32] et hiis similia, que predico vobis, sicut predixi,[33] quoniam[34] qui talia agunt, regnum dei non consecuntur.[35]

Unde notum est ponderanti fideliter verba apostoli, quod spiritus sanctus connumerando[36] sic pertinenter sectas cum viciis aliis[37] intendit, quod secte ille et illa vicia sunt connexa.[38] Quis, rogo, colligendo totam affeccionem et sollicitudinem,[39] quas habet in istis privatis sectis in unicam sectam domini Iesu[40] Cristi, non diligeret

[i] *v. 19—21*

[24] vos *CDGα* *om. EF* adhuc *γ* [25] ambulatis *CDEFαγ* ambulantis *G* [26] autem *CDGαγ* *om. EF.* [27] aliquid *CDFGαγ* aliud *(?) E* [28] amore *CDEGαγ* amorem *F* [29] rei *DFGαγ* dei *(cr. out)* rei *C* dei *E* [30] invidia *DEFG* minucia, *above it* invidia *C* inimicicia *γ, α, but in mar.* invidia *α'* [31] veneficia *Cαγ* veneficicia *DG* veneficicio *EF* [32] comessaciones *Cαγ* conmessaciones *DEG* conmenssaciones *F* [33] predixi *CDEFGα* predico *γ* [34] quon. *CEFγ* vobis quon. *DGα* [35] consequuntur *CEFγ* consequentur *DGα* [36] connumerando *CDEGα* conmeriando *(?) F* connurvando *(?) γ* [37] vic. al. *CDGαγ* al. vic. *EF* [38] conexa *CDGγ* connexe *EFα* [39] sollicitudinem *CDEGαγ* solitudinem *F* [40] Ie. *CDFGαγ* nostri Ie. *E*

ipsum sincerius et ministraret perfeccius, cum virtus finita et[41] unita sit forcior se dispersa?[42]

Tales evidencie movent fideles ad arguendum durius istas sectas. Et concordat experiencia, quod non ex institucione[43] vel auctoritate domini[44] fuerant introducte, sed in fine temporum, quando affecciones hominum[45] fuerant inordinate. Et post creverunt in ecclesia dissensiones et multe peccati malicie. Omnes autem patroni privati,[46] quoad sanctitatem et regulas sui ordinis cum sint[47] extra fidem scripture, inter alia mala,[48] que faciunt, inducunt sua apocrifa in sectis propriis tamquam fidem.

Ideo non simus solliciti de canonizacione eorum in ecclesia triumphante. Potest enim esse, quod dicti patroni de[49] reatu, in quem[50] sic inciderant, fructuose postmodum penitebant. Sed quid prodest circa talia infructuosa contendere?

Et ex isto patenter colligitur, quod licet unus fidelis habeat in sua persona consuetudinem approbandam et[51] multi alii[52] ipsum secuntur,[53] sed non cum illa consuetudine desponsantur, non indu-
|| *C fol. 21b* cunt propterea novam sectam, || verum tamen talem sectam[54] concomitatur communiter[55] amor indebitus.

Ex istis ultra colligitur, quod sive Benedictus, sive Dominicus, sive Franciscus vel quivis alius novam sectam supra cristianam collegerit,[56] non in hoc est[57] laudandus nec persona ipsum sequens sectaliter, sed[58] culpanda, et multo magis secte fingentes false se habere patronos vel extravagantes superflue sine illis, ut de[59] Augustinensibus et Carmelitis supponitur.[k]

Ex[60] istis infertur tercio, quod nimis ceca foret ista argucia:

[k] *With ref. to the preceding passage cp. Trial. 361—62*

[41] et *CE* *om. DFGαγ* [42] dispersa *CDEGγ* disparsa *Fα* [43] institucione *CDEGαγ* instincione *F* [44] domini *CDEFαγ* *om. G* [45] hominum *CDEFGα* temporum *γ* [46] privati *CDGαγ* predicti *EF* [47] sint *DGαγ* sit *CEF* [48] mala *CDFGαγ* mola *E* [49] de *CDEFGα* in *γ* [50] in quem *DGαγ* quem *CF* quem *(the* m *cr. out & ad.) E* [51] et *CDGαγ* eciam *EF* [52] alii *CDEGαγ* ante *F* [53] secuntur *CEF* sequantur *DGαγ* [54] sectam *CDGαγ* consuetudinem *EF* [55] communiter *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [56] collegerit *CDFGαγ* colligerit *E* [57] est *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [58] sectaliter sed *CDGαγ* sed *F* est *E* [59] de *DEFGαγ* *om. C, but added in mar.* [60] ex *CDEF* et ex *Gαγ*

Ista secta habet in sua regula multa sancta[61] et facit multa opera laude digna, ergo est ab ecclesia approbanda et a posteris amplexanda. Sic enim forent multi homines de omnibus privatis ordinibus, cum multis desit racio, quare acceptarent unum privatum ordinem et non tunc[62] quemcunque eo,[63] quod spiritus sanctus non moveat ad[64] quemcunque, vel si moveat, huius fundacio requiratur, cum certum sit multos[65] in hiis sectis facere multa bona de genere et multa mala, et specialiter, quod seminando discordias cum scriptis et aliis ritibus onerant[66] ecclesiam Iesu Cristi. Sic[67] eciam coniuratores[68] nominant multa nomina sancta[69] dei, et sic secta Machometi includit et approbat multa dicta[70] utriusque testamenti.[l]

Oportet igitur[71] notare, quod fides dei sincere[72] a secta fidelium acceptetur[73] et in libertate, quam Cristus instituit, conservetur.

CAP. IV.[1]

Restat videndum ulterius,[2] quid moveat hos ordines post sectam liberam domini[3] Iesu Cristi adeo variare.

Constat quidem ex principiis fidei, quod deus noster nec[4] fecit nec facere potuit aliquid nisi probabili racione.[a] Ex hoc enim odiendo vacuum implevit analogum entis per substanciam creatam et accidens cum ente racionis, quod mediat inter ista. Et sic de

[l] *þe secte of macamethe takiþ meche of cristis secte, but it varieþ in som rewele & in cloþis & in patroun etc. cp. Tract. de Pseudo-freris ed. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 301 & below Purgat., cod. Ashb. fol. 53[b]*

CAP. IV. [a] *Nec deus posset quidquam producere, nisi ipsum intelligeret etc. Trial. 62*

[61] sancta *CEFGγ* facta *Dα* [62] tunc *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [63] *before* eo *in G the words* vel si moveat *have been erased, a blank is left* [64] ad *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [65] multos *CDEGγ,α (here corr. & not clear)* *om. F* [66] onerant *CDEGαγ* ornant *(cr. out & ud.) F* honerant *F[1] in mar.* [67] sic *CDGαγ* et sic *EF* [68] coniuratores *CDEGαγ* cominicatores *(cr. out) F, but* coniuratores *F[1] in mar.* [69] sancta *CDEFαγ* *om. G* [70] dicta *DGαγ* dicti *CEF* [71] igitur *CDGαγ* ergo *EF* [72] sincere *CDGαγ* sinceri *EF* [73] acceptetur *CDFGαγ* accepture *E*

CAP. IV. [1] cap. 4um *CDEα* cap. 3um *F* *om. G* [2] ulterius *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [3] domini *CDFGαγ* *om. E* [4] nec *CDEFGα* non *γ*

omni genere, usque ad speciem specialissimam[5] et de individuis, que ipsa[6] participant[7], quo[8] usque tota creata universitas ad suam perfeccionem ultimam in die iudicii sit redacta. Sicut enim deus[9] est plenus ydeis, sic oportet, quod nulla illarum[10] sit superflua sine causa. Et cum isti ordines ad sequendum Cristum in moribus et ad acuendum alios ad hoc ordinentur, mirandum videtur, quomodo habitus et ritus sensibiles pertinent ad hunc finem.

Videtur enim, quod religio Cristi cum secta sua in apostolis et[11] martiribus et aliis fidelibus ipsum sequens[12] sufficiat[13] ad totam cristianam regulam observandam.[14] Nec videtur, quod variacio habituum in colore et figura habeat probabilem racionem nisi ad prenosticandum[15] eos esse de generacione adultera, que talia signa querit.

Unde dubitatur communiter,[16] quare iste secte quatuor[b] fratrum[17] in hiis signis sensibilibus adeo variantur.

Videtur enim,[18] quod una earum[19] sufficiat, ymo superfluit per adulterinam desponsacionem cum hiis signis sensibilibus ultra libertatem ordinis, quem instituit Iesus[20] Cristus.[c] Nam ille ordo suffecit[21] complecius perficere totum, quod cristianus ordo requirit, quam sufficiunt isti ordines noviter introducti. Quare ergo non sunt superflui et[22] a patre mendacii adinventi.[23]

C fol. 22a Unde videtur sectis[24] | istis difficile fingere[25] racionem probabi-

[b] *W. has in view the Mendicant Orders, the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustines, Carmelites.* [c] *cp. on the abuses of the signa Trial.* 284

[5] specialissimam *CDFαγ* substancialem *(?) E* *om. G* [6] ipsa *Dαγ* papa *CE* *om. FG* [7] participant *α* participat *CDEγ* et de ind. — partic. *om. F* [8] ad spec. spec. — quo *om. G* [9] deus *CDFGαγ* *om. E, but corr. by* E^2 *into the text* [10] illarum *CDGαγ* earum *EF* [11] et *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [12] sequens *CDGαγ* sequentibus *EF* [13] *in D is add. in mar.:* Religio Cristi sufficiens D^1 [14] observandam *CDEFGα* observandum *γ* [15] prenost. *CDGγ* pronost. *EFα* [16] communiter *CDEFGγ*, consequenter *α*, *above it in text* communiter $α^1$ [17] fratrum *CDGαγ* *om. F, in E there was in this place a correct., but it is now erased* [18] vid. en. *CDEGαγ* et vid. *F* [19] earum *CDEGαγ* eorum *F* [20] Ies. *CDFGαγ* dominus Ies. *E* [21] suffecit *CDGαγ* sufficit *EF* [22] et *CDEFGα* *om. γ* [23] adinventi *CDEGαγ* inventi *F* [24] *below col.* 21^b *in C is add.:* Nota istud capitulum de habitibus monachorum C^2, *above col.* 22^a *near the border of the leaf, half cut away by the binder:* Nota de habitibus monachorum, quare nigrum colorem vel album portant *(texthand?)* [25] fingere *DEFGγ* fugere *C (above it corr. by another hand* *(*C^1*?)* fingere*)*, *α*, *but in mar.* fingere $α^1$

lem istorum ordinum, et quare in colore et figura taliter[26] variantur.[27] Deridenda[28] quidem est ista ficticia, quod nigredo dolorem de peccatis significet, albedo cordis mundiciam et russetum[29] laborem assiduum in ecclesia militante,[d] quia certum est, quod isti colores sunt impertinentes istis habitibus, nisi[30] forte dicant mendaciter homines sic habituatos, ubi secundum religionem cristianam non ypocriticam tales mentis habitus et sua opera debent fieri abscondite[31] ab hiis signis cum Matth. *(6)*[32][e] mandat Cristus: cum facis elemosinam, nesciat sinistra tua, quid faciat dextra tua, ut sit elemosina tua in abscondito.[33] Unde nonnisi in[34] variacione vestimentorum Cristi[f] in sancto[35] parasceue[36] fundatur ista ficticia introducta. Cristus enim ordinavit non sine causa notabili, quod indumenta sua eadem[37] die tripliciter varientur.[38] Habuit enim primo vestimenta communia,[39] ut tunicam inconsutilem[40] indubie non superfluam[41] in figura, ut patet Ioh. 19.[g] Habuit secundo vestem albam, quam[42] ordinavit Herodes[43] ipsum induere, ut patet Luc. 23.[h] Et habuit tercio vestem purpuream celantem[44] corporis passionem, ut patet Ioh. 19 cap.[45][i]

Cur igitur[46] abhorrent fratres sine causa eodem die sic[47] in ha-

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[d] *Albus color figurat in illis, quod sua conversatio est in coelis, nigredo autem dolorem continuum pro peccatis, et quod nos appetitus mortificaverant bestiales; russetum vero significat laborem suum in illis duabus virtutibus absconditum, ne sint hypocritae, Suppl. Trial.* 435 [e] *v. 3* [f] *cp. Tract. de Pseudo-freris ed. Matthew, E. W. h. u.* 302 *W. has in view the events of Good Friday* [g] *v.* 23 [h] *v.* 11 [i] *v.* 2

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[26] taliter *CDFGαγ* *om. E* [27] *in D is add. in mar.:* Variantur in colore et figura *D¹* [28] deridenda *CDFGαγ* ita *(cr. out & ud., there is a mark of ref., but in mar. no word corresponding to it)* deridenda *E* [29] russetum *DGγ* ruffetum *EF* russetum *C, but in mar.* rosetum *(C¹?)* rosetum *α, but above it* russetum *α¹* [30] nisi *DEFGαγ, C¹ in mar.* cum *(ud.) C* [31] abscondite *CDFGαγ* absconditа *E* [32] *all codd. read* 5 [33] abscondito *CEFGα* absconditis *D* *om. γ* [34] sinistra tua quid — in *CDEFGα* sinistra tua in *γ* [35] sancto *CDEFGγ* facto *α* [36] parasceue *DF(?)Gαγ* parasteno *C* parastene *E, in mar. with mark of ref.:* fes *(sic)* [37] eadem *CDGγ* eodem *EFα* [38] varientur *CDGαγ* variantur *EF* [39] *in D is add. in mar.:* Vestimenta Cristus habuit communia *D¹* [40] inconsutilem *CDFGαγ* inconsutrilem *E* [41] superfluam *CEFGαγ* superbiam *D* [42] quam *CEF* qua *DGαγ* [43] herodes *CEFGαγ* herodem *D* [44] celantem *CDEFGα* *om. γ* [45] cap. *CEF* *om. DGαγ* [46] igitur *CDFGαγ* ergo *E* [47] sic *CDEFγ* *om. α*

bitu variari? Numquid potestatis eorum est ponere supernaturalem virtutem[48] minimis in istis habitibus sicut fingunt? Nec aliter desponsacio vel[49] obligacio ad istos habitus a signis generacionis adultere excusatur.

Quod autem sua capucia sunt sic lata, ut continent[50] multa mendacia et tota superfluitas vestium sit tamquam pixis[51] literarum mendacii, est verbum ludicrosum et populo communi onerosum. sicut ludicrosum est, ponere consecratam hostiam colorem vel figuram propter istam ficticiam[k] introductam. Cum ergo[52] Paulus sepe sentenciat, quod sacerdotes Cristi non debent esse[53] populo onerosi, et manifestum sit, quod omnes hee secte vivunt de populo, et sacerdotes antiqui debent sufficere pro omni spirituali ministerio inecclesia militante, manifestum est, quod omnes hee secte de tanto superfluunt.

Calculant autem[54] speculatores discreti supponendo, quod sint quatuor milia fratrum in Anglia[55], et quod quilibet eorum vel uno iuvante reliquum annuatim expendunt[56] de Anglia centum solidos[l] et tantum in edificiis vel aliis sumptibus[57] extraordinariis, quod habent de regno Anglie quadraginta[58] milia librarum annuatim.[m]

Sed quis dubitat, quin iste secte nove sint graves tunc regno Anglie et specialiter pauperibus Cristi onerose?

Et quantum ad fructus, quos faciunt, patet, quod tales illatores noviter introducti defraudant a veritate ewangelica, quam Cristus instituit, et sic sacerdotes et curatos faciunt de suo officio ociari. Et istud dampnum cum aliis est maius quam totum dampnum predictum, quo spoliant regnum nostrum.

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[k] *i. e. the transsubstantiation since Paschasius Radbertus* [l] *10 sol. = 1 £; a £ 'formerly in circulation is* $^2/_3$ *of a pound' (= 13 sh. 4 d.), cp. Rees, Cycl. (Amer. Ed.) XXIII; cp. also below p. 103 not. n* [m] *cp. on the preced. passage Trial. 369, De tripl. Vinc. Am. cap. IX*

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[48] sup. virt. *CDFGαγ* supernaturale *E* [49] vel *CEFGαγ* sive *D* *with* sive *in D col. 123[d] begins, above it:* Capucia *D[3]* [50] continent *CEF* contineant *DGαγ* *in C is add. in mar.:* Quare monachi habeant capucia latas seu capas latas *C[2]* [51] pixis *CDFGαγ* vestium *(cr. out & ad.)* pixis *E* [52] ergo *CDGαγ* igitur *EF* [53] esse *CDEFGγ,α[1] in mar.* *om. α* [54] autem *CDEGαγ* enim *F* [55] quod sint q. m. f. i. A. *CDEFGα* quod s. f. i. A. q. m. *γ* *in C is add. in mar.:* Quot sunt fratres in Anglia *C[4]* [56] expendunt *CE* expendit *DFGαγ* [57] solidos et — sumptibus *CDEGαγ* solidos vel aliis sumpt. *F*, *in mar.* exceptis [58] 40[a] *CDEFαγ* 4[or] *G*

Et erubescerent hee secte sic onerare regna, que sic incolunt,[a] nisi sciverint[59] patente[60] et notanda racione ostendere, quare necesse[61] fuit ipsas tunc || ad edificacionem ecclesie introduci. Si enim nulla *C fol. 29b* sit causa huius, tunc sunt omnino superflue et delende, cum sacerdotes et omnes secte novelle fingunt pro sua fundacione aliquam racionem.[62]

Nec valent puerorum ludicra in hac parte, quod fratres isti in edificiis et arte mendacii multum prosunt. Et cum ante induccionem horum fratrum longe plus prosperata[63] fuit ecclesia, videtur subtili examinatori difficile, assignare[64] clara[65] media, quare deum necesse fuit introducere istas sectas, quia si[66] sine causa introducte fuerint,[67] patens est,[68] quod sunt peiores quam sacerdotes Baal[69] vel pseudoprophete, quia sacerdotes dei mali, superflui, non causantis.[70]

CAP. V.[1]

Restat transcurrendum ulterius[2] per dicta legis gracie, si aliqua laudabilia de istis sectis in ea poterint[3] inveniri.

Et primo occurrit illud II[4] Pet. 2:[a] fuerunt vero et pseudoprophete in populo, sicut et in vobis erunt magistri mendaces, qui introducent sectas perdicionis et eum, qui emit[5] eos, dominum[6] negant, superducentes[7] sibi celerem[8] perdicionem; et multi sequen-

[a] *cp. Trial. 373 ff.; Suppl. Trial. 444*
CAP. V. [a] *v. 1—3*

[59] sciverint *CDFGαγ* sciant *E* [60] patente *CDFGαγ* patenter *E*, *the* r *is add. later* [61] nec. *CDEFαγ* ipsas nec. *G* [62] racionem *CDFGαγ* fundacionem *(cr. out & ud.)* racionem *E* [63] prosperata *CDGαγ* prospera *EF* [64] assignare *in E incorrectly written* [65] clara *CDGα* clare *EFγ* [66] quia si *CDGαγ* qua *E* que *F* [67] fuerint *CDEGαγ* fuerunt *F* [68] pat. est *CDEFGα* patet *γ* [69] baal *CDFGαγ* dei mali superflui *(cr. out & ud.)* baal *E* [70] causantis *CDFGγα* caus. etc. *E*, *there is add.* c[m] 4[m] *by* E^3, *and so at close of each chapt.; this I do not note again*

CAP. V. [1] *in E at the end of the preced. chapt. is add.* c[m] 4[m], *but in mar.* 5 [2] ulterius *CDFGαγ* *om. E* [3] poterint *CDGαγ* poterit *EF* [4] 2[a] *CDEFGγ* prima *α* [5] emit *Eγ* emit vel eruit *DFG* emit *Cα*, *but in mar.* eruit C^1 *(?)* *resp.* $α^1$ [6] dominum *CDGαγ* deum *EF* [7] superducentes *CDEGαγ* superducentem *F* [8] celerem *CDEGαγ* scelerem *F*

tur[9] eorum luxurias, per quos[10] via veritatis blasphemabitur, et in avaricia fictis verbis de vobis negociabuntur. Quibus iudicium iam olim non cessat et perdicio eorum non dormitat.

Quodsi fratres moderni de se ipsis verificant magis verba huius apostolorum principis, quis dubitat, quin de ipsis prophetat, suas sectas et vicia reprobando, cum II Pet. 1[11] scribitur[b]: habemus firmiorem propheticum sermonem, cui bene facitis attendentes,[12] quasi lucerne lucenti in caliginoso loco, donec dies illucescat et lucifer oriatur in cordibus vestris.

Quis ergo[13] fidelis pius auderet[14] dicere, quod spiritus sanctus[15] videns has sectas magis[16] nocere ecclesie[17] celavit illas[18] in Petro et intendebat alias a proposito[19] plus remotas? Unde sequitur in textu eiusdem secundi capituli:[c] novit dominos pios[20] de temptacione eripere, impios vero in diem iudicii reservare[21] cruciandos, magis autem eos, qui post carnem in concupiscencias immundicie ambulant dominacionemque contempnunt,[22] audaces sibi placentes sectas non metuunt introducere blasphemantes.

Ubi manifestum videtur ex[23] vita fratrum, quam manifestant[24] ecclesie,[25] quod Petrus specialiter de hiis[26] loquitur in hoc loco. Nec moveat, quod vocat eos[27] sectas perdicionis, quia sic de secta Machometi[28] concedimus,[29] que vivit hiis sectis penalius tam aquam regulariter[30] bibendo et[31] non vinum sive cerevisiam, quam eciam ritus pannorum[32] regularius atque penalius observando.

[b] *v. 19* [c] *II Petr. 2, 9—10*

[9] sequentur *CEGαγ* secuntur *DF* [10] quos *E* quas *CDFGα* [11] primo *CEFγ* *om. Gα* 2° *D* [12] attendentes *CDEFαγ* accedentes *G* [13] ergo *CEF* igitur *DGαγ* [14] auderet *CDFGαγ* audiret *E, but in mar. au* e *E*[1] [15] sanctus *CDEGαγ* sactus *F (compend. om.)* [16] magis *CDEGαγ* maius *F* [17] ecclesie *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [18] illas *CDGαγ* eas *EF* [19] a proposito *DGαγ* aproposito *(?) CEF* [20] pios *CDEFGγ* pios *α, above it* iustos *(texthand)* [21] reservare *CDEFGα* reservat *γ* [22] *in D in mar. is repeat.:* Dominacionemque contempnunt *D*[1] [23] ex *DGγ* quod *EF* ex *αC, above it* quod *α*[1], *resp. C*[1] *(?) (here again cr. out)* [24] manifestant *CDGαγ* manifestat *EF* [25] ecclesie *CDFGα* ecce *γ* ecclesia *E* [26] hiis *CDFGαγ* eis *E* [27] eos *F, C (ud.), in mar.* eas eas *DEGαγ* [28] Machometi *CDFGαγ* Machometica *E in G is add. in mar.:* Machomet *G*[1] [29] concedimus *CDFGαγ* conceditur *E* [30] regulariter *DEFGγ, C (here repeat. in m.), α*[1] *in mar.* rariter *α* [31] et *CDEFGα* *om. γ* [32] pannorum *CDEFGγ* paganorum *α; as to this matter cp. Lib. vir. eccl. Carnot in Du Cange* V, 62

Ex quo ergo fundamento fidei vel racionis sunt iste secte secte[33] Machometi[34] preferende? Paulus autem[35] ad Gal. 5[d] de hiis sectis loquitur: quoniam, qui talia agunt regnum dei non consequentur;[36] cui conformiter Petrus vocat eas sectas perdicionis, quia de multis eorum est verisimile,[37] quod putant se patrare[38] obsequium deo in suo crimine indurati.[39]

Unde deridenda est hec pape empta confirmacio in hac parte, quia solum in hac parte credenda est racio vel scriptura.

|| In istis tamen protestor,[40] quod nolo in hac fide scripture quid- || *C fol. 23a* quam[41] temere diffinire,[42] sed sive fratres, sive[43] alii sensum alium evidencius fundaverint, humiliter[44] eis consenciam, de quanto probabiliter fundaverint illud,[45] quod dicunt. Sed illucusque[46] nolo[47] forciori evidencie,[48] quam in hac parte habeo, probabiliter consentire.

Negant autem hee secte dominum,[49] qui eos[50] redemit quoad sufficienciam, licet eos[51] non redimerit[52] in effectu, quia sectam suam stulte despiciunt et aliam sectam incertam et ypocriticam[53] sine causa eligunt; que si habeat colorem probabilem, hic est ille, quod signa sensibilia in hiis clamant. Quod sunt popularibus sanctiores, quod tamen vita eorum manifeste indicat esse falsum, patet, ipsos esse ypocritas et stulte obligare se plus quam Iudeos ultra hoc, quod[54] sufficiunt supportare. Nam in levi secta cristiana fuerunt[55] ipsi

[d] *v. 21*

[33] secte *CDGαγ* secta *EF* [34] Machometi *E* machometis *DF* naamet *GCαγ, in C is add. in mar.:* mabuiet, *below this:* macometis *(C³), in α in mar.* mabuiet α¹, *below this:* macometis α² *in γ in mar.:* mabmet, *below this:* macometis γ² *(observe the mutual relation of the correct.)* [35] autem *CDGαγ om. EF* [36] consequentur *DEFGαγ* consequeitur *C (incorr. wr., one stroke want.)* [37] verisimile *CDEFαγ* verificabile *G* [38] patrare *CDEGαγ* prestare *F* [39] indurati *CDEGαγ* obdurati *F* [40] *in D in mar.:* Protestacio *D³* [41] quidquam *CDFGαγ* quidquid *E* [42] diffinire *CDEFGα* difficultare *γ* [43] sive *CDFGαγ, E² in mar. om. E* [44] humiliter *CDFGαγ* humiliter *(cr. out)* humiliter *E* [45] illud *CEF* id *DGγ, α (a corr. word.)* [46] illucusque *CDFGαγ* illudusque *E* [47] nolo *CDGαγ om. EF* [48] evidencie *CDFGαγ* evidencia *E* [49] dominum *CDGαγ* deum *EF* [50] eos *DFGαγ om. CE* [51] eos *CDEGαγ* ipsos *F* [52] *all codd. read* redimerit [53] ypocriticam *CDEGαγ* ypocritam *F* [54] quod *CDFGαγ* quin *(not clear, cr. out) E, add. in mar.* quia *E²* [55] fuerunt *CDFGαγ* fuerint *E*

divino[56] servicio, quantum suffecerant,[57] obligati. Sed in hiis sectis, que illibertant, ad merendum inhabilitant et modis aliis difficultant, non tantum merentur, sicut[58] merentur in secta libera cristiana. Ideo videtur,[59] quod[60] modo ultra quam sufficiunt, se obligant ad merendum. Quis ergo posset excusare eius stulticiam, qui dimittendo sectam plus facilem, plus liberam et[61] evidencius umquam fundabilem, induit novam sectam plus difficilem, plus servilem et infundabilem ac incertam, dum sonuerit in ingratitudinem domino Iesu Cristo? Istam autem artem merendi[62] apostoli non noverunt.[63] Et probabiliter creditur, quod patroni privati in hoc privant se merito et sectas, que in hoc stolide credunt.[64] Quomodo, rogo,[65] excusari poterint apud iudicem[66] veritatis, qui dimittentes ordinacionem[67] sponsi ecclesie adherent hiis sectis putridis et se ipsos[68] multipliciter inhabilitant[69] quoad illam?

Certum est, quod hec est spiritualis fornicacio, blasphemia Cristi reliccio et stulta religionis dyaboli obligacio. Sed nulla talis condicio excusaret. Quis, rogo, magis false negociari potest[70] de subditis, quam faciunt iste secte, ut incipiendo a papa cum suis cardinalibus, nedum coniecturat, quomodo de provinciis habeat primos fructus,[71] sed quomodo literas posset fingere, per quas inter regna foret discordia confirmata[e] et pax pro timore sui commodi perturbata? Sic eciam negociantur cum dominis secularibus[72] secte

[e] *W. very probably has in view the papal bulls etc., which were sent to England on account of the impending crusade; they are printed by Walsingham, Hist. Angl. II, 71 ff., Wilkins, Conc. III, 177 ff. & Knighton in Twysden, X Scr. 2673*

[56] divino *CFGαγ* dominio *DE* [57] suffecerant *CDFGαγ* sufficerat *E* [58] sicut *CDFGαγ* quantum *E* [59] videtur *CDEFGγ* *om. α* [60] quod *Gαγ* *om. CDEF* [61] et *CDFGαγ* *om. E* [62] merendi *CEFGαγ* *om. D* [63] noverunt *D. C, but in mar.:* moverunt *(C³?)* moverunt *E* moverant *F* moverunt, *(above the* m *an* n*) G* noverunt *α*, *(above the* n *an* m*) α¹* noverunt *γ*, *but in mar.:* alias moverunt *γ¹* [64] et sectas — credunt *CDFGαγ* *om. E, but below the col. is add.:* et s. q. i. h. st. cr. *E²* [65] rogo *CEFαγ* ergo *DG* [66] indicem *CDαγ* iudicium *EF* iudicium, *but above* cium *is corr.* cem *G* [67] ordinacionem *CDGαγ* ordinem *EF* [68] ipsos *CDFGαγ* ipsas *E* [69] inhabilitant *DEFGγ* inhabilitabant *C* inhabitabant *α*, *but above* it li *has been add.* [70] potest *CDFαγ* posset *EG* [71] quomodo d. p. h. p. f. *CDEFGα* quomodo h. p. f. de suis subditis *(these 3 words are cr. out)* de prov. *γ* [72] secularibus *CDFGαγ* *om. E*

novorum ordinum possessionatorum,[78] quomodo seducere ipsos poterint de suo seculari dominio[79] vel callide ipsum[80] emere cum[81] pecunia regum, quibus servire debent fideliter. Et tamen in hoc sunt falsarii[82] dominis terrenis et eciam domino Iesu Cristo. Secte[83] autem mendicantes[84] callide negociantur de subditis, cum mediante[85] sua fraude subdola volunt vendere limitatoribus patrias pro stricto[86] precio, sicut quis venderet suo proximo ovem vel bovem. Nec dubium, qui tunc limitator et sui capitanei negociabuntur de illis per media nimis ‖ subdola,[87] quomodo illas patrias spoliabunt. Ideo signanter dicit Petrus,[f] quod iudicium, quo deus ipsos[88] iudicat olim, ante finale iudicium non cessat, sed continue in mente diu[89] perseverat. Et per idem eorum perdicio[90] eterna in divino[91] proposito non dormitat. *C fol. 23b*

Dic tu,[92] si nosti, quis sensus literalior vel pertinencior addi poterit verbis Petri![93]

CAP. VI.

Ulterius restat videre, quid[1] Paulus raptus ad[2] tercium celum loquitur de hiis[3] sectis.

Scribit enim I Tim. 4:[a] spiritus autem manifeste dicit, quia[4] in novissimis temporibus discedent quidam[5] a fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris et doctrinis demoniorum in ypocrisi loquencium mendacium et cauteriatam[6] habencium conscienciam suam, prohiben-

[f] *II Petr. 2, 3*
CAP. VI. [a] *v. 1—4*

[78] possessionatorum *CDGaγ* *om. EF* [79] dominio *CDFGaγ* domino *E* [80] ipsum *CDFGaγ* Cristum *E* [81] cum *CDFGaγ* pro *E* [82] falsarii *CDEFGa* secularii *γ* [83] secte *CDEGaγ* secta *F* [84] mendicantes *CDEGaγ* medicantes *F* [85] mediante *CEFGaγ* mediate *D* [86] pro stricto *CDFGaγ* prostricto *(cr. out) E, but in mar.* pro secreto *E²* [87] subdola *CDEGaγ* subdolo *F* [88] ipsos *CDFGaγ* eos *E* [89] diu *DEFGaγ* dium *C* [90] perdicio *CDEFGa* condicio *γ* [91] divino *CDFGa* dominio *γ* domino *E* [92] tu *CDEFGa* *om. γ* [93] petri *EFGaγ* petri etc. *CD*

CAP. VI. [1] quid *CDEGaγ* quod *F* [2] ad *CDEFGa* usque ad *γ* [3] hiis *CDFGaγ* istis *E* [4] quia *CDEGa* quod *Fγ* [5] quidam *CDFGa* quidem *Eγ* [6] cauteriatam *(clearly so) CDaγ* caucriacam *(?) EF* *om. G*

cium[7] nubere, abstinere a cibis, quos deus creavit ad percipiendum cum graciarum accione fidelibus et hiis, qui cognoverunt veritatem, quia omnis creatura dei bona est et nichil reiciendum est, quod cum graciarum[8] accione percipitur.

Ubi patet, quod Paulus fuit certus de sermone illo[9] prophetico, dum sic dicit: spiritus manifeste dicit, ubi secundum glosam catholicam per spiritum per se dictum spiritum sanctum intelligit. Sic[10] enim ductus est[11] Iesus a spiritu Matth. 4[b], ubi oportet spiritum sanctum intelligere, qui authonomatice[12] est spiritus super omnes.

Et videtur ex textu et opere, quod Paulus intelligit per discedentes a fide personas, que per has sectas frivolas sunt seducte. Credunt[13] enim infideliter,[14] quod hee[15] novelle excedunt in perfeccione omnem antiquam religionem domini Iesu[16] Cristi,[c] quod est indubie contra fidem, cum oportet ex fide concedere, quod Cristus scivit et voluit[17] meliorem religionem[18] statuere, quam omnes hii privati patroni vel secte eos postmodum[19] consequentes.

Unde cum fides[20] sit, quod apostoli sunt sancti[21] in celo et non sic de aliquo huius secte, manifestum est, quod religio, quam Cristus instituit, excedit singulas istas[22] sectas.[d] Nam fides scripture dicit Ioh. 17[e], quomodo Cristus loquitur de suis apostolis: quos dedisti michi, ego custodivi et nemo ex eis[23] periit nisi filius perdicionis. Ubi planum est Cristum asserere nullum[24] illorum apostolorum duodecim dampnatum preter Scarioth. Ex quo cum veris[25] sequitur, quod eorum quilibet suo tempore sit beatus.[26]

[b] *v. 1* [c] *cp. below De Perfeccione Stat. capp. I, III & VI Trialog. 367* [d] *cp. Trial. 354 and 362 ff.* [e] *v. 12*

[7] mendacium et c. h. c. s. prohib. *CDEαγ* mendacium prohibencium *G (observe that once already, cap. IV not. 8, G has ommitted to solve the difficult abbreviation)* mend. et c. h. c. suam *F* (prohib. *om.)* [8] graciarum *CDFGαγ* grarum *E (compend. om.)* [9] illo *CDEF* isto *Gαγ* [10] sic *CDGαγ* sicut *EF* [11] est *CEFGαγ om. D* [12] authonomatice *CDEFG* automatice *αγ* [13] credunt *CEFGαγ* creditur *D* [14] infideliter *CDGαγ* in fide *EF* [15] hee *CDαγ* hee secte *EFG* [16] Iesu *CEFGαγ* nostri Ie. *D* [17] voluit *CDEFγ* noluit *Gα* [18] religionem *CDFGαγ om. E* [19] postmodum *CDFGαγ* postmodo *E* [20] *in D is add. in mar.:* Fides *D*[3] [21] sancti *CDEFGα om. γ* [22] istas *CDGαγ* illas *EF* [23] eis *CEFGαγ* hiis *D* [24] nullum *CEFGαγ* ullerum *D* [25] veris *CDEFGαγ* verus *C*[3] *in mar.* [26] beatus *CDEFGγ om. α*

Sed non est racio tam fortis ex fide per canonizacionem papalem vel bullas novellas, quod eorum[27] aliquis est beatus, cum papa posset in canonizacionibus istis et bullis errare. Non enim[28] est fides catholica, quod hii privati patroni et quicunque fratres in isto bello papali[f] sunt mortui, propterea sunt beati. Sicut igitur hii fratres et sui seducti hic discedunt a fide, sic in multis aliis erroribus, quos inducunt, ut patet de literis fraternitatum[g] et de regulari salvacione[29] hominum et dominarum,[30] que[31] in suo habitu moriuntur,[32h] nec est in facultate nostra recitare nunc omnes hereses, quas hee secte in populo dogmatizant.

Videtur ulterius, quod apostolus vocat eos spiritus erroris[33] atque demonia, quia constat ex fide scripture, quod homines secundum animam et specialiter fingentes ¦ se vivere spiritualiter, vere *C fol. 21a* sunt spiritus iuxta illud Luc. 9[i]: nescitis, cuius spiritus estis?[34] Sed sunt spiritus erroris propter nova dogmata, que seminant contra fidem catholicam. Et per idem intelliguntur[35] magis perversi eorum demonia.[36] Demon enim interpretatur sufficiens iniquitas eorum, et probabiliter convincitur, quod Paulus non intelligit demones in inferno, quia illi demones[37] non sic docent nec sunt sic ypocrite, cau-

[f] *viz. the crusade into Flanders led by Bishop Spenser of Norwich (Summer 1383)* [g] *cp. Trial 349 ff., 367 ff.; Matthew, E. W. h. u. 489 ff.; also De Perfecc. Stat. cap. II* [h] *W. very frequently refers to this superstion of the time which was purposely fostered by the Mendicants, cp. Purgatorium Secte Cristi (cod. Ashburnham fol. 51^b): Et tantam vim virtutis ponunt in suis habitibus, quod sperant, si persona aliqua, vir vel femina, moriatur in ipsis, non dampnabitur ad infernum; also Exposition of Matth. 23 cap. III (cod. Ashb. fol. 72^a): Unde multe sunt hereses in tali malaria introducte, ut quod sint habitus fratrum tam sancti et virtuosi, quod nullus mortuus in istis habitibus dampnabitur ad infernum; also Matthew, E. W. h. u. 316* [i] *v.* 55

[27] eorum *CDEGαγ om. F* [28] enim *CDFGαγ*, *E² in mar. om. E* [29] salvacione *E* salutacione *CDGαγ* sanctitate *F* [30] dominarum *CDEGαγ*, *F¹ in mar.* dominiarum *F* [31] que *in γ corr. from* quo *by the texthand* [32] moriuntur *DEF*, *α (but in mar.:* moliuntur *α¹)*, *C (but in mar.:* moluntur), *γ (but in mar.:* alias involvuntur *γ¹)* moluntur *G*, *but in mar.:* moriuntur *(texthand)* [33] *in D is add. in mar.:* Spiritus erroris *D¹* [34] estis *CDEGαγ* est *F* [35] intelliguntur *DEFGαγ* intelligunt *C* [36] *in C is add. in mar.:* Interpretatio demonis *C³* *in D in mar.:* Demonia *D¹* [37] demones *CDEFGγ*, *α¹ in mar.* homines *α*

teriatam[38] habentes conscienciam, loquentes mendacium[39] et cibaria ac nupcias pro[40] sanctitatis apparencia[41] prohibentes.

Cum ergo fratres sic faciunt per ypocrisim mendacia[42] seminantes, probabile est, quod apostolus hic loquitur de illis malis spiritibus,[43] qui eciam sunt demonia meridiana,[k] ut post loquitur, cum sint[44] tam patenter intrantes cubicula dominarum et tam frontose sine verecundia sua mendacia defendentes.

Quantum ad alia verba apostoli, que secuntur, planum est, quod practizantur[45] a fratribus. Habent enim conscienciam suam[46] arsam fervore cupidinis, cum aliter non putarent se patrare[47] obsequium deo tam anxie pro temporalibus laborando. Et cum multi istarum sectarum habent de secta sua feminas ad ordinem suum noviter introductas, planum est, quod prohibent nubere[l], nimis leviter accipientes verbum apostoli I Cor. 7:[48][m] melius est[49] nubere, quam uri. Quodsi deturpant has feminas, tunc est evidencius, quod apostolus de illis[50] loquitur in hoc loco.

Et quantum ad ciborum abstinenciam, est evidens, quod hee secte eciam supra apostolos a cibis abstinent. Sed unde hoc, nisi propter[51] ypocrisim, ut[52] sint dapiferis onerosi? Si enim fuit in illis licitum aut meritorium, antequam a papa dispensacionem in talibus impetrarunt, per idem hodie est illa abstinencia eque meritoria,[53] cum nunc tantum peccatis carnalibus inclinantur. Cum igitur[54]

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[k] *See similar remark Suppl. Trial. 437; cp. with ref. to the term demon. merid. Ps. 91, 6* [l] *cp. the same idea De Offic. pastor. ed. Lechler 46: Quomodo ergo versi sunt etc. Coniugium secundum Christi legem eis licitum odiunt ut venenum, also Arnold, S. E. W. I, 59, 364; III, 190 and Matthew, E. W. h. u. 100* [m] *v. 9*

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[38] cauteriatam *CDαγ* cautriacam *EF* cauteriacam *G* [39] mendacium *CDEFGα* mendacia *γ* [40] pro *CGαγ* per *DEF* [41] apparencia *CDFGαγ* appncia *E* [42] mendacia *CDEGαγ* mendacium *F* [43] hic loq. d. i. m. s. *CF* loq. h. d. i. m. s. *DEGγ* loq. h. d. m. i. s. *α* [44] sint *CDEFGγ* sunt *α* [45] practizantur *CDEFGα* practisatur *γ* [46] suam *CDFGαγ*, *E² in mar. om. E* [47] patrare *CEFαγ* prestare *DG* [48] 7° *CEαγ* 5° *DF om. G* [49] est *CDFGαγ*, *E² in mar. om. E* [50] illis *CDGαγ* hiis *EF* [51] propter *CDGαγ* per *EF* [52] ut *CEFγ* et ut *DGα* [53] per id. h. e. i. a. e. mer. *CDGαγ* per id. i. a. e. h. e. m. *EF* [54] igitur *CDGαγ* ergo *EF*

ewangelium Luc. 10[n] et Matth. [*10*][55o] mandat[56] apostolis,[57] quod sint edentes et bibentes, que sunt apud suos hospites et ewangelium apostoli[p] probat[58] idem, que sunt iste secte, que tradunt pro[59] regula tam patenter contra ewangelicam paupertatem?

Cum ergo[60] tempus et factum tantum conveniant istis verbis apostoli atque sectis, quis negaret, quin apostolus de illis[61] loquitur specialiter in isto[62] loco? Aliter enim simularet spiritus sanctus in apostolo loqui de personis peccantibus, quorum noticia, ut fugiatur peccatum, ecclesie[63] plus prodesset. Hoc enim est verbum coloracius quam fingere, quod apostolus intelligit istas sectas specialiter, quando cristianos fratres commemorat. Omnes enim cristiani sunt fratres in domino, et istud nomen est ab istis sectis propter ypocrisim usurpatum. Aliter enim per talem imposicionem sophisticam forent secte huiusmodi nimis large. Si autem apostolus intelligit eos per hec verba communia,[64] hoc[65] est, de quanto sunt fideles filii Iesu Cristi, vel de quanto false exhorbitant a regula cristiana. Nam[66] II Cor. 11[67q] apostolus memorando octo pericula, dicit ut maximum in fine, periculum[68] in falsis fratribus. Nec inveniri potest nomen harum sectarum fratrum[69] alibi in fide scripture planius expressatum.

Sed circa tales lites verbales fidelis theologus non contendit nisi[70] forte occasione accepta a discolis.[71]

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[n] *v. 7* [o] *v. 10* [p] *cp. II Thess. 3, 8 ff.;* apostolus, *when unspecified, is generally used by W. to designate Paul* [q] *v. 26: In itineribus saepe, periculis fluminum, periculis latronum, periculis ex genere, periculis ex gentibus, periculis in civitate, periculis in solitudine, periculis in mari, periculis in falsis fratribus*

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[55] 17o *DEF,C² a.R.* 20 *Cαγ,G, but above it* 17 *is corr.* [56] mandat *DEFGαγ* quod sint *(cr. out & ud.)* mandat *C* [57] apostolis *CDGγ* apostolos *EFα* [58] probat *in E is corr.* [59] pro *CDFGαγ, E² in mar.* per *(cr. out & ud.) E* [60] ergo *CEEFGγ om. α* [61] illis *CDEGαγ, F¹ in mar. om. F* [62] isto *CEF* hoc *DGαγ* [63] ecclesie *CDFGαγ* ecclesia *E* [64] communia *CDEFGα om. γ* [65] hoc *CDFGαγ* hec *E* [66] nam *CDGαγ* ut *EF* [67] 11° *CDEGαγ* 2° *F* [68] per. *CDFGαγ* ut per. *E* [69] fratrum *CDEFGα* factum *γ* [70] nisi *CEFα* nec *DGγ* [71] for. occ. acc. a disc. *CDEGα in F at first om., but afterwards filled into the blank space by the texthand* for. occ. sua (sua *cr. out & ud.)* acc. a disc. *γ* [72] discolis *CEFGαγ* discolis etc. *D*

CAP. VII.

Ulterius cum hic sanctus[1] apostolus tantum[2] spiritu splendebat prophetico, videtur pro instruccione ecclesie verbum eius aliud[3] recitandum.

Nam II Tim. 3[4a] sic loquitur: hoc autem scito, quod[5] in novissimis || (C fol. 24b) diebus instabunt tempora periculosa, et erunt homines se ipsos amantes, cupidi, elati, superbi, blasphemi,[6] parentibus non obedientes, ingrati, scelesti, sine affeccione, sine pace, criminatores, incontinentes, immites, sine benignitate, proditores, protervi, tumidi, ceci,[7] voluptatum amatores magis quam dei, habentes quidem speciem[8] pietatis, veritatem[9] autem eius abnegantes; et hos devita. Ex hiis enim sunt, qui penetrant domos viduarum[10] et captivas ducunt mulierculas oneratas peccatis, que ducuntur variis desideriis, semper discentes et numquam ad scienciam veritatis pervenientes. Quemadmodum autem Iannes[11] et Iambres[12] restiterunt[13] Mosi, ita et hii resistunt veritati, homines corrupti, mente reprobi circa fidem. Sed ultra non proficient; insipiencia enim illorum manifesta erit[14] omnibus, sicut et illorum fuit.

Iste autem infamis binarius[b] conventuum potest istis sectis secundum partem suam reprobam applicari. Cum enim tempus[15] sit creatura dei bona, non ex se scelesta, credi debet, quod scelesti, perturbantes pacem per sua crimina, faciunt tempora periculosa.

Iudicet populus, si hii fratres contra caritatem sunt se ipsos

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CAP. VII. [a] *v. 1—9* [b] *W., in order to treat of the preceding passage fully, divides it into two parts, a)* se ipsos amantes — immites, *b)* sine benignitate — *conclusion, cp. cap. VII conclus. p. 41*

CAP. VII. [1] sanctus *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [2] tantum *CDGαγ* tamquam *EF* [3] aliud *CDFGγ* ad *Eα* [4] 3° *DGαγ* 1° *CEF* [5] quod *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [6] blasphemi *CDEFGα* *om. γ* [7] tum. ce. *CDGαγ* invidi *EF* [8] speciem *CDEGαγ* spem *F (compend. om.)* ha. qu. spe. *CDGαγ* ha. spe. qu. *EF* [9] veritatem *CDGαγ* virtutem *EF* [10] viduarum *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [11] iannes *F*, *repeated in mar.* yannes *DEGαγ* yanines *C* [12] mambres *CDEFαγ* manbres *G* [13] restiterunt *CEFGα* restituerunt *Dγ* [14] insipiencia e. i. m. e. *CDFGαγ* insipia e. i. m. e. *E²* *in mar.* *om. E* [15] tempus *CDFGαγ* talis *E*

amantes. Cum enim caritas secundum apostolum I Cor. 13:[c] non querit, que sua sunt, et hii querunt sue monstruose persone tam contra utilitatem publicam bona mundi, videtur, quod[16] ad modum loquendi apostoli fratres isti[17] sunt se ipsos amantes.

Et patet ex sua laboriosa sollicitudine, quantum[18] sunt cupidi. Nam ad spoliandum pauperes regnorum de temporalibus et personis laborant sollicite, domos altas et sumptuosas ad seducendum populum[19] construendo.

Et cum tam false magnificant suos ordines, quod excedunt in spirituali suffragio apostolos Iesu Cristi, patet, quod nimium sunt[20] elati.

Et cum ultra Petrum et alios sanctos apostolos[21] dedignantur corripi quantumlibet[22] sunt[23] scelesti, patet, quod analogice[24] sunt superbi.

Et cum sectas suas tantum magnificant[25] supra Cristum, patet quod sunt blasphemi. Cristus enim noluit[26] habere nisi duodecim apostolos, sed isti audent multos conventus colligere sub uno patrono vel capitaneo notabili peccatore. Quis, rogo, foret, blasphemus si non ille, qui excedit Cristum et non iustificat suum excessum? Nec potest fundari, quod in hoc sit imitator congruus domini Iesu Cristi. Quomodo autem potest fingi, quod fratres furati de parentela paupere, qui debent[27] illos parentes[28] corporaliter sustentare, parentibus illis obediunt, aut quomodo fratres habundantes furata[29] pecunia quantumcunque viderint cristianos egenos, illis de bonis suis superfluis[30] ministrabunt?[31] Ex hoc autem convinci potest, si suis fratri-

[c] *v.* 5

[16] quod *CDFGαγ* quem *E* [17] isti *CDEFGα* *om.* *γ* [18] quantum *CDGαγ* quam *EF* [19] populum *CEFγ* populos *DGα* [20] sunt *CDFGαγ* snt *E* (*compend. om.*) [21] apostolos *CDFGαγ* *om.* *E* [22] quantumlibet *CDGα* quamvis *E*, *F*[1] *in mar.* quamlicet *F* quamlibet *γ* [23] sunt *CDFGαγ* sint *E* [24] analogice *FG* analogice autonomatice *E*, *C*, *but in mar. is add. to* auton. *by* *C*[3] analogice authonomice *Dαγ* [25] magn. *CDEGαγ* modo magn. *F* [26] noluit *E* voluit *CDFGαγ* [27] debent *CDFGαγ* dicunt *E* [28] parentes *CDEGαγ* pauperes *F* [29] furata *CDFGα* furiata *E* servata *γ* [30] superfl. *CDFGαγ* *om.* *E* [31] ministrabunt *CFαγ* monstrabunt *DEG*

bus sint[32] ingrati et si spoliant fraudulenter egenos ad faciendum sibi castella caimitica[33 d] vel laqueos ad dei filios secudendos.

Quis dubitat, quin tunc in opere sint scelesti? Que, rogo, affeccio, si non demoniaca, est in hiis fratribus, qui habent pecuniam superfluam thesaurizatam in corbanam[34] et tamen, quantumcunque fratres proprie secte eguerint,[35] de illo thezauro dyaboli[36] sibi in *C fol. 25a* parte minima[37] || non ministrant?

Aut quomodo foret ille frater pacificus, qui nedum bella procurat, sed ad bella iniusta in persona sua aggreditur et fratres professionis eiusdem propter hoc, quod detegunt scelera sui ordinis, incarcerat et[38] occidit?[e]

Aut quomodo possunt hee secte excusari de criminacione,[39] si fidelibus aliis imponunt heresim, ac si forent meridiana demonia[f] et latrones nocturni dicentes in nocte sui criminis fideli populo, quod stet latro?

Taceo autem de corporali incontinencia, cum sit[40] nota populo. Sed grave videtur fidelibus, quod hee secte per verba adulterina spiritualiter sint cum verbis domini fornicantes. Non, inquit apostolus, sumus sicut plurimi adulterantes verbum domini,[41] sed ex sin-

[d] *An expression peculiar to W. for the convents of the Mendicants. In the Trial. 362 W. shows that in the word Cain (Caim) the names of the 4 orders are contained in acrostics: Alii autem fingunt, quod in Caym fuerunt istae sectae quattuor inchoatae. Et in testimonium istorum, quattuor litterae huius nominis Caim inchoant hos quattuor ordines, secundum ordinem temporis, quo finguntur a fratribus incepisse, ita quod C. Carmelitas, A. Augustinenses, I. Iacobitas et M. Minores significat; cp. Suppl. Trial. 444. In his english writings the term Caymes castels is very often employed to designate the convents of the Friars, cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 129; 211; 420; 425; 448; 449; 478; 508*
[e] *Apparently dictated to W. by his own experience (crusade — persecution of the itinerant preachers)* [f] *cp. cap. VI not. k*

[32] sint *CDFGαγ* sunt *E* [33] caymitica *CDEGα* caimitica *γ* caynica *F in D is add. in mar.:* Caymitica *D*[2] [34] corbanam *CDEαγ* corbana *F* [35] eguerint *CDEFGα* eguerunt *γ* [36] dyaboli *CDEFGα om. γ* [37] min. *CDEF* vel min. *Gαγ in C fol. 24b in the lower right corner* non ministrant aut quomodo *is add. as a catchword by the texthand* [38] et *CDEFGα* vel *γ* [39] criminacione *CDEFGγ* criminacionibus *α* [40] sit *CDFGαγ,E*[2] *in mar. om. E* [41] domini *CEF* dei *DGαγ in D is add. in mar.:* Adulterantes verbum domini *D*[1]

ceritate, sed sicut[42] ex deo, coram deo in[43] Cristo loquimur, II Cor. 2.[g] Numquid credimus, quod fratres statim mendicantes post predicacionem[44] ex sinceritate caritatis predicant verbum dei? Numquid credimus, quod ipsi regulariter ex deo locuntur, qui intendunt apocrifis poematibus, fabulis vel[45] mendaciis auditorio suo placentibus? Illi, inquam, sicut[46] non locuntur ex deo, sed patre mendacii, ita non locuntur coram deo intencione recta, sed coram auditorio, quod volunt pervertere. Nec locuntur in Cristo ad edificacionem ecclesie sue, sed in anticristo volendo membra sua sinistre extendere et ecclesiam Cristi secundum impossibilem volucionem constringere. Et ista spiritualis adulteracio foret in fratribus maxime[47] detestanda, et quia secundum Petri sermonem propheticum istarum sectarum perdicio non dormitat,[48] sed sunt superducentes sibi celerem[49] pęrdicionem, ut dicitur II Pet. 2[h], preter istam duodenam[50][i] et suum priorem tercium decimum adducunt sibi[51] quartum decimum immitem[52] ab[53] apostolo nominatum.

Sunt enim immites primarie[54] sibi ipsis, quia non curant labore anxio tam corpus quam animam perdere de se ipsis, sed aspectu toxico venenant Cristi ecclesiam et eciam fratres proprios sue secte.[55]

CAP. VIII.

Describit autem Paulus[1] unum aliud infame[a] capitulum ex hiis sectis. — Primo, quod tales sunt sine bono igne caritatis, cum

[g] *v. 17* [h] *v. 1; 3* [i] *cp. the 'binarius' cap. VII p. 38 l. 18; also cap. VII not. b*

CAP. VIII. [a] *cp. above cap. VII p. 38 l. 18*

[42] sed sicut *EF* sicut *CDGαγ* [43] in *CDFGαγ*, *E*[2] *in mar.* et *(cr. out & ud.) E* [44] predicacionem *CDFGαγ* mendicacionem *E* [45] vel *CDGαγ* et *E* in *F* [46] sicut *CDGγ* *om. EF* sic *α* [47] maxime *DGαγ* maxima *CEF* [48] dormitat *DEFGαγ* doritat *C (compend. om.)* [49] celerem *CDEGαγ* scelerem *F cp. above cap. V not. 8* [50] duodenam *CDEGαγ* duodenam *F*, *but in mar.* devia *F*[1] [51] sibi *CDEFGα* sibi sibi *γ* [52] inmitem *CDEGαγ* invicem *F* [53] ab *CDFGαγ* *om. E* [54] primarie *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [55] secte *CEGαγ* secte etc. *D* secte sequitur cap. bonum et cetera *F*

CAP. VIII. [1] paulus *CEF* apostolus *DGαγ*

ad invidiam multos provocant[2] et ex sua radice cupidinis multorum caritatem ebetant et extingwunt. Nam inequa distribucio temporalium, qua populus a statu innocencie elongatur, extingwit amorem fraternum et accendit ignem invidie, quod fit communiter in hiis sectis.

Sunt eciam[3] tales secte proditores dei et[4] hominum, cum superinducunt[5] supra[6] Cristi ecclesiam novitates infundabiles, per quas multi, qui debent esse de Cristi ecclesia, sunt dampnati. Et per idem,[7] cum non sunt legii homines regum terre et tantum spoliant pauperes regni sui, proditores hominum possunt dici, cum fingunt tam false se esse amicos regnorum, que incolunt, et tam subdole hostes spirituales ad destruccionem regnorum inducunt. Alienant enim sine regum[8] licencia multa bona[9] regnorum, ut patet de una secta,[b] que[10] omnia temporalia, quorum usum participat ut in domibus et[11] libris et abscondita pecunia cum[12] largis vescibilibus, ut refert carendo de ipsius[13] dominio, sine regis licencia contulit anticristo. Quomodo ergo talis secta non proditor dei et hominum debet dici?

Persone autem huius secundi conventus[c] tercio sunt proterve, cum[14] ex cautela dyaboli sciunt cum generali sui ordinis vel aliis

[b] *viz. the Franciscans who having nominally given their possessions to the Church declared themselves as without property; in contradistinction to these, the Dominicans interpreted their vow of poverty as demanding poverty of the individual, but not of the community. The order as such, therefore, remained in possession of its temporal property. After a dispute before Pope John XXII who decided in favour of the Dominican view, the Franciscans, since the Council of Kostnitz, divided into the Brotherhood of the Stricter Observance (Observants) and the Conventuals; the latter claimed to enjoy only the usufruct of their goods, while the property in them still remained with the donors.* [c] *cp. above cap. VII p. 38 l. 18*

[2] *in D is add. below the col.:* Sine bono igne caritatis, cum ad invidiam multos provocant *D*[1] [3] eciam *CDEFGγ* enim *α* [4] et *CDFGαγ*, *E (texthand) in mar.* *om. E* [5] superinducunt *CDEFGγ* inducunt *α* [6] supra *CDEFGγ* super *α* [7] per idem *CDEFGα*, *γ (texthand) in mar.* per consequens *(cr. out & ud.) γ* [8] regum *CDEFGα* legum *γ* [9] bona *CDEGαγ* regnorum *(cr. out)* bona *F* [10] que *CDFGαγ* in que *E* [11] et *CEF* in *DG* *om. αγ* [12] cum *CDEFαγ* et *G* [13] ipsius *CDGαγ* ipsis *EF* [14] cum *CDGαγ* tum *EF*

personis mediis taliter convenire,[15] quod quemcunque[16] priorem vel quantumcunque[17] potentem in seculo tam in statu scolastico quam[18] dignitate ordinis subdole volunt prosternere et tamen[19] iustificando hoc facinus volunt cum quocunque intrinseco[20] aut extrinseco[21] protervire. || *C fol. 25b*

Et necesse est, quod talis secta in personis tumentibus superbia invalescat, cum una persona extrudat[22] reliquam, quod tumentem superbiam satis signat.

Et[d] quod tales sint voluptatum amatores magis quam[23] dei,[24] ex hoc evidet, quod alienando se a suis conventibus preeligunt sibi dominos vel episcopos,[25] dapiferos et[26] potentes, et non lugent peccata populi in deserto singulariter cum baptista. Et ex hoc manifeste ostenditur, quod voluptuosam vitam diligunt[27] plus[28] quam deum, cum Matth. 5[e] dicitur: beati, qui lugent, quoniam ipsi consolabuntur. Ipsi[29] autem secundum nimis magnam partem affectant solacium temporale sic, quod communiter dolent atque remurmurant, quod tam desolabiliter et penaliter educantur. Stulticia enim, in[30] quam primo[31] inciderant cum suo murmure, excludit in eis voluntariam et meritoriam paupertatem.

Et cum tales sint[32] in maiori parte ypocrite, patet, quod habent speciem pietatis,[33] sed veritatem pietatis[34] tam quoad deum quam quoad hominem facto negant. Si enim luceret in eis ista pietas, tunc

[d] *Here the proof of the* cecitas *of the Sects is wanting, cp. above cap. VII. p. 38 l. 9* [e] *v. 4*

[15] convenire *CDEFGα* conveneris *γ* [16] quemcunque *CDαγ* quicunque *EFG* [17] quantumcunque *CDFGαγ* quemcunque *E* [18] *in E to the full* quam *of the text another* quam *in abbrev. is add. in mar.* [19] tamen *γ,C, above it in text* cum cum *DEFGα* [20] intrinseco *αγ,C, above the* o *in text an* e intrinsece *DEFG* [21] extrinseco *αγ,C, above the* o *in text an* e extrinsece *DEFG* [22] extrudat *CDαγ* excedat *EFG* [23] quam *cp. above not. 18; this I do not note again* [24] magis quam dei *DEFGαγ, C (texthand?) in mar. om. C* [25] dom. v. ep. *CDFGαγ* ep. v. dom. *E* [26] et *CDEFGα* vel *(cr. out & ud.) γ, above it* et [27] dil. *CDEGαγ* ducunt *(cr. out & ud.)* dil. *F* [28] plus *α,C, add. in mar.* magis plus magis *EFG* magis *Dα* [29] dicit. be. q. l. q. i. consolabuntur i. *CDFGαγ* dic. solabuntur i. *E* [30] in *CDFαγ* prima in *EG* [31] primo *CDFGαγ om. E* [32] *in C corr. word* [33] *in D is add. in mar.:* Speciem pietatis habent *D¹* [34] sed veritatem (virtutem?) pietatis *CDFGαγ, E² in mar. om. E*

forent de Cristi regula sine adulterinis pictaciis contentati,[35] et si haberent pietatem debitam[36] ad sanctam matrem ecclesiam, non ipsam cum talibus adulterinis ordinibus onerarent, sed excucientes a se tales infundabiles novitates non forent sic pauperibus[37] onerosi, sed edificarent ecclesiam secundum formam, quam Cristus instituit.

Illos autem mandat apostolus tamquam hereticos evitare,[38] quia consensus[39] et defensio eorum in ficta[40] elemosina[41] facit talia[42] spuria vitulamina[43] in ecclesia culpabiliter germinare.

Ex hiis autem sectis sunt, qui penetrant[44] domos viduarum[45] propter subtilitatem sue ypocrisis, non solum ad fortiter[46] manducandum aut subtiliter mendicandum, sed ad feminas eciam nobiles deturpandum. Nec sera vel repagulum obstat[47] illis. Ducunt autem captivas mulierculas, ut dicitur, in forma vel fratrum habitu tamquam fratres. Et sic licet videantur fratres[48] in habitu et[49] tonsura, sunt tamen per talem societatem fraternam peccatis[50] multiplicibus onerate.[51] Tales autem muliercule non sunt stabiles in virtute,[52] sed ducuntur variis desideriis mundialium novitatum et carnalium voluptatum.

Tales autem fratres sunt semper discentes, cum student diucius[53] et attencius novitates sui[54] ordinis quam mandata decalogi; plus laborant circa[55] calliditates, quomodo seculares[56] seducant,[57] quam quomodo secundum legem dei plebem edificent.

Et sic tamquam obstinati numquam sunt ad scienciam veritatis

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[35] content. *CDFGαγ* precaciis cont. *E* [36] debitam *CDEFαγ* *om. G* [37] s. p. *CEFγ* p. s. *DGα* [38] evitare *CE* devitare *DFGαγ* *in E the words after* apostolus *are nearly illegible; I think there is an erasure at this place which has been of purpose smeared over* [39] consensus *CDGαγ* sensus *EF* [40] ficta *CDFGαγ* fecta *E* [41] elemosina *CDEFGα* eelemosina *(the first* e *cr. out) γ* [42] fac. tal. *CDEFGα* *om. γ* [43] vitulamina *CDFGαγ* vitulania *E* [44] penet. *CDEFGα* fortiter pen. *γ* [45] viduarum *Cγ* *om. DEFGα* [46] fortiter *EF,Gα, but in mar.* fertiliter fertiliter *Dγ,C, but in mar.* fortiter [47] *in C corr. word* [48] fr. *CDEF* tamquam fr. *Gαγ* [49] et *CDEFGα* vel *γ* [50] peccatis *CDEFGα* *om. γ* [51] onerate *CDFGαγ* onerati *E* [52] virtute *CDEFGα* fide *(cr. out & ud.)* virt. *γ* [53] diucius *CDEFGγ* *om. α* [54] sui *CDFGαγ* *om. E* [55] dec. pl. lab. cir. *CDFGαγ,E² with mark of ref. above the col.* *om. E* [56] seculares *CDGαγ* scolares *EF* [57] seducant *CDGαγ* seducerent *EF*

pervenientes, sed continue sunt[58] discoli, sicut primo. Cristus enim infra triennium instruxit plene suos discipulos ad edificandam[59] suam ecclesiam per se ipsos, sed nulla persona istorum privatorum ordinum per multas vitas sufficit exire istos[60] ordines, sicut apostoli comitivam domini omiserunt.[61] Si autem exeant ordinem vel conventum, hoc non est ad edificandum ecclesiam in forma Cristi, sed[62] ut sint mundo divites vel seculo insolentes, et sicut Iannes[63] et | Iambres Mosi restiterant,[64] ut patet Exod. 7[f] et 8,[g] sic isti discoli resistunt scole domini Iesu Cristi. Fingunt enim se scire ostendere falsitatem scripture sacre, sed[65] glosas plus veridicas fabricare. *C fol. 26a*

Isti autem sunt homines corrupti mente,[66] cum nesciunt meminisse verborum domini Iesu,[h] quod[67] beacius est[68] magis dare quam accipere.

Et ex hoc sunt reprobi circa fidem, quia imponunt Cristo mendaciter et blaspheme, quod ipse instituit suas sectas taliter mendicando. Sed tamquam Iacob maledicens Ruben filio suo, qui cubile patris sui[69] ascenderat:[70] non, inquit, crescas, Gen. penultimo,[i] ita apostolus valefacit taliter istis sectis:[71] ultra, inquit, non proficient, insipiencia enim illorum[72] manifesta erit omnibus, sicut insipiencia istarum duarum personarum[k] fuit nota, que sic infamiter restiterant[73] veritati.

Cum autem[74] veritas[75] vite[76] istarum sectarum edocet, quod

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[f] *v. 11; 22* [g] *v. 7* [h] *Act. 20, 35* [i] *v. 4* [k] *Jannes and Jambres, Exod. 7, 11*

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[58] sunt *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [59] edificandam *CDEF* edificandum *Gαγ* [60] istos *CDGαγ* illos *EF* [61] omiserunt *CGα* obmiserunt *EF* ommiserunt *Dγ* [62] sed *CEFGαγ*, *D (texthand) in mar.* vel *(cr. out & ud.) D* [63] yannes *DEFGγ* yanines *C* yamnes *α*, *cp. above cap. VII not. 11* [64] restiterant *CDαγ* ut restiterant *E* ut restruxerant *(restr. cr. out) F* restiterunt *G* *in D is add. in mar.:* Yannes et Mambres Moysi resisterant *(sic) D¹* [65] sed *EFγ* secundum *D* sed *CG*, *but in mar.* secundum secundum *α*, *but in mar.* sed *α¹* [66] mente *CDEFGα* *om. γ* [67] quod *CE* Cristi quod *DFGαγ* [68] est *CDFGαγ*, *E² in mar.* *om. E* [69] sui *CEFGαγ* *om. D* [70] qui c. p. s. asc. *CDEFGγ* qui a. c. p. s. *α* [71] sectis *CDFGαγ*, *E² in mar.* *om. E* [72] illorum *CDFGαγ*, *E² in mar.* illoris *(last half cr. out & ud.) E* [73] restiterant *CDEFαγ* restiterunt *G* [74] autem *DFGαγ* eciam *CE* [75] *in E miswritten* veritans [76] vite *CDGα* mente *γ* *om. EF*

iste textus apostoli verificatur de illis, videat[77] adversarius, si sciverit, quomodo iste[78] textus fidei est pertinencius exponendus.[79]

CAP. IX.

Transcurrendum est ulterius per quatuor epistolas apostolorum[1] canonicas, si aliquid locuntur de hiis novis religionibus sive sectis, quia certum[2] videtur,[3] si nichil locuntur de illis[4], tunc sunt per dyabolum introducte, quia Luc. 11[5a] dicit Cristus: qui non est mecum, contra me est.

Et primo videndum est, quid[6] Iacobus religiosarcha de ipsis[7] loquitur.

Dicit[8] enim in primo capitulo[b] libri sui, quod[9] est duplex religio,[10] scilicet laudabilis et culpabilis. Religio, inquit, munda et immaculata apud deum et patrem hec est: visitare pupillos et viduas in tribulacione eorum et immaculatum se custodire ab hoc seculo. Ubi patet, quod loquitur de religione, que non est res per se possibilis et rarenter vel numquam comitans istos fratres, quia licet quandoque visitent[11] pupillos et viduas, raro tamen aut[12] numquam ad relevandum eos a tribulacione corporis vel anime, in qua[13] dyabolus ipsos[14] premit.

Et licet dicant se esse exproprietarios et summe pauperes, non

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CAP. IX. [a] *v. 23* [b] *v. 27*

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[77] quod iste t. a. v. d. i. videat *CDEFGα* quod iste v. d. i. t. a. vid. *γ* [78] iste *CDEFαγ* ille *G* [79] exponendus *CFGαγ* exponendus etc. *D* exponendo *E*

CAP. IX. [1] apostolorum *CDEFGγ* *om. α* [2] certum *in G by the texthand in mar. in the text there is a blank* [3] videtur *CDEFGγ* est *α* [4] illis *CEFG* eis *Dαγ* [5] 11° *Gαγ* 2° *CDEF* [6] quid *CEFγ* quod *DGα* [7] ipsis *CDGαγ* hiis *EF* [8] *in C is add. in mar.:* Nota, quomodo canonica Iacobi adducitur contra sectas *C²* [9] quod *E in the text and repeat. in abbrev. in mar., cp. above quam cap. VIII not. 18* [10] *in D is add. below the col.:* Religio duplex *D¹* [11] visitent *CDEFGα* visitant *γ* [12] aut *CDGγ* vel *EFα* [13] qua *CDFGαγ* quam *E* [14] ipsos *CDFGαγ* eos *E*

tamen regulariter[15] servant se immaculatos ab hoc seculo tam opere quam affectu. Et quoad claustrum, quod incolunt, patet, quod propter hoc sunt magis ab ista religione Iacobi elongati, cum signum claustrale et alia ficta sensibilia ipsos falsificant et impediunt ad visitandum suos proximos, sicut apostolus iste mandat. Sed cum ista edificia et hec[16] signa sensibilia sint[17] adeo sumptuosa et populo onerosa,[c] manifeste[18] videtur, quod per hoc[19] religioni, quam Cristus instituit, adversantur. Cristus enim instituit, quod homines corporaliter iuvent pauperes debiles, pauperes claudos et pauperes cecos, quod iste secte subtrahunt per suas falsas[20] adinvenciones infundabiliter introductas.

Et quantum ad spirituale suffragium in doctrina, patet, quod religionis eorum novitas ipsos sepe[21] necessitat ad[22] ewangelio obviandum. Nam Matth. 18[d] mandat Cristus: si peccaverit in te frater tuus, vade et[23] corripe eum inter te et ipsum solum.[24] Si te audierit, lucratus es fratrem tuum. Si te non audierit, adhibe tecum unum | vel duos, ut in ore duorum testium vel trium stet omne *C fol. 26b* verbum. Quod si non audierit eos, dic ecclesie. Si autem[25] ecclesiam non audierit, sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus. — Iste[26] autem secte habent multos fratres tam intrinsece, quam extrinsece notorie in ipsos peccantes, cum peccant notorie in se ipsos, et cum non vadunt, ut debent,[27] ipsos corripere inter se solos.[28]

[c] *As to the splendour of the Friars' buildings see the description in Pierce, the Ploughmans' Crede, l. 118 u. 156 ff.; with ref. to the latter passage W., perhaps, has in view the very convent where, in 1382, his doctrines were condemned as heretical by a council held there. This Church of the Austin Friars in Broad Street, London is still used by the Dutch, and although it has some years ago suffered much by a fire and by a consequent restoration, it presents a fair specimen of the architecture of the Mendicants. As to the extent of the Friars' convent houses, cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 5; Suppl. Trial. 444.* [d] *v. 15 ff.*

[15] regulariter *DEGαγ, C, add. in mar.* rariter vel *(corr. into the text)* rariter *F* [16] hec *CDEFGα* alia *γ* [17] sint *CDGα* sunt *FEγ* [18] manifeste *CDGαγ* manifestum *EF* [19] hoc *CDEF* hec *Gαγ* [20] per suas falsas *CDGαγ* per istas falsas *F* per suas fallacias et falsas *E* [21] sepe *CDFGαγ* se *E* [22] ad *EF* ab *CDGαγ* [23] et *CEGα* *om. DFγ* [24] solum *CEFGαγ* *om. D* [25] autem *CDEFGγ* *om. α* [26] iste *CDEFαγ* istos *G* [27] debent *CEFGαγ* dent *D (compend. om.)* [28] solos *CDEFGγ* solas *(corr. word) α*

Cum repugnat[29] huic hec religio adinventa et sic repugnat secundo gradui correpcionis et tercio, evidencius[30] repugnat aufugio, quod Cristus quarto precipit.[31] Cum enim religionem hanc fictam observantes sint[32] vocati[33] pii patres, in ipsos peccant continue. Debent ex caritate ipsos corripere[34] de hoc peccato, quod manifeste omittunt in huiusmodi omissionis crimine indurati. — Et si dicunt[35] istud peccatum ecclesie, erunt tamquam furiosi incarcerati, et erunt postmodum[36] necessitati ad permanendum cum istis ethnicis et publicanis notorie induratis.

Ideo verisimile est,[37] quod isti religiosarche non perfecte consideraverant[38] istam legem. Et sic de peccantibus in ipsos[39] forinsecus,[40] dum consideratum fuerit a maiori parte capituli, quod foret contra prosperitatem suam[41] mundanam, ista fraterna correpcio erit[42] sub gravi pena a[43] priore et capitulo introducta.[44]

Que est ergo ista religio, que tantum ponderat vanum mandatum ordinis supra Cristum?

Ideo verisimile est, quod in secundo membro divisionis Iacobi[e] hec nova religio continetur: si quis putat se religiosum esse, non refrenans lingwam suam, sed seducens cor suum, huius vana est religio. Ille autem, qui impeditur in loco publico fratrem suum corripere sive loqui cum illo, non habet lingwam debite refrenatam, sed contra Cristi regulam alligatam. Quid,[45] rogo, confert non loqui publice in claustro, ubi collocucio plus prodesset et loqui private in angulo secundum formam, qua collocucio utrique parti et ecclesie nocuisset?

Ista ergo est vana religio sine[46] causa, cum servando regula-

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[e] *v. 26*

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[29] repugnat *CDEFGγ* repugnet *α* [30] evid. *CDEFGγ* et evid. *α* [31] precipit *CDGαγ* precepit *EF* [32] sint *DGαγ, C, but in mar.* sunt sunt *EF* [33] voc. *CEF* sicut voc. *DGαγ* [34] corripere *EFαγ* corripi *CDG* [35] dicunt *CDGα* dicant *EFγ* [36] postmodum *CDFGαγ* postmodo *E* [37] est *CDEFGγ* videtur *α* [38] consideraverant *CDEFGγ* considaverant *α (compend. om.)* [39] in ipsos *CDEFGα* *om. γ* [40] forinsecis *DFGαγ,C, above* is *is add.* us fornifecis *E* [41] suam *CDEFGγ* *om. α* [42] erit *CDEγ* et *Fα* et sic *G* [43] a *CDEFGα* et *(cr. out)* a *γ* [44] introducta *CDGαγ* inducta *EF* [45] quid *CDGαγ* quis *EF* *in C is add. in mar.:* Nota [46] sine *C* sive *DEFGαγ*

riter et inculpabiliter hanc Cristi regulam de correpcione fraterna non forent duo in istis privatis ordinibus reservati, quia vanum fundamentum sine causa valida et religioni Cristi repugnancia[47] regulariter dividerent istas sectas.

Similiter Matth. 15[f] dicit Cristus istis vanis religiosis, qui locionem manuum sicut claustrales moderni inaniter ponderant:[48] quare et vos transgredimini mandatum dei propter tradicionem vestram? Nam deus dixit: honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam, et, qui maledixerit patri aut[49] matri, morte moriatur. Vos autem dicitis: quicunque patri aut matri dixerit:[50] munus,[51] quodcunque ex me est, tibi proderit, et non honorificaverit[52] patrem aut matrem suam, et irritum fecistis mandatum dei propter tradicionem vestram. Constat quidem, quod claustrales isti habentes parentes quantumcunque egenos corporaliter vel spiritualiter, quantumcunque[53] copiosi illi fuerint in pecunia vel doctrina, sunt impediti propter[54] suum[55] ordinem illis parentibus suffragari. Dicunt || enim quoad corporale suffragium, quod[56] nichil[57] habent in proprio, sed omnia in communi,[g] et sic fabulantur parenti:[58] si aliquod munus ex me est, vellem,[59] quod tibi prodesset, sed propter ordinis colliganciam non habeo quidquam[60] tale. Et sic in facto non honorificant patrem aut[61] matrem suam,[62] et sic irritum facit talis religio mandatum dei[63] propter tradicionem suam. *C fol. 27a*

Ideo ex verbis Cristi sequitur pertinenter:[h] ypocrite,[64] bene prophetavit de[65] vobis Iesaias propheta dicens: populus hic me labiis[66] honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me; sine causa autem colunt me, docentes doctrinas et mandata hominum.

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[f] *v. 3—6* [g] *The Dominicans are meant* [h] *Matth. 15, 7—9*

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[47] repugnancia *CDFGαγ* repugnanda *E* [48] ponderant *CEFGγ* ponderarunt *Dα* [49] aut *CDGαγ* vel *EF* [50] quic. p. a. m. d. *CDGαγ* quic. d. p. a. m. *EF* [51] munus *CEFGαγ* minius *(clearly so) D* [52] honorificaverit *CDGαγ* honorificavit *EF* [53] quantumcunque *CDEFαγ* quantumque *G, but in mar.* cum *(texthand)* [54] propter *CDEFαγ* per *G* [55] suum *CDEFGγ* illum *α* [56] suffragari dic. en. — quod *CDEGαγ* suffragari quod *F* [57] nichil *CDGαγ* non *EF* [58] parenti *CDGγ* parentibus *EF* [59] vellem *CEFGαγ* vellet *D* [60] quidquam *CDEFαγ* quicquid *G* [61] aut *CDFGα* et *Eγ* [62] suam *CDEFαγ om. G* [63] dei *CDEGαγ* suum *F* [64] ypoc. *CDEFαγ om. G* [65] de *CDEFαγ* et de *G* [66] lab. me *CDFGαγ* me lab. *E*

Ideo dicendum est pertinenter cum Iacobo, quod huiusmodi vana est religio.[67]

CAP. X.

Cum iste secte individuacionem capiunt a regula et patronis, videndum est, si Iacobus quidquam doceat[1] de[2] sua regula.

Et videtur multis, cum regula illa non sit sapiencia ex scriptura. Et oportet ipsos concedere ipsam regulam esse sapienciam, cum tantum[3] extollit[4] eos in beatitudine, ut inquiunt, non superest, nisi ut sit[5] sapiencia huius mundi.[6] Certum quidem[7] videtur, quod regula illa non est iusticia, prudencia, fortitudo vel temperancia,[a] quia patroni illi forent nimis ydiotici, ut supra Cristum invenirent istas quatuor virtutes cardinales tam diu absconditas.

Ideo cum sit habitus inclinans hos ordines ad vivendum tam placenter secundum sapienciam[8] dei patris, oportet, ipsos[9] concedere, quod sit sapiencia, et cum non sit sapiencia,[10] quam Cristus docuit, relinquitur, quod sit sapiencia[11] terrena,[12] animalis et dyabolica, quam Iacobus detegit tercio capitulo[b] libri sui. Est, inquam, talis regula terrena, quia docet amplecti terrestria, et oportet, quod non ultra diem iudicii perseveret.

Et cum non docet sic mundum relinquere, sed implicat suos in mundum profundius, relinquitur, quod sit carnalis,[13] ad voluptates excitans et per consequens animalis.

CAP. X. [a] *The author distinguishes here the four Cardinal virtues from the three virtutes theologicae, Faith, Hope, Charity* [b] *v. 15*

[67] van. est rel. *CFGαγ* v. e. rel. etc. *D* est v. rel. 9m cam *E*

CAP. X. [1] quidq. doc. *CDFGαγ* doc. aliquid *E* [2] de *CDFGαγ* quia (*cr. out, in mar. is add.* quicquam *E*²) *E* [3] tantum *CDEGαγ* tamen *F* [4] extollit *CDFGαγ* excellit *E* [5] ut sit *CDEFGα* *om.* *γ* [6] *in D is add. with mark of ref. below the col.:* Sapiencia huius mundi *D*¹ [7] quidem *CDGαγ* tamen *EF* [8] sapienciam *CDEFGα* ordinem (*cr. out*) sap. *γ* [9] ipsos *CDGγ* eos *EF* illos *α* [10] sapiencia *CEFGγ* sapia *D* (*compend. om.*) [11] concedere, quod sit sap. et c. n. s. s., q. C. d., r. q. s. sapiencia *CDEFGγ* concedere, quod sit sap. (*viz.* et cum — sap. *om.*) *α* [12] terrena *CDEGαγ* quam Cristus docuit relinquitur quod sit sapiencia (*cr. out*) terr. *F* [13] carnalis *CDFGαγ* talis carnalis *E*

Et habitis hiis duobus sociis certum videtur, quod sapiencia istorum[14] novorum ordinum sit dyabolica, et per consequens rex superbie, principalis patronus[15] istorum novorum[16] ordinum, colligat[17] suos milites cum isto fune, sue sapiencie, que indubie est inanis.

Et patet yronice quoad patronum et regulam, quomodo ista secta[18] respicit sectam Cristi. Religionem quidem talem, ut dicit Iacobus,[19][c] ornant[20] zelus et contencio et per consequens inconstancia et omne opus pravum,[21] et sic de viginti septem est condicionibus,[22] quas Paulus commemorat, ubi supra.[d] — Sed sapiencia, que de sursum est, istis octo condicionibus[e] perornatur. Primum quidem pudica est, deinde pacifica, modesta, swadibilis, bonis consenciens, plena misericordia et fructibus bonis, iudicans sine simulacione. Istas autem octo[23] condiciones dictum est capitulo proximo[f] esse condicionibus fratrum contrarias.

Sunt enim[24] pleni spirituali adulterio supra adulterium corporale, nec sunt pacifici, sed ad bella et discordias[25] provocantes. Carent autem modestia, cum ad colligendum stercora temporalium sunt sine verecundia importuni. Nec sunt swadibiles, ut deserant[26] ordines istos vanos, sed in laqueo isto dyaboli irrevocabiliter irretiti.[27] Nec bonis, que lex Cristi mandat, consenciunt, sed sunt illis contrarii viis multis. || Nec sunt pleni misericordia, sed impiissime spo- | *C fol. 27b* liant pauperes, et se ipsos ac fratres proprios immisericorditer usque ad mortem cruciant. Fructus autem istorum ordinum necesse est ex dicto perverso[28] semine provenire. Et cum inseparabiliter sunt ypocrite, patet,[29] quod non iudicant sine simulacione et quamvis omnia ista sint odibilia, tamen[30] pater suus[31] excecans eorum ani-

[c] *v. 16* [d] *cp. II Tim. 3, 1—9, above cap. VII p. 38* [e] *These are given in the follow. passages, cp. Iam. 3, 17* [f] *see cap. VII.*

[14] istorum *CDEFαγ* horum *G* [15] patronus *CDEFαγ* *om. G* [16] novorum *CDFαγ* *om. EF* [17] colligat *CDEFGα* colligavit *(?) γ* [18] secta *CDGγ* secte *EFα* [19] 3 *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [20] ornant *CDEFG* ordinant *α* ordinavit *γ* [21] pravum *CFγ* parvum *DEGα* [22] et sic de v. s. cond. *DGα* et de 27 cond. *E* et de 27 est cond. *CF* et sic est condic. *γ* [23] 8 *CFGαγ* quatuor *F, E, but in mar.* 8° *by E*[3] [24] enim *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [25] discordias *CDEFαγ* discordia *G* [26] deserant *CEFGαγ* differant *D* [27] irretiti *CDGαγ* irretici *EF* [28] perverso *CDEFGα* converso *γ* [29] patet *CDFGαγ* patent *E* [30] tamen *CDαγ* cum *EFG* [31] *C reads clearly* suuus

mum[32] sic immiscuit[33] in vitis eorum laqueos voluptatum, quod[34] putant suum ordinem non esse propter mandatum domini deserendum.

Et[35] hec[36] heresis[37] est tamquam periculosissima detestanda, cum secundum Iacobum primo capitulo:[g] si quis putat se religiosum esse, non refrenans lingwam suam, sed seducens cor suum, huius vana est religio.

Quamvis autem hee secte irregulariter[38] in claustris taciturnitatem servaverint,[39] tamen[40] istum stimulum disponit dyabolus, ut mendaces postmodum laxent viciose proclivius[41] lingwam suam, et non[42] secundum legem domini, sed secundum ludicra mendacia vel fabulas rixosas populum allocuntur.

Iterum mandat Jacobus secundo capitulo:[h] fratres, mei, nolite in personarum accepcione habere fidem domini nostri[43] Iesu Cristi glorie, et ponit consequenter in similitudine exemplari, quomodo in ista personarum accepcione cristiani possunt faciliter delirare.[44] — Dicitur autem, quod fratres tam quoad[45] extrinsecos,[46] quam quoad[47] intrinsecos non omnino ab isto crimine sunt immunes, cum potentibus extrinsecis pro lucro mundano sepe verbis mendacibus adulantur et fratrem doctoratum, potentem in pecunia, confessorem potentis[48] in seculo vel[49] quem[50] dicunt fratrem venerabilem in ordine indebite venerantur.[51]

Et iterum mandat Iacobus tercio[52] capitulo:[i] nolite plures magistri fieri, fratres mei, scientes, quoniam maius[53] sumitis iudi-

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[g] *v. 26* [h] *v. 1* [i] *v. 1*

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[32] animum *CF* animam *EG* animum *(? am) Dαγ* [33] inmiscuit *γ,C, but in mar.* instituit instituit *DEFGα* [34] quod *Cγ* sed *DEFGα* [35] *in E* esse *was first wr., then* so *was erased, and* et *inserted above* es [36] hec *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [37] *in D is add. in mar.:* Heresis est hec *D¹* [38] irregulariter *CDGαγ* regulariter *E* irracionabiliter *F* [39] servaverint *CDGγ* servant *EF* servaverunt *α* [40] tamen *(wr. above* cum) *C³* cum *CDEFGαγ* [41] proclivius *CDEGαγ* protervius *E* [42] non *CDGαγ* ideo non *E* ideo *(sd.)* non *F, but in mar.* non *is repeated* [43] nostri *CGαγ* *om. EF* domini *D* [44] c. p. f. d. *CDFGγ* p. f. c. d. *α* c. f. p. d. *E* [45] quoad *CDEFGα* ad *γ, but* quo *is add. above it by the texthand* [46] extrinsecos *CDGαγ* extrinsecus *EF* [47] quoad *DEFGα* ad *γ, C, but in mar.* quo *is add.* [48] potentis *EF* potentem *CDGαγ* [49] vel *CDEFGα* iam *γ* [50] quem *CDFGαγ* quam *E* [51] venerantur *CDEFGα* ordinantur *γ* [52] 3° *CDEFGα* 2° *γ* [53] maius *Gαγ* magis *CDEF*

cium. Fratres autem sumptuose et[54] contenciose[55] et sedule laborant,[56] ut in suo ordine doctorentur et cum[57] postmodum non in fruitu[58] boni operis recompensant,[59] patet, quod religiosius quoad divinum iudicium in scelere se profundant.

Et iterum cum fratres Cristi pauperiem[60] in suo ordine profitentur et laborant multipliciter, ut fiant mundo divites, patet, quod sunt discipuli patris mendacii et non Cristi, in quo fuerunt est et non.

Nam quinto[61] capitulo[k] suo scribit Iacobus: agite, nunc divites plorate ululantes in miseriis vestris, que advenient vobis. Divitie vestre putrefacte sunt et vestimenta vestra[62] a tineis comesta sunt, aurum[63] et argentum vestrum eruginavit[64] et erugo eorum in testimonium vobis erit[65] et manducabit carnes vestras, sicut ignis. Thesaurizastis[66] vobis iram in novissimis diebus.

Fratres autem licet abdicent proprietatem in talibus, tamen, ut inquiunt, ex licencia prioris multi eorum sunt proprietarii ultra hoc, quod forent[67] in seculo conversantes in tantum, quod in fratribus reputatur communiter, quod fratres esse mundo divites est nomen honorificum, laude dignum.

Unde multi fratres ex ista carencia contra deum remurmurant,[68] et sic post stultam professionem propter istam candentem[69] cupidinem non merentur. Unde Iac. 4[l] sic scribitur: unde bella et lites

[k] *v. 1—3* [l] *v. 1—4: Unde bella et lites in vobis? Nonne hinc, ex concupiscentiis vestris, quae militant in membris vestris? Concupiscitis, et non habetis; occiditis et zelatis, et non potestis adipisci; litigatis et belligeratis, et non habetis, propter quod non postulatis; Petitis, et non accipitis, eo quod male petatis, ut in concupiscentiis vestris in-*

[54] et *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [55] contenciose *CDEGαγ* *om. F* [56] laborant *CDFGαγ* laborantur *E* [57] cum *CDEαγ*, *F (?)* tum *G* [58] fruitu *CDG*, *F*, *but in mar.* fructu *F* fructu *Eγ* fructu *α (but corr. into* fricti *by dots above the* u) [59] recompensant *CEFGαγ* recompensat *D* [60] pauperiem *CDEFGα* pauperie *γ* [61] quinto *CDEFGα* in quin. *γ* [62] vestra *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [63] aurum *CDFGαγ* et vestimenta *(sic.)* aurum *E* [64] eruginavit *CDFGαγ* erugiant *E* [65] erit *CDFGαγ* eorum erit *E* [66] thesaurizastis *CDGαγ* thesaurizatis *EF* [67] forent *CDEFαγ* foret *F* [68] remurmurant *CDEFGγ* remurmurarunt *α* [69] candentem *CDEFGα* cadentem *γ*

in vobis? nonne ex concupiscenciis vestris[70] et sequitur; concupiscitis et non habetis et sequitur; adulteri, nescitis, quia amicicia huius mundi *C fol. 28* inimicicia[71] est deo.

Talia sunt multa verba istius religiosarche, et nulla confirmant[72] hos fratrum ordines, si non ista. Talia autem verba sunt notanda nobis, qui per[73] dei graciam sumus immunes ab istis ordinibus, quia in culpas tales, quas sancti recitant, communiter incidimus, quod dolemus.

Ideo[74] si deus ex gracia sua voluerit, possumus tam nos quam fratres ad profectum ecclesie fieri meliores.[75]

CAP. XI.

Preter predicta verba Petri prophetica possunt alia fratribus applicari.

Mandat enim Petrus I Pet. 4,[a] quod cristiani sint hospitabiles[1] invicem[2] sine murmuracione,[3] sed fratres nedum secularibus peregrinantibus et pauperibus[4] in isto deficiunt, sed fratribus de sectis aliis pauperibus et forte extraneis fratribus de secta propria, divitibus autem,[5] de quibus lucrum sperant, eciam dominabus hospicia meliora gratanter[6] annuunt.[7] Numquid[8] credimus, quod ista dampnanda personarum accepcio in ista deridenda spoliacione pauperum, ex qua sic monstruose edificant,[9] coram supremo iudice excusatur?[b]

sumatis. Adulteri, nescitis quia amicitia hujus mundi inimica est Dei? Quicunque ergo voluerit amicus esse saeculi hujus, inimicus Dei constituitur.

CAP. XI. [a] *v. 9* [b] *The same reproach is made by W. against Bishops, cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 413*

[70] vestris *CDEFGα* istis *(cr. out)* vest. *γ* [71] inimicicia *CF* inimica *DEFGγ* [72] confirmant *α* confirmat *CDEFGγ* [73] per *CDFGαγ* pro *(cr. out) E, but in mar.* per *E²* [74] ideo *CDEFαγ* *om. E, but afterwards add. in mar.* [75] meliores *CEFGαγ* meliores etc. *D*

CAP. XI. [1] hospitabiles *CEF* hospitales *DGαγ* [2] invicem *CDFGαγ* ad invicem *E* [3] *in D with mark of ref. below the col.:* Hospitales invicem *D¹* [4] pauperibus *CEFαγ* pauperis *DG* [5] autem *CDEGαγ* aut *F* [6] grat. *CDEFαγ* eciam grat. *G* [7] annuunt *CDEGαγ* annuuunt *F* [8] numquid *CDEGαγ* istud *F* [9] edificant *CEFαγ* edificat *DG*

Videtur enim, quod[10] sicut sumptus de communi populo colliguntur, sic edificia quoad hospicia,[11] licet non quoad lectisternia, omnia pauperibus hospitibus esse communia. Aliter enim excusacionem non acciperent pro die tremendi iudicii, quando Cristus dicet Matth. 25:[c] hospes eram et non collegistis me. Numquid credimus, quod sit[12] fratribus iuvenibus meritorium et securum sic[13] habitare, noctibus et diebus cum domicellis iuvenibus dominarum?

Revera non solum personarum accepcio contra hospitalitatis regulam et excusacio[14] edificacionis talis ac[15] tanti hospicii hos excusat, sed quod tales lubrici congregant puellas,[16] per quas carnis sue lubricitas est accensa. Nam propter hoc leges hominum prohibent[17] cohabitaciones clericorum et mulierum. — Numquid credimus, fratres[18] ex hoc, quod sunt impeccabiles, a racione istius ordinacionis hominum excusari? — Numquid credimus, ista est fuga,[19] quam sancti edocent,[20] quod contra omne aliud vicium potes[21] expectare conflictum gloriosumque triumphum nisi contra[22] concomitanciam[23] mulierum,[24] contra quam pugnare non prodest, sed fugere? Hec est enim, que sapientes[25] infatuavit, prudentes stultificavit et fortes in corpore superavit. Quis enim Salomone sapiencior, quis David prudencior, aut[26] quis Samsone forcior? Et omnes isti igne muliebris[27] libidinis sunt accensi.

Ista autem hospitalitas videtur fuga, sicut ordo istorum fratrum est contra secularium vicia medicina.

Item in eodem capitulo mandat Petrus:[d] si quis loquitur, quasi[28] sermones[29] dei, si quis ministrat tamquam ex virtute quam

[c] *v. 43* [d] *I Pet. 4, 11*

[10] *from here in E above* quod *another abbreviated* quod *has nearly always been add.* [11] hospicia *CDFGα* edificia *γ* [12] sit *CDEGαγ* sic *F* [13] sic *CDEGαγ* sit *F* [14] excusacio *DFGα*, *in E corr. from* excusacionem excusacionem *Cγ* [15] ac *CDEFαγ* hac *G* [16] puellas *CDEFGγ* pullas *α*, *but above it* e *is add. by α¹* [17] prohibent *CDEFGα* cohibent *γ* [18] fratr. *DGαγ* quod fratr. *CEF* [19] numqu. cred.i. e. fuga *CDFGαγ* numq. est fuga ista *E* [20] edocent *CDEFGα* docent *γ* [21] potes *CDFGαγ* potest *E* [22] contra *CDEFαγ* quod contra *G* [23] concom. *CDEFGα* exconcom. *γ* [24] mulierum *CDEFG* mulieris *xγ* [25] sapientes *CDFGαγ* sapiens *E* [26] aut *CDEGαγ* *om. F* [27] muliebris *DGαγ* mulieris *CEF* [28] quasi *CDFGαγ* tamquam *E* [29] sermones *CDEFGα* sermonem *γ*

administrat[30] deus, ut in omnibus honorificetur[31] deus. — Numquid credimus, fratres servare debite istam religionis Petri regulam? Tunc enim fratres non sic prorumperent in verba ludicra atque mendacia, cum non ducuntur ab hac tanta vesania, quod isti sint sermones dei, cum hoc[32] foret nimis[33] manifesta blasphemia.

Et sic de ministerio, quo fratres ministrant consociis propter accepcionem indebitam personalem, cum Petrus dicat Act. 10:[e] in veritate comperi,[34] quod non est personarum accepcio apud deum. || *O fol. 28b* Iterum I Pet. 5[f] scribitur: pascite, qui || in vobis est, gregem dei,[35] providentes, non coacte, sed spontanee, secundum deum neque turpis lucri gracia, sed voluntarie, neque ut dominantes in clero, sed forma facti gregis ex animo.[36] — Numquid credimus, fratres[37] pascunt[38] fideliter gregem domini tam in wlgo extrinseco quam eciam in se ipsis? Nam ministrando eis scripture sacre contraria propinant poculum venenosum non secundum deum, nisi blaspheme nimis voluerint delirare; quodsi per superiores suos ad providendum talia sint[39] coacti, facinus consensus redundat in ordinem et personas.

Et eodem modo si turpis lucri gracia non gratis provideant tale spirituale subditis alimentum. Nam sic mendicare vel vendere verbum dei est propinquior et odibilior symonia, quam emere vel vendere[40] ecclesiasticam[41] dignitatem.

Et[42] quarto super hec omnia appetunt dominari in clero, tam in fratribus propriis quam in personis extrinsecis, cum quibus sophisticant verba dei. Quis dubitat,[43] quin sunt[44] propter suam maliciam doctrine Petri contrariam[45] alciores discipuli anticristi!

[e] *v. 34* [f] *v. 2—3*

[30] tamq. e. v. q. admin. *CDFGαγ* *om. E, but add. by E² in mar.* [31] honorificetur *CDFGαγ* hominibus *E* [32] hoc *CDFGαγ* hoc *(cr. out & ad.)* hoc *E* [33] nimis *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [34] comperi *CDFGαγ* operi *E* [35] *in D is add. in mar.:* Pascite qui in vobis est gregem dei *D¹* [36] ex animo *CDEGαγ* ex animis (? exemplaris) *F* [37] frat. *CEFGαγ* quod fratr. *D* [38] pascunt *CDEFGα* pascant *γ* [39] sint *CDEGαγ* sunt *F* [40] em. vel vend. *CDEGα* ven. d. vel em. *Fγ* [41] ecclesiasticam *DGαγ* ecclesiacam *C* ecclesie *EF* [42] et *Cγ* sed *DEFGα* [43] dub. *DEFGα* non dub. *Cγ* [44] sunt *CDGα* sint *Fγ* *om. F, but in mar.* sund [45] contrariam *CDEFGγ* contraria *α*

Item[46] sequitur ex doctrina Petri in eodem capitulo:[g] omnem sollicitudinem vestram proicientes in deum,[47] quoniam ipsi cura est de vobis. — Numquid credimus, has sectas in hac integritate sollicitudinis proiecte in deum deficere?[48] Si enim habent magnam partem sollicitudinis ad mendicandum pro suo ordine a wlgo paupere ad preparandum pro suo capitulo domicilia et alia utensilia suo statui nimium sumptuosa et ad captandas famas hominum et nomen proprie[49] subtilitatis in populo, quis dubitat, quin foret maior sollicitudo in deum, si cum sollicitudine in ipsum pociores iste sollicitudinum[50] in suam sinceram sollicitudinem sint collecte? Iste ergo est fructus istorum ordinum, quod necessitant ad sollicitudinem, que debet proici in deum, ex integro dividendum.

Iterum sequitur in eodem capitulo:[h] sobrii estote et vigilate,[51] quia adversarius vester dyabolus[52] tamquam leo rugiens circuit, querens, quem devoret. Cui resistite fortes in fide, scientes eandem passionem ei, que[53] in mundo est, vestre fraternitati fieri.

In quo verbo notant fideles in domino,[54] quod conventicula istorum ordinum privatorum sunt camere secreciores dyaboli[55], cum circa honores et famam ordinis[56] sunt[57] magis solliciti, quam circa honorem et profectum ecclesie domini[58] Iesu Cristi.

Ideo si dyabolus sit[59] alicubi, tunc in istis ordinibus domestice hospitatur. Ideo si alicui[60] non sit[61] adversarius, sed domesticus et amicus, hoc est istis ordinibus, cum Cristi regulam plus pervertunt.

Scutum autem fidei multipliciter titubat in hiis sectis, cum unus innovat unam[62] fidem, et alius aliam, quam nesciunt fundare in fide domini Iesu Cristi, et tamen debet scire, quod[63] non differt

[g] *v. 7* [h] *v. 8—9*

[46] item *CDEFGα* iterum *γ* [47] *in E is add. in mar.:* Omnem sollicitudinem vestram proicientes in deum *D¹* deum *CDEGαγ* eum *F* [48] deficere *CDEFGα* proficere *γ* [49] proprie *CDFGαγ* proprio *E* [50] sollicitudinum *CDFGα* sollicitudinem *Eγ* [51] *in D is add. in mar.:* Sobrii estote et vigilate *D¹* [52] dyabolus *CDEFGα* *om. γ* [53] que *CDEGαγ* qui *F* [54] domino *CEFGαγ* duo *D* [55] *in C is add. in mar.:* Nota [56] *in γ the first part of* ord. *is corr.* [57] sunt *CDEFGα* sint *γ* [58] domini *CDEFGα* *om. γ* [59] sit *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [60] *in F* alicubi, *but* b *cr. out* [61] sit *CDEGαγ* sint *F* [62] unam *CDEFGγ* novam *α* [63] quod *CDFGαγ* quid *E*

passio, quam dyabolus facit sue fraternitati vel ordini et temptacio, quam dyabolus facit solitarie commoranti in seculo, nisi in hoc, quod illa temptacio istorum conventuum est forcior et temptatori[64] placencior, cum habet multos consentaneos ad temptandum residuos, qui deessent || viventi solitarie ut baptista.[65]

|| *C fol. 29a*

CAP. XII.

Constat perlegentibus has quatuor epistolas apostolorum canonicas, quod Iohannes ewangelista,[1] paranimphus sponsi ecclesie, inter omnes apostolos inculcat[2] crebrius caritatem, et quomodo cristianus debet Cristum diligere,[3] et quomodo exhinc a Cristo carius est dilectus.[4]

Videtur autem imprimis, quod iste[5] secte fratrum specialiter obviant caritati. Quero autem tamquam omnibus illis[6] impertinens, si quelibet istarum sectarum sit omnibus illis[7] eque perfecta vel una in perfeccione excedit[8] reliquam.

Primum non dicitur, tum[9] quia licet unum illorum[10] ordinum exire intrando reliquum, sicut papa specificat,[11] tum[12] eciam, quia tunc sine causa ritus penales servarent et pro primatu dignitatis contenderent. Supposito ergo, quod una secta, sicut[13] Fratres Minores exempli gracia, excedit reliquam,[a] videtur, quod omnes

CAP. XII. [a] *The Friars gloried in a theoretical poverty. Among them the Minorites boasted being furthest advanced in this direction: „Una paupertas est omnium christianorum, quae excludit alienum et includit commune et proprium. Alia est monachorum et multorum religiosorum, quae excludit alienum et proprium, sed includit et admittit commune, quia habent aliquid in communi, licet nihil habeant in parti-*

[64] temptatori *CEGFαγ* tentatori *γ* temptari *D* [65] baptista *CDEGαγ* bapt. igitur etc. *F*

CAP. XII. [1] *in F this may be* ewangelica. [2] inculcat *CDFGαγ* incultat *E* [3] *in D is add. below the col.:* Diligere quomodo cristianus debet Cristum *D*[1] [4] exh. a C. ca. e. dil. C*γ* exh. ca. e. a C. di *E*, lectus *add. in mar. by E*[2] hic exh. ca. a C. e. dil. *F* exh. ca. a C. e. dil. *DGα* [5] iste *CDEGαγ* hee *F* [6] illis *CDEFαγ* vel *G* [7] illis *CDEFαγ* vel *G* [8] excedit *CDEFGα* excedat *γ* [9] tum *CFGαγ* tamen *DE* [10] illorum *CDEFGγ* istorum *α* [11] specificat *CDFGαγ* senciat (sentenciat ?) *E* [12] tum *DGαγ* tamen *CEF* [13] sicut *CDEFGγ* sint *α*

alie[14] ex caritate ad illam debent concurrere, quia sic faciendo plus prodessent ecclesie. Quid ergo tardat ab isto gradu amoris, cum Fratres Minores sufficiunt et parati sunt omnes reliquas[15] sectas suscipere? Et cum sumus[16] certi de ewangelio, quod ille peccat in fratrem suum[17] notabiliter,[18] qui omittit gradum caritatis sibi tam facilem, quo tantum prodesset ecclesie,[19] videtur ex doctrina Cristi Matth. 18,[b] quod ista secta debet alias instanter pulsare, ut intrent suum ordinem sic perfectum. — Et sic de cunctis aliis privatis ordinibus, et eo evidencius, quo ecclesia militans non foret tunc[20] tot novitatibus onerata. Defectus ergo correpcionis fraterne in isto peccato, quo singulus eorum peccat in singulum, arguit,[21] quod notabiliter[22] in caritate deficiunt.

Sed hic credi potest probabiliter ex effectu, quod singulus istorum privatorum ordinum, ut[23] monachi tam albi quam nigri, Carthusienses et reliqui canonici, eciam tam albi quam nigri, et singuli quatuor ordinum mendicancium[24] dicunt singuli, quod[25] ordo suus[26] sit perfectissimus et aliter[27] intrarent[28] ordinem plus perfectum. Et cum manifestum sit, quod multi eorum vel singuli menciuntur,[29] opus foret potentis principis,[30] in isto puncto discutere veritatem, cum Psal. 5[31c] dicitur: perdes omnes, qui locuntur mendacium.

Omnes iste secte vel plurime in statu perdicionis onustant[32] ecclesiam. Ille ergo non diligit ecclesiam vel has sectas,[33] qui non

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culari. Tertia est fratrum Minorum, quae excludit alienum, speciale et commune et includit solum simplicem usum facti.“ — Nicolaus Oranus (Oresme), Tractatus in regulam Sancti Francisci (Luxemburg, 1626).
[b] *v. 23 ff.* [c] *v. 7*

[14] alie *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [15] reliquas *CDEFGα* alias *γ* [16] sumus *CDEFαγ* simus *G* [17] suum *Cαγ* *om. DEFG* [18] notabiliter *CDFGαγ* notanter *E* [19] *in E* eccie *(compend. om.)* [20] tunc *CDEFGα* nunc *γ* [21] arguit *CDFGαγ* credit *E* [22] notabiliter *CDFGαγ* notanter *E* [23] ut *CDEGαγ* nec *F* [24] mendicancium *CDFGαγ* mendicacium *E²* *om. E* [25] et sing. q. o. m. d. s. q. *CDFGαγ* et sing. quod *E, but above the col. is add.* q. o. m. d. s. *E²* [26] suus *CDEFGα* suuus *γ* [27] aliter *CDFGαγ* alter *E* [28] intrarent *CDEFγ* intraret *Gα* [29] *in D is add. with mark of ref. below the col.:* De mendacio *D¹* [30] principis *DGαγ* principiis *CEF* [31] 5o *CDEFGγ* *om. α* [32] onustant *CDGαγ* onuscant *EF* [33] eccles. i. e. n. d. e. v. h. sect. *CDEGαγ* eccles. vel has. sect. *F*

laborat perfecte ad exuendum[34] illas ab isto mendacio. Nec carent[35] papa, imperator, rex vel dominus secularis, ymo nullus de populo accusacione in sollicitudine huius ruine, cum[36] in dileccione[37] huius peccati dampnabilis notabiliter[38] in caritate possent[39] proficere[40] et alleviare ecclesiam de onusto[41] gravamine. Quomodo ergo manet caritas dei in illo, qui fovet vel consentit istis ordinibus, antequam ista veritas sit discussa?

Ideo multi fideles fugiunt communicare cum istis, tamquam ethnicis et publicanis, antequam[42] ista veritas et introduccionis sui ordinis licencia declaretur.[43]

Et hic videtur quibusdam, quod omnes iste secte private deficiunt in fide, spe et caritate et per consequens ad meram religionem Cristi sicut in primitiva ecclesia reducendi.

|| *C fol. 29b* Credunt[44] enim[45] ut fidem, quod deus || plus approbat suas sectas. Sperant eciam ex dei iudicio, quod sunt ex secte sue[46] permanencia amplius premiandi.[47] Et plus diligunt unusquisque sectam suam quam communem sectam domini Iesu Cristi. — Et sic in istis virtutibus theologicis[d] multum errant.

Quis igitur[48] nutriret[49] ipsos[50] in istis erroribus, sed pocius daret operam ad ipsos prudencius destruendum?

Similiter secundum legem Hieronymi[51e] non mediocriter peccat,[52]

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[d] *viz. in Faith Hope and Charity* [e] *cp. Corp. iur. can., Decr. pars III, dist. V cap. 24*

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[34] exuendum *CDFGα* extraendum *(!) E* exiendum *γ* [35] carent *CDFGαγ* caret *E* [36] cum *CDEFαγ* tum *G* [37] dileccione *CDEFG*, *in γ corr. word* dilacione *α* [38] notabiliter *CDFGαγ* notanter *E* [39] possent *CDEFGα* posset *γ* [40] proficere *CDGαγ* perficere *EF* [41] de onusto *CDFGαγ* de onusco *E*, *in mar. is add.* deo in isto *(underlined) E²* [42] *in E* antequam, *though correctly wr. in the text, is repeat. by E²* [43] declaretur *CDFGαγ* declararetur *E* [44] *in F* credunt ergo (ergo *cr. out)* [45] enim *CDFFαγ* *om. E* [46] secte sue *DEFG* secte sua *Cγ* sue secte *α* [47] premiandi *CDFGαγ* premandi *E* [48] igitur *CDGαγ* ergo *EF* [49] nutriret *CDGαγ* mitteret *EF* [50] ipsos *CDGαγ* eos *EF* [51] *in D is add. in mar.:* Ieronimus *D¹* [52] peccat *Dαγ*, *C*, *but above it* errat, *G*, *but in mar.* errat *(texthand)* errat *EF*

qui minus bonum prefert supposito indifferenti[53] magis bono, et sic colligitur, quod omnes isti privati ordines vel eorum plurimi secundum quod ipsos servaverint,[54] multum peccant. Deo enim non est[55] quelibet istarum sectarum indifferens, ut famulus suus militet in quacumque, cum Cristus ex impossibilitate talis differencie[56] dicit Luc. 11:[f] qui non est mecum, contra me est. Ideo si deo foret quidquam indifferens, tunc[57] indubie wlt utrumque, et sic commixcio[58] vel[59] confusio omnium istorum ordinum foret bona.

Sed, ut verius loquar,[60] bonum[61] foret, quod sinceritas Cristi ordinis per se staret; quam cum[62] isti ordines sine causa perturbant, videtur, quod non diligunt dominum[63] Iesum Cristum, et sic incurrunt secundum fidem apostoli[g] anathema.

Et sic videtur, quod fundatores et fautores istorum ordinum voluntatem Cristi consulerent,[64] antequam supra ordinem Cristi introducerent istas sectas. — Nec est par racio de indifferencia trium statuum[h] in Cristi ecclesia, quia omnes illi[65] status sunt a domino confirmati, et fidelis debet in vita caritatis Cristum[66] consulere, quis istorum statuum foret sibi[67] utilior. Et cum illis paribus non potest ab isto deficere, sed omnes iste secte novelle in isto fundamento deficiunt, cum nesciunt stabilire approbacionem domini in induccione[68] alicuius earum,[69] nec quod aliquis cultor alicuius earum in hac[70] vita vel alia sit beatus. Ignorancia enim vel ingratitudo in deserendo libertatem secte Cristi[71] inseparabiliter ipsos culpat.[72]

[f] *v.* 23 [g] *cp. I Cor.* 16, 22 [h] *of the clerici, milites, wlgares (or laboratores), see below De Christo et Advers. suo Anticristo cap. I in the beginning*

[53] supposito indifferenti *γ,C, but in mar.* supposita indifferencia *C²* supposita indifferencia *DEFGα* [54] servaverint *CDEGαγ* servaverit *F* [55] est *CDFGαγ,E² in mar. om. E* [56] *in α an uncertain abbrev.:* dicere? [57] tunc *CDFGαγ,E² in mar. om. E* [58] comixcio *DEF* comixtio *CGαγ* [59] vel *CDFGαγ* sive *E* [60] loquar *CDGαγ* loquamur *EF* [61] bonum *CEFγ* unum *DGα* [62] cum *EF* tamen *CDGαγ* [63] dominum *CDGαγ om. EF* [64] consulerent *CDGα* consulerant *E* consulent *γ* consulerunt *F* [65] illi *CDEFGα* isti *γ* [66] Cristum *CEFGαγ om. D* [67] sibi *CDEGαγ om. F* [68] induccione *CDEFGα* duccione *γ* [69] earum *in E is repeated in mar., cp. above note* 42 [70] earum nec quod al. cul. alic. ear in hac *CDFGαγ* earum in hac *E* [71] secte Cristi *CDFGαγ* Cristi secte *E* [72] culpat *CFGα* culpat etc. *E* inculpat *Dγ*

CAP. XIII.

Restat[a] ulterius alludendo[1] verbis Iohannis videndum, quomodo iste secte sunt[2] contrarie caritati.

Certum quidem est ex fide, quod omnis caritas informans hominem[3] est ex deo, et iterum certum est, quod omnis talis caritas ex deo facit rem[4] diligi,[5] ut est bona. Iste autem secte necessitant inequa lance[6] dileccionis res diligi,[7] ideo sunt contrarie[8] caritati. Quomodo, rogo, staret[9] ordo, si quelibet persona illius ordinis communiter ordinem vel sectam diligeret, ut est bona? Revera tam personas meliores aliorum ordinum magis diligeret et foret plus socia, quam eciam ordinem suum privatum relinqueret et caperet sinceriter ordinem cristianum.

Unde I Ioh. 1[b] scribitur:[10] si dixerimus, quoniam societatem habemus cum eo et in tenebris ambulamus, mentimur et veritatem non facimus; si autem in luce ambulamus, sicut et ipse in luce est, societatem habemus ad invicem, et sangwis[11] Iesu, filii[12] eius, emundat nos ab omni peccato.

Ex prima parte videtur[13] ex pertinencia verborum Iohannis, *C fol. 30a* quod omnes, qui sunt in caritate, || de qua Iohannes loquitur, sunt socii domini nostri[14] Iesu Cristi et immunes a peccato in spiritum sanctum. Et ex secunda palam sequitur,[15] quod, si ambulamus in gracia predestinacionis, tunc sumus[16] sine illo peccato, et necesse

CAP. XIII. [a] *With ref. to this chapt. see Tract de Pseudo-freris Cap. VI, Matthew, E. W. h. u. 309, where nearly the same ideas are found* [b] *v. 6—7*

CAP. XIII. [1] alludendo *CDFGaγ* alludendum *E* [2] sunt *CDEGaγ* sint *F* [3] hominem *CDFGaγ* homines *E* [4] est ex deo et iter. c. e. q. o. t. c. ex d. f. rem *CDGaγ* est ex deo fac. rem *EF* [5] *in D is add. in mar.:* De dileccione *D*[1] [6] lance *CFGaγ, E, repeat. in mar.* laute *D* [7] res diligi *CDEGaγ om. F, but in mar.* res dil. *F*[1] [8] contrarie *CDGaγ* contraria *EF* [9] staret *CEFγ* foret *DGa* [10] scribitur *CDEGaγ om. F* [11] sangwis *CDFGaγ* sangwinis *E* [12] filii *CDEF* Cristi filii *Gaγ* [13] videtur *CEFGaγ* ordinis videtur *D* [14] nostri *CDGa om. EFγ* [15] sequitur *CDEGaγ* scribitur *F* [16] *in D clearly* suinus

est, puod sangwis Cristi pro suo tempore faciat nos simpliciter esse mundos.[17]

Sed quomodo disponeret ad hoc desponsacio perpetua cum hiis sectis? Cum enim convertuntur Cristum diligere et diligere[18] principaliter ordinacionem vel legem, quam ipse instituit, ut patet Ioh. 14[c] et Matth. 16[19d], videtur, quod isti privati ordines, qui ut sic desponsant[20] se cum sectis propriis, relinquunt sectam domini Iesu Cristi, quia, si ex equo[21] eas diligunt, cum tantum variantur, unam[22] odiunt,[23] sed non illam, cum qua taliter[24] desponsantur.[25] Ideo relinquitur, quod odiunt sectam[26] Cristi et per consequens non tunc socii sunt cum illo, et per consequens non in caritate predicta diligunt fratres suos, quia tunc deum diligerent et humanitatem Cristi, qui est pater[27] suus capitalis.

Ideo dicit condicionalis Iohannes[e] quod, si in luce ambulamus, societatem habemus ad invicem. Sed quomodo possemus esse in ista caritate[28] confederati ad invicem, nisi[29] Cristum et suam sectam principaliter diligeremus, cum ipsum aliter odiremus.

Similiter cum I Ioh. 3[f] scribitur: omnis, qui odit fratrem suum, homicida est,[g] secte autem ut tales manifeste odiunt fratres suos, ideo oportet, quod sint homicide et irregulares. Odiunt autem eos, cum non ordinate ipsos diligunt[30] equa lance,[31] nec illis[32] proficiunt, ut debent, secundum regulam caritatis et, ut sepe evenit, propter hoc, quod alii[33] non affeccione privata afficiuntur suis sectis, ipsos odiunt.

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[c] *v. 15* [d] *v. 24* [e] *I Joh. 1, 7* [f] *v. 15* [g] *With ref. to this remark cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 310*

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[17] e. m. *CDFGαγ* m. e. *E* [18] et dil. *CDFGαγ,E² in mar. om. E* [19] 16° *CDαγ* 10° *EFG* [20] desponsant *DEFGαγ* desponsat *C* [21] equo *CDFGαγ* quo *E, but afterwards an* e *has been add.* [22] unam *CDGα* unum *EFγ* [23] odiunt *CDEGαγ* diligunt *(cr. out & ud.)* odiunt *F* [24] taliter *CDFGαE² in mar. om. γ* [25] desponsantur *CDFGαγ* desponsatur *E² in mar.* [26] od. sed n. i. c. q. t. d. i. r. q. o. sectam *CDFGαγ* od. sect. *E, but in mar.* sed non — q. od. *E²* [27] pater *CDGαγ* frater *EF* [28] esse in i. c. *CDFGα* in i. c. esse *E om. γ from here in E a smaller hand begins* [29] habemus ad invic. s. q. p. e. i. i. ca. co. ad inv. nisi *CDEFGα* habemus ad inv. nisi *γ* [30] ips. dil. *CDGα* dil. ips. *EF* eos diligunt *γ* [31] lance *CEFGαγ* laute *D* [32] illis *CDEGαγ* illos *F* [33] quod alii *CDEFGα om. γ*

Similiter, ut dicitur I Ioh. 4:[h] omnis spiritus, qui solvit Iesum, ex deo non est, et hic est anticristus, de quo audistis, quoniam venit et nunc iam in mundo est.[i] Ille autem ad propositum solvit Iesum, qui est causa culpabilis, quare Iesus et frater in domino non tam firmiter colligantur.[34] Sed quis dubitat, quin, si omnes colligaciones in istis sectis forent in pura colligacione secte Cristi sinceriter copulate,[35] Cristus foret plus dilectus ab illis fratribus, quam est modo? Tunc enim haberent solum Cristum patronum, sicut habuerunt apostoli et solum legem eius pro regula. Amor igitur, qui in ipsis sic[36] pure[37] foret collectus, qui hodie est dispersus, foret maior ad Cristum, quam est modo.

Quomodo igitur non dividunt ipsi Iesum[38] et sunt per consequens anticristus? Quamvis autem multe persone sint[39] nostri[40] adiutores, fratres et socii,[41] non tamen audeo dicere, quod sint capita sancte[42] matris ecclesie sive[43] nostra, quia tunc ecclesia foret nimium monstruosa, cum haberet sepe dyabolum caput suum et opinio errancium constistueret prepositum[44] in caput eius, quod deus non[45] constituit. Concederem[46] autem, si oportet, quod talis prepositus est prior vel capitaneus talis secte, sed nomen capitis servabo domino Iesu Cristo, cum caput immediate debet[47] erigi super[48] corpus,[49] quod est ecclesia.

Non autem scio fundare, quod[50] papa sit caput ecclesie, vel quod[51] aliquis prior secte private sit patronus, qui tante[52] colitur in sermonibus, nisi solvero[53] Iesum et per consequens fuero[54] anticristus.

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[h] *v. 3* [i] *As to this, see Matthew p. 310*

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[34] colligantur *CDGαγ* *om. F* diligitur *E* [35] copulate *CDFGαγ* copulata *E* [36] sic *CDFGαγ* sit *E* [37] pure *CDGαγ* primus *EF* [38] quom. ig. n. d. i. Ies. *CDαγ* quom. ergo n. d. i. Ies. *FG* quom. ergo i. n. d. Ies. *E* [39] sint *CDFGαγ* sunt *E* [40] nostri *CDEFαγ* vestri *G* [41] socii *CEFγ* sociis *DGα* [42] sancte *CDGαγ* secte *EF* [43] sive *CDGαγ*, *F(?)* sicut *E* [44] prepositum *CDFGαγ* propositum *E* [45] non *CDEFGα* *om. γ* [46] concederem *DGα* concedere *EFγ* concederet *C* [47] inm. de. *CDGαγ* de. inm. *EF* [48] super *CDEFG* supra *αγ* [49] corpus *CDEFGγ* coro *α* [50] *in E above the full* quod *in the text another abbreviated* quod *is repeat.* [51] quod *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [52] tante *CDEFGα* caute *γ* [53] solvero *CDGαγ* solvere *EF* [54] fuero *CDGαγ* fuere *EF* *(*fure *?)*

Et eodem modo si fratres plus diligunt mundum quam animas, quibus predicant, tunc in caritate deficiunt, cum || I Ioh. 2[k] scribitur: nolite diligere mundum neque ea, que in mundo sunt. Si quis diligit mundum, non est caritas patris in eo. Cum ergo iste secte necessitant ad istam dileccionem sui auditorii[55] substernendum, videtur, quod[56] sunt contrarie caritati. || *C fol. 30b*

Propter[57] talia precipit Iohannes II sua epistola:[58 l] si quis venit ad vos et hanc doctrinam non affert,[59] nolite eum recipere in domum, nec ave dixeritis;[60] qui enim dicit ei ave, communicat operibus eius[61] malignis.

Et ista fides executa fideliter foret contra has sectas optima medicina, cum certum sit, quod fratres nec communicando nec predicando afferunt[62] hanc doctrinam, scilicet quod hec est caritas,[63] ut ambulemus secundum mandata eius. Qui autem in hoc deficit, non confitetur, meritorie Iesum venisse in carne, sed est seductor et anticristus, sicut epistola[64] dicit ibi.[65 m]

CAP. XIV.

Ultimo restat videre,[1] si epistola Iude possit pertinenter fratribus applicari.[a]

Dicit autem Iudas[b] imprimis, quod generacio ista adultera fuit statim in veteri[2] testamento;[3] unde Enoch,[4] septimus ab Adam,

[k] *v. 15* [l] *v. 10—11* [m] *cp. II. Joh. 6—7*

CAP. XIV. [a] *With ref. to the follow. cp. Tract. de Pseudo-freris, cap. V ed. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 306 ff.* [b] *v. 14—15*

[55] auditorii *CDαγ* adiutorii *EF,C in mar.,G, but in mar.* auditorii *(texthand)* [56] quod *CDEFGγ* quam *α* [57] propter *(cr. out & ud.)* propter *in E* [58] Ioh. 2ª sua ep. *CDGα* Ioh. 2ª ep. sua *γ* Ioh. sua 2ª ep. *EF* [59] affert, *above it* habet *in C* [60] dix. *CE* ei dix. *DFGαγ* [61] op. ei. *CDGαγ* ei. op. *EF* [62] afferunt *CDGαγ* asserunt *EF* [63] hec e. c. *CDGγ* hec c. est *EF* hec c. *α* [64] epistola *CEFγ,G, above it in the text* apostolus apostolus *D, α, but in mar.* epistola *α*[1] [65] ibi *FGαγ* ibi cap. 14 *C* ibi et sequitur *E* ibi etc. *D*

CAP. XIV. [1] videre *CDGαγ* videndum *EF* [2] veteri *CDFGαγ* vetere *E* [3] *in D is add. in mar.:* Generacio adultera fuit statim in veteri testamento *D*[1] [4] *in F* enos

prophetavit[5] de illis, quod veniet dominus arguere impios de omnibus duris, que locuti fuerint contra deum. Nec fuit auditum a mundi exordio, quod secte, quidquid[6] fecerint, non[7] sunt a fidelibus arguende, quia hoc innueret satis patenter, quod in malicia supra dyabolum superant[8] firmitatem ecclesie cristiane.

Narrat autem sanctus Iudas verba contra generacionem istam adulteram satis vera:[c] hii sunt, inquit, murmuratores[9] querulosi, secundum desideria sua ambulantes, et os eorum loquitur superbiam, mirantes[10] personas questus causa.

Numquid credimus istas sectas esse[11] murmuratores querulosos,[12] cum contra suam paupertatem remurmurant, licet false dicant, se ipsam gratis diligere,[13] et tamen per fictam[14] mendicacionem continue nituntur[15] ipsam extingwere? Et sic de sua pauperie conqueruntur continue[16] mendicando, cum pretextu illius inopie sic mendicant.

Ambulant secundo secundum sua desideria mendicando, ut copiosius voluptatibus se involvant.

Os autem eorum loquitur superbiam,[17] cum innuunt statum suum plus esse[18] perfectum statu apostolico vel statu pape et[19] cardinalium et cum[20] sic mendicando dicunt oppositum, ideo perfeccionem talis mendacii innuunt, cuius sunt filii.

Quarto predicant[21] personas mirabiles sanctitate,[22] sciencia vel alia preeminencia. Sed fit tota ista adulacio questus causa. Et sic predicant personas sui ordinis esse mirabiles sanctitate atque sciencia, sed causa est, ut per hoc suo ordini querant lucrum.

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[c] *v. 16*

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[5] prophetavit *CDGαγ* proponit *EF* [6] quidquid *CEFγ* quidquam *DGα* [7] non *CDEFGα* nec *γ* [8] superant *CDEFαγ* superavit *G* [9] *in D is add. in mar.:* Hii sunt inquit murmuratores *D¹* [10] mirantes *CDGαγ*, *E²F¹ in mar.* iuvantes *EF* [11] esse *CDGγ* *om. EFα* [12] querulosos *CFGαγ* querulosas *DE* [13] diligere *CDFGαγ* eligere *E* [14] per fictam *CDGαγ* perfectam *EF* [15] nituntur *CDEGαγ* intuntur *F* [16] continue *CDEFGα* cottidie, *above it by the texthand* continue *γ* [17] sup. *CDEF* frequentur sup. *Gαγ* [18] pl. e. *CDGαγ* e. pl. *EF* [19] et *CDFDαγ* vel *E* [20] cum *CDGαγ* tunc *EF* [21] predicant *CDGαγ* mendicant *F* possunt *E*, *in mar.* ponunt *E²* [22] sanctitate *CDEGαγ* sanctitatem *F*

Et sequitur in textu Iude:[d] vos autem, carissimi, memores estote verborum, que predicta sunt ab apostolis[23] domini nostri Iesu Cristi, qui dicebant vobis, quoniam in novissimis temporibus[24] venient illusores,[25] secundum desideria sua ambulantes in impietatate. Hii sunt, qui[26] segregant semet ipsos, animales, spiritum non habentes.

|| Ubi manifestum est ex vita et opere fratrum, quod iste sanctus Iudas hic de ipsis loquitur et singula verba propter sensum sancti spiritus sunt notanda. Sicut enim credimus illius sanctitatem vite domini Iesu Cristi, sic credimus sanctitatem[27] vite istorum apostolorum et sentenciam codicum, quos scripserunt. || *C fol. 31a*

Et hinc, quia nulle[28] secte vocate vel profunctorie[29] cristiane audebant negare, istam sentenciam expressam in biblia esse fidem catholicam, ideo adducunt homines ista testimonia, que iste secte pre verecundia non audent renuere tamquam fidem. Propheta autem Hildegardis[e] prophetavit[30] de ipsis[31] egregie atque plane.[f] Sed quia habere possent colorem negare, dicta sua esse authentica sive[32] fidem,[33] relictis hiis scriptis volentibus ex habundanti ipsa respicere,[34] videtur multis esse forcius atque utilius, hanc legem gracie recitare. Ideo mandat hic sanctus[35] apostolus:[g] vos autem, carissimi, memores estote verborum, que predicta sunt ab apostolis domini nostri[36] Iesu Cristi. Cum enim ut fidem accipimus,[37] quod

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[d] *v. 17—19* [e] *Hildegard (1098—1179), abbess of St. Ruppert near Bingen, known by her visionary prophecies & her ascetic life, is frequently mentioned by the Lollards on account of her attacks on the abuses of the Church, cp. Pecocks Repressor ed. Ch. Babington 1860, II, 483; 477 ff.; 502 ff.; W. also cites from her works frequently, Matthew, E. W. h. u. 11; 492; Trial. 338* [f] *in her Epist. ad Cler. Colon. q. 574; 581 ff.* [g] *v. 17*

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[23] *in D is add. with mark of ref. above the col.:* Vos autem, car., *etc.* — apostolis *D*[1] [24] temporibus *CDGαγ* diebus et temporibus *EF* [25] illusores *CEFGαγ* delusores *D* [26] qui *CDEFαγ* *om. G* [27] en. cred. i. s. v. d. I. C. s. cred. sanc. *CDGαγ* en. cred. sanc. *EF* [28] nulle *Gγ* mille *CDEFα* [29] profunctorie *CEFGαγ* profuctorie *D (compend. om.)* [30] prophetavit *CDFGαγ* prophetat *E* [31] ipsis *CDFGαγ* eis *E* [32] sive *CDGαγ* sicut *EF* [33] fidem *CDEFGγ* fide *α* [34] ip. resp. *CDFGαγ* r. i. *E* [35] sanctus *CDEFGα* *om. γ* [36] nostri *CDEFαγ*, *G in mar. by the texthd.* *om. G* [37] accipimus *CDGαγ* accepimus *EF*

in ipsis regulariter quoad scripta sua canonica locutus est dominus Iesus Cristus et ipse mentiri non potuit vel aliquid[38] ignorare ut fidem, concludimus, quod nec eius apostoli in hiis scriptis, licet autem errare possent in moribus et via, non tamen ut sancti,[39] sunt sic scribe ecclesie domini Iesu Christi; verba ergo[40] eorum[41] ut verba vite eterne debent catholici memorari, quia efficacia istius memorie facit homines esse filios dei carissimos. Et supponi debet, quod alii[42] apostoli ut Paulus et reliqui[43] dixerunt vel predicando vel scribendo istam Iude sentenciam, licet ipsa verba in epistolis suis[44] canonicis non habemus.

Ista ergo fides posset pertinentissime, ut videtur, fratribus[45] applicari.

Iste autem secte fratrum in novissimis temporibus, quia post[46] mille annos ab ascensione domini, quando solutus est sathanas,[h] sunt[47] suborte.

Ideo vere dicit Iudas,[i] quod venient in novissimis temporibus[48] et nominat eos in principio illusores,[49] quia adulterando verbum dei in fide primo fideles decipiunt, sicut patet in suis predicacionibus et suis interlocucionibus de[50] verbis domini et licencia filios ecclesie expugnandi. Dogmatizant enim, ut manifesti heretici, quod Cristus docuit suos apostolos emere sibi corporales gladios ad pugnandum,[51] apostoli autem Cristi istum sensum non habuerant[52] de hiis verbis, cum de Andrea legitur,[53] quod rogavit populum, ut non impedirent passionem eius, dum populus ille voluit[54] Andream[55] de manu

[h] *An idea peculiar to W. & often repeated by him, cp. below De Solucione Sath., cap. I, beginning, also Trial. 153; 240; 249 ff.; 362. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 3; 48; 89; 328 and in other places* [i] *v. 18*

[38] aliquid *DGαγ* aliud *C* *om. EF* [39] sancti *CGγ* facti *DEFα* [40] ergo *CEFGαγ* autem *D* [41] *in α is add. in mar.:* Verba apostolorum nota *α¹* [42] alii *CDGα,γ (corr. word)* ante *EF* [43] et rel. *DEFGαγ* *om. C, but add. by textbd. in mar.* [44] suis *CDGα* *om. EFγ* [45] ut vi. fr. *CDGγ* fr. ut vi. *EF* ut dicitur fr. *α* [46] post *CDEGαγ* plus *F* [47] sunt *CDFGαγ,E² in mar.* *om. E* [48] *in D is add. in mar.:* Nota bene *D¹* [49] *in D is add. in mar.:* Illusores *D¹* [50] pred. et s. i. de *CDEGαγ* pred. de *F* [51] *in C is add. in mar.:* Nota [52] habuerant *CDGα* habuerunt *EFγ* [53] *in D is add. with mark of ref. below the col.:* Andreas rogavit populum, ne impedirent passionem eius *D¹* [54] voluit *CDFGγ* voluerit *Eα* [55] Andream *CDFGαγ* *om. E*

Hegee[56] eripere[k] et de tormento crucis, quod Hegeas sibi disposuit liberare. Fratres autem adinvenerunt[57] supra apostolos ex verbis domini, ut fingunt indubie propter questum, quod licet tam episcopis quam fratribus sic[58] pugnare. Ideo sunt propter racionem multiplicem illusores.

Sunt secundo[59] secundum desideria sua ambulantes, quia propter novitatem sue inducciones vendicant,[60] iurisdiccionibus episcopalibus non subesse, et quantumcunque infide in spoliacione vel mulierum strangulacione in diocesi vel provincia[61] contra episcopos vel subditos suos[62] pec||caverint, vendicant, quod a correccione[63] episcopi sunt[64] exempti.[l] Et hinc sunt plus secundum desideria sua ambulantes. || *C fol. 31b*

Nec ambulant regulariter[65] in pietate, cum verba Cristi parum ponderant, sed ipsa asserunt esse falsa[66] et pauperes plebeos spoliant. Sed que pietas est in istis?

Quarto dicit iste apostolus, quod hii sunt,[67] qui segregant semet ipsos.[68] Non autem iacent regulariter in alienis[69] domibus, sicut fecerunt Cristus et eius[70] apostoli, cum faciunt aliquid[71] a populo abscondendum, sed in locis magis fertilibus edificant sibi domos proprias sumptuosas ex rapinis subtilibus ad magnum dampnum rei publice constructas. Hic signanter dicit Iudas, quod hii segregant semet ipsos. Volunt tamen hospitare divites viros aut[72] feminas indubie questus gracia vel corporee[73] voluptatis.

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[k] *cp. Woog, De Mart. Andr. Apost., Lpz. 1749, 87, also Cave, Antt. App., in vit. And. 3, 4 p. 481 ff.* [l] *W. has very probably in view the* monachi nigri, *i. e. the reformed Benedictines, who, under the name of Cluniacenses, recognised the pope as their immediate spiritual lord*

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[56] vo. A. d. m. He. *CFGαγ* v. d. m. He. A. *D* [57] adinvenerunt *CDEγ* advenerunt *F* invenerunt *Gα* [58] sic *CDEFGα* taliter *γ* [59] 2° *CDEFGα*. autem *(cr. out)* 2° *γ* [60] vendicant *CEFGαγ* vendicat *D* [61] prov. *CDFGαγ* in prov. *E* [62] e. v. sub. s. *CDEFG* e. s. v. sub. *γ* e. v. sub. *α* [63] correccione *CDFG* correpcione *Eαγ* [64] sunt *CDEFGα* sint *γ* [65] regulariter *CDFGxγ* irregul. *E* [66] falsa *CDGαγ* falsum *E, F, but above* um *is inserted* a [67] sunt *Gαγ* om. *CDEF* [68] *in D is add. in mar.:* Segregant semet ipsos *D*[1] [69] alienis *CDGαγ* aliis *EF* [70] eius *CEFGα* sui *Dγ* [71] aliquid *CDFGαγ* aliud *E* [72] aut *CDEFGα* ac *γ* [73] corporee *αγ* corpore *CDEFG*

Et ideo dicit Iudas[m] quinto, quod sunt animales[74] propter voluptuosam vitam,[75] in qua taliter se involvunt.

Sexto, ut Iudas[m] meminit, ex istis sequitur, quod sunt spiritum sanctum communiter non habentes,[76] cum[77] spiritus sanctus tales effrenes voluptuosos non inhabitat inspirando.[78]

CAP. XV.

Unde[1] paulo ante[a] Iudas assimilando has sectas eis improperat sub hiis verbis: hii[2] sunt in epulis[3] macule convivantes,[4] sine timore semet ipsos pascentes, nubes sine aqua, que a ventis circumferuntur,[5] arbores autumpnales, infructuose, bis mortue, eradicate, fluctus[6] feri[7] maris, despumantes[8] suas confusiones, sidera errancia, quibus procella tenebrarum conservata[9] est in eternum.

Ista octo[10] verba exprobratoria[11] possunt cum[12] aliis discolis fratribus[13] applicari.

Sunt autem primo[14] in epulis[15] suis[16] macule convivantes, quia propter universalitem et incorrigibilitatem sunt macule in abstracto. Vel enim prandent extrinsecus cum populo, quem visitant, vel intrinsecus cum semet ipsis; et quando manducant extrinsecus, non[17] intrant domum pauperem,[18] nisi forte ibi sit convivium cele-

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[m] *v. 19*

CAP. XV. [a] *v. 12—13. As to the follow. cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 307 ff.*

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[74] *in D is add. in mar:* Animales *D*[1] [75] pr. vol. vi. *CDGα* pr. vi. vol. *EF* v. pr. voluptosam *γ* [76] *in D is add. in mar.:* Spiritum sanctum non habentes *D*[1] [77] cum *CDEGαγ* tam *F* [78] inspirando *CEFGαγ* insp. etc. *D*

CAP. XV. [1] Unde *CDEFαγ* Ude *G* [2] hii *CDFGαγ* hiis *E* [3] epulis *DGγ* epistolis *(?) CEFα* [4] convivantes *CDFGαγ* conviantes *E, but in mar. a little defaced* convivantes *by E*[3] [5] circumferuntur *CDGα* circumseruntur*(!) EFγ* [6] fluct. *CDEFGα* fluct. sevi *γ* [7] feri *DEFGαγ* feri *C, but in mar.* sevi [8] despumantes *CDFGα* dispumantes *Eγ* [9] conservata *CDEFα* confurata *G* servata *γ* [10] octo *CDEGαγ* ergo *F* [11] exprobratoria *CDEFGα* exprobatoria *γ* [12] cum *CDFGαγ om. E* [13] disc. fr. *CDFGαγ* fr. disc. *E* [14] primo *CEFGαγ om. D* [15] epulis *CDGαγ* epistolis *EF* [16] suis *CDEFαγ om. G* [17] vel intr. c. s. i. et q. m. ex. non *CDEGαγ* vel intr. non *F* [18] pauperum *CDGαγ* pauperem *EF*

bratum, sed domum divitis dapiferi, ut prandium suum sit equipollens convivio. Dum autem domi comedunt cum semet ipsis, tunc de spoliis pauperum semet ipsos convivant copiosius, quando pascunt divitem secularem, et parcius, quando pascunt solummodo semet[19] ipsos. Ista tamen[20] parcitas non attingit parcitatem pauperum, quos[21] ypocrite[22] a sumptibus spoliarunt.[23] Et omnino in prandio isto propter monstruositatem personarum[24] assimilatam convivio se pascunt de alienis epulis maculose.

Secundo sunt sine timore semet ipsos pascentes, quia tam[25] spoliatores in regnis exteris,[26] quam latrones in regnis intrinsecis[27] sunt cum timore magno invasionis hostium epulantes. Sed isti armati armis ypocrisis, non obstante, quod spoliant et rapiunt fideles sine[28] timore, comedunt predam suam et sic[29] cum ceci[30] putant se prestare[31] deo in hoc obsequium,[32] || nec deum nec hominem timent in sic vescendo bonis pauperum proximorum. || *C fol. 32a*

Tercio vocat eos Iudas: nubes sine aqua.[33] Sacerdotes autem debent[34] esse nubes[35] populo propter causam triplicem communiter assignatam: primo enim debent vindictam solis iusticie[b] mediante[36] sanctitate sue vite a populo eclipsari; secundo debent ab ardore cupidinis terrenorum[37] plebem protegere; et tercio debent pluviam voluntariam aque[38] sapiencie generatam in hiis nubibus populo destillare. — Sed, ut videtur multis, fovendo et celando peccata populi pocius preparant[39] ad vindictam et spoliando pauperes de

[b] *viz. Jesus Christ*

[19] semet *CDGαγ* se *EF* [20] tamen *CGγ* autem *DEFα* [21] quos *DGαγ*, *C(! quas)* quo *EF* [22] ypocrite *CEF* ypocritice *DGαγ* [23] spoliarunt *CDGαγ* spoliaverunt *EF* [24] personarum *CDGαγ* parum *(!) E* *om. F* [25] quia tam *CDEGαγ* artam *F, but* ar *ud. & above it as well as in mar.:* quia *F¹* [26] exteris *CDγ*, *Gα¹ in mar.* extrinsecis *EFGα* [27] regn. ex. q. l. i. r. intr. *CDEGαγ* regn. intr. *F*, *but in mar.* ext. q. l. i. r. *F¹* [28] *in E* sines, *but the end*-s *cr. out* [29] *in E* sic *first forgotten, then inserted into the text* [30] ceci *CDGγ* *om. EFα* [31] prestare *Cγ* patrare *DEFGα* [32] in hoc obs. *CDEFGα* *om. γ* [33] voc. e. I. n. s. a. *CF* v. I. e. n. s. a. *DGαγ* voc. e. I. s. n. a. *E* [34] debent *CDFGαγ* dicunt *E* [35] *in E is add. in mar.:* Sacerdotes dicuntur nubes sine pluvia *E¹* [36] mediante *EFγ* mediate *CDGα* [37] terrenorum *CDFGαγ* terrennorum *E*, *but the first* n *cr. out & ud.* [38] aque *CDEFGγ* aqua *α*, *above it* aque *inserted by α¹* [39] preparant *CDEGαγ* preperpraut *F (written wrong)*

bonis suis pauculis tam exemplo quam opere ipsos necessitant ad amplius cupiendum.

Et quantum ad tercium dicit apostolus, quod sunt nubes sine pluvia, quia non predicant aquam sapiencie, sed falsa sive ludicra propter questum. Ideo cum secundum philosophos[40] est aura pestilencialis, quando videtur pluere et non pluit, videtur multis, quod tales secte inducunt spissim pestilenciam anime, que in gracia viveret quoad deum. A ventis autem inconstantibus indubie maligni spiritus talis secta communiter varie circumfertur. Ventus autem superbie et suffulsio[41] dominorum et[42] dominarum cum sua cupidine eos tam varie circumducit.

Quarto dicit Iudas, quod sunt arbores autumpnales, infructuose. Sicut enim arbores fructifere in autumpno potissime fructus suos ostenderent, sic iste secte mediante[43] sua pauperie et sanctitate, quam similant, forent populo spiritualiter fructuose. Sed cum iste[44] fructus deficiat,[45] quam vere dicit iste[46] apostolus, quod sunt arbores infructuose! Cum enim alii antiqui sacerdotes, qui fuerunt, antequam iste secte fuerant introducte, perfecerint[47] officium, quod deberent, iste[48] secte forent omnino superflue, et sic illatores infructuosi[49] stolide introducti.[50]

Quinto dicit iste sanctus[51] apostolus,[52] quod iste persone sunt bis mortue. Sunt enim semel mortue ex[53] carencia gracie in statu seculi, quia assistente dei gracia numquam intrarent has sectas per dyabolum adinventas et sic[54] per iustam[55] vitam in seculo et omnino per demoniacum[56] introitum in istos ordines sunt semel[57] mortui, antequam fiant fratres; et iterum, cum continuant peccatum istas

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[40] philosophos *CDFGαγ* filozofos *E, the last part first erased, afterw. inserted over the line* [41] suffulsio *CDEFGγ* suffultus *α* [42] et *CDEFGα* ac *γ* [43] mediante *Eγ* mediate *CDFGα* [44] iste *CDEFGγ* isti *α (corr. word)* [45] deficiat *CDEFGγ* deficiant *α* [46] iste *CDGαγ om. EF* [47] perfecerint *Cγ* perfecerunt *DEFGα* [48] iste *CDGαγ* ille *EF* [49] infructuosi *CDGα* infructuoso *EF* infructuose *γ* [50] introducti *CDGαγ* introducte *EF* [51] sanctus *CDEFGα om. γ* [52] *in γ* quinto — apostolus *is repeated* [53] bis m. s. e. s. m. ex *CDGαγ* bis mortue ex *EF* [54] et sic *CDEFGα* nec *γ* [55] iustam *CEF* iniustam *DGαγ* [56] demoniacum *CEFGαγ* dyabolicum *D* [57] semel *DEFGαγ om. C, but added afterwards in mar.*

sectas consequens. Cum fuerint facti fratres, sunt iterum gravius mortui, quoad deum.

Et cum sunt positi extra spem redeundi ad sinceram et liberam sectam Cristi, et spes debet stabilire viantem[58] sicut anchora[59] sive radix, subtiliter dicit,[60] quod[61] sunt eradicate. Et istud est sextum verbum exprobratorium.

Septimo sunt fluctus feri maris despumantes[62] suas confusiones. Vocatur autem ferum mare[63] communitas membrorum dyaboli,[64] que ex causa multiplici congrue dicitur esse mare; et dicitur ferum, quia sine iugo legis domini[65] vagatur indomitum in ecclesia militante. Sed inter || omnes partes predicti maris,[66] secte predicte in- || *C fol. 32b* vecte[67] furia[68] sunt amplius vagabunde. Despumant[69] autem suam confusionem per hoc, quod fundacionem istarum sectarum nesciunt stabilire. Sed una contrariante alteri de istarum[70] sectarum iniciis et[71] valenciis sunt[72] confusiones proprias despumantes.[73] Et ostendendo, quod non sunt eius discipuli, in quo non fuerunt est et non, commendant[74] in suis sermonibus egestatem, et tamen laborant in opere, ut exuant illam tunicam, quam sic laudant.

Octavo dicit iste sanctus apostolus, quod iste secte sunt sidera errancia, quibus procella tenebrarum conservata est in eternum. Inter omnia autem sidera errancia stella cometa[75] habet propriissime illud nomen, cum[76] non sequitur[77] regulariter motum celi, sed quodammodo fingendo[78] infra aerem[79] imitacionem astri, quod ipsam

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[58] viantem *Cγ, Gα, but in mar.* unitatem *G (texthand, resp.* $α^1$*)* unitatem *DEF* [59] anchora *CDEFGα* anchara *γ* [60] dicit *CDEFGα* dicitur *γ* [61] quod *CDGαγ* Iudas quod *EF* [62] despumantes *CDFGαγ* dispumantes *E* [63] *in D is add. in mar.:* Ferum mare D^2 [64] me. dy. *CDFGαγ* dy. me. *E* [65] domini *CDEFGα* dei *γ* [66] maris *Dγ, C, above it in text:* meroris meroris *EF, Gα, but in mar.* maris *G (texthd., resp.* $α^1$*)* [67] invecte *CDEFGα* et recte *γ* [68] furia *CDEGαγ* firma *(ud.) above it* furia *F* [69] despumant *CDGαγ* dispumant *EF* [70] de istarum *CDFGαγ* dictarum *E* [71] et *CDEGαγ* inutilescentibus *(cr. out & ud.)* et *F* [72] sunt *CDGαγ om. EF* [73] despumantes *CDFGαγ* dispumans *E* [74] comendant *CDGαγ* id est comendat *E* id est comedant *F* [75] sunt sid. errancia quibus — stella cometa *CDFGαγ* sunt si. err. com. *E, but below the col. is add.:* quibus procella — errancia E^2 *in D is add. in mar.:* Cometa D^1 [76] cum *CDGαγ* quod *EF* [77] sequitur *CEFα* consequitur *DGγ* [78] fingendo *CDFGαγ* fugiendo *E* [79] infra *CDFGαγ* in falsum *A*

genuit, prenosticat mortes[80] principum,[81] pestilencias et alia multa mala.

Sic[82] autem iste secte non in celeste corpus ecclesie sublimantur,[83] sed simulantes se esse de ecclesia, ac si stella cometa se esse fixam[84] fingeret supra lunam, non solum mortes prelatorum, pestilencias et alia multa mala prenosticant, sed faciunt in effectu;[85] et sicut stella cometa[86] non habet perpetuam mansionem, sed in brevi in mare dissolvitur, sic supponi poterit de hiis sectis; et quod sua habitacio sit in inferno, ubi tempestas[87] tenebrosa perpetuatur, verisimiliter credi potest, cum non cum Paulo apostolo[88] sua conversacio sit in celis.[c]

Talia sunt multa dicta in lege gracie, que pertinenter istis sectis poterint[89] applicari.[90]

CAP. XVI.

Sed hic[1] isti remurmuratores[2] querulosi[a] regarrulant dicentes, quod iste sensus fidei scripture non est nisi heretice de hiis fratribus sompniatus, cum nulli sancti doctores priores sic exposuerant nostram fidem.

Et certum est, quod quicunque exposuerit[3] fidem scripture[4] aliter quam[5] spiritus sanctus flagitat, ex pertinaci proposito est[6] hereticus.

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[c] *cp. Phili. 3, 20*

CAP. XVI. [a] *So accord. to Iude v. 16, cp. above cap. XIV p. 66*

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[80] mortes *CDGαγ* virtos *(not clear) E, but in mar.* mortis *E²* morte *(last part of the word corr.) F, but in mar.* mortes *F¹* . [81] principum *CDGαγ* principium *EF* [82] sic *CDFGαγ* si *E, above it* c *is add. in the text* [83] sublimantur *CEFGαγ* sublunantur *D* [84] s. e. f. *CDEFGα* f. s. e. *γ* [85] in effectu *CDGαγ* in effectum *EF* [86] *in D is add. in mar.:* Comota *in C* cometa *is corr. from* comata, *cp. the same before, above l. 4, but p. 73 l. 21* comata *corr. from* cometa [87] tempestas *CDFGαγ* est temp. *E* [88] ap. *CDGαγ* scilicet ap. *EF* [89] poterint *CDFGαγ* possunt *E* [90] p. a. *CDFGαγ* a. p. etc. *E*

CAP. XVI. [1] hic *CDGαγ om. EF* [2] remurm. *CDEFGα* murmuratores *γ* [3] exposuerit *CDGα* exposuit *E* exposuerint *γ om. F* [4] scripture *CDGαγ om. EF* [5] nost. fid. e. c. q. q. exp. f. scr. al. quam *CDEGαγ* nost. fid. al. quam *F* [6] est *CDEFGα* est *(cr. out) γ*

Hic sepe dictum est, quomodo admittimus veritatem scripture sacre ex integro tamquam fidem, et quantum ad partes eius, de quarum sensibus opinionem habemus vel humiliter ambigimus, dicimus sensus nostros opinative, vel[7] humiliter recitamus[8] parati semper ad[9] concedendum[10] sensum catholicum, sive per papam, sive per fratrem aliquem, sive per laicum sit edoctus. In isto autem sensu exposito modo, quo dictum est, opinative quiescimus quousque sensus[11] probabilior huic contrarius sit edoctus.

Sed quantum ad hic[12] factam arguciam, patet, quod nec omnes fratres nec papa cum omnibus cardinalibus sciunt probare, quod primo assumitur.[13b] Quamvis autem ipsos lateat, quem[14] sensum spiritus sanctus ex isto textu[15] flagitat, vel quemcunque sensum aliquis[16] sanctus de ipso dixerit, cum iuxta professionem priorem doceant[17] sensum alium vel improbent istum et tunc opinans wlt eis humiliter consentire. Et ad istud || hee secte darent operam, dimit- || *C fol. 33a*
tendo sollicitudinem mundanam,[18] cum Cristus Matth. 24[c] in simili[19] difficultate precipiat: qui legit, inquit, intellegat, et turpe foret, quod aliqui homines dampnent vel increpent, quod ignorant, quia sic ex sibi dubio prosternerent sensum dei.

Secundo arguitur pro hac parte, quemcunque[20] sensum catholicum, quem verba pretendunt secundum sensum grammaticalem,[21] primarium illum[22] sensum spiritus sanctus per verba sua intelligit, sed sic processum est in istis verbis ewangelii exponendo, ergo spiritus sanctus illos intelligit.[23] Et cum foret pertinentissimum edificacioni ecclesie spiritum sanctum illos sensus intendere, videtur,

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[b] *viz. that W. is here defending a sensus hereticus* [c] *v. 15*

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[7] vel γ,*C*, *above it* ut ut *DEFG*α [8] recitamus γ recitemus *CDEFG*α [9] ad *CG*$\alpha\gamma$ et *D* humiliter et *EF* [10] op. vel hum. rec. pa. se. ad conced. *CG*α op. ut hu. re. pa. se. humiliter et conced. *EF* op. ut hum. re. pa. se. et con. *D* op. vel hum. rec. par. se. ad conc. γ [11] sensus *CDEG*$\alpha\gamma$ *om.* *F* [12] hic *CDG*$\alpha\gamma$ *om.* *EF* [13] assumitur *CDG*$\alpha\gamma$ assumuntur *EF* [14] quem *CDFG*$\alpha\gamma$, *E*[2] *in mar.* quam *E* [15] textu *CDG*$\alpha\gamma$ *om.* *EF* [16] aliquis *EF*γ alius *(?)* *CDG*α [17] doceant *CDEF*$\alpha\gamma$ doceat *G* [18] mundanam *CDEF*$\alpha\gamma$ humanam *G* [19] simili *CDG*$\alpha\gamma$ seculi*(?)* *EF* [20] quemcunque *CDG*α quantumcunque *EF*γ [21] grammaticalem *CDG*α generalem *EF*γ [22] ill. *CDEG*$\alpha\gamma$ in ill. *F* [23] int. *CDG*$\alpha\gamma$ sensus int. *EF*

quod hoc sit catholice concedendum, ut patet[24] Matth. 7,[25d] quando Cristus precipit: attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces, a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.[26] — Nos per istos falsos prophetas communiter intelligimus pseudofratres et sic per illud Matth. 24:[e] multi[27] pseudoprophete surgent et seducent multos, intelligimus cum[28] protestacione predicta huiusmodi pseudofratres.

Doceant autem adversarii meliorem sensum alium[29] vel improbent istum et invenient[30] nos veritati humiliter consentire. Sed I Ioh. 4[f] precipitur: temptate spiritus, si ex deo sunt.

Nec mirum, si fideles experiencia docti ad sensum alium catholicum exponant verba scripture,[31] quam[32] doctores antiqui communiter exponebant, quia ab experiencia[33] tam homines quam angeli sunt edocti. Nec repugnat, quod sensus alius cum[34] isto satis catholicus a doctoribus antiquis sit[35] expositus, quia ut fidem accipimus,[36] quod quemcunque sensum, quem verba scripture confuse pretenderint,[37] deus distincte intelligit et ordinat fideles suos intelligere et per talem intellectum matri[38] sue proficere, ut logici[39] sine difficultate accipiunt, quod hoc signum 'homo' quemcunque hominem confuse[40] signat.[41] — Et sic spiritus sanctus intelligit per illud Gen. 2:[g] factus est homo in animam viventem, quodcunque animal racionale[42] ex corpore et anima compositum, licet quadam[43] preeminencia intelligat[44] primum Adam. Wlt enim deus, quod[45] ordinat, quod talis intencio[46] communis, significet naturaliter omnia

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[d] *v. 15* [e] *v. 11* [f] *v. 1* [g] *v. 7*

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[24] patet *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [25] 7° *DFGαγ* 4° *CE* [26] eos *CDFGαγ* *om. E* [27] multi *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [28] cum *CDGαγ* tamen *EF* [29] m. s. a. *CDFGαγ* a. s. m. *E* [30] invenient *CDFGαγ* inveniunt *E* [31] scri. *CDEGαγ* sensum scri. *F* [32] quam *CDEFαγ* quoniam *G* [33] experiencia *CDFGαγ* expiencia *E* [34] cum *CDFGαγ* ab *E* [35] fuit *DEFGα* sit *γ* sit, *above it* fuit *C* [36] accipimus *CDEGαγ* accepimus *F* [37] pretenderint *DGα*, *Cγ (corr. word)* pretendunt *EF* [38] intell. et p. t. i. matri *CDαγ* int. et p. t. i. *G* int. matri *EF* [39] logici *CDFGαγ* loici *E* [40] confuse *CFGαγ* *om. DE* [41] signat *CDFαγ* significat *EG* [42] racionale *CDEGαγ* racionabile *F* [43] quadam *CDEGαγ* quandam *F* [44] preeminencia intelligat *E* preeminencia intelligant *CDGαγ* preeminenciam intelligat *F* [45] quod *CEF* quia *DGαγ* [46] intencio *CDEFGγ* intentus *α*

sua supposita[47] et per idem ordinat intelligi per[48] illud verbum: falsi prophete ad vos venient[49] in vestimentis ovium,[50] quoscunque falsos prophetas, qui venient[51] ad aliquam personam ecclesie militantis. Deus enim non est parcus et invidus[52] in significacionem[53] confusam sui termini[54] ordinando.

Ideo certum est ex fide, quod docto tales pseudo esse prophetas vel tales, quales deus describit suo[55] apostolo, illi sunt in verbis[56] domini intellecti. Ideo illi, qui contra hunc sensum scripture remurmurant, debent docere in opere, quod vita sua illi sensui contradicit. Unde docto, quod nos[57] simus[58] tales, indubitanter concedimus, quod spiritus sanctus de vobis loquitur[59] in hiis verbis.

Et si queratur, quare Cristus in scriptura sua[60] loquitur tam confuse, patet ex modo loquendi Cristi in ewangelio, quod peccatores communiter increpat in confuso,[61] ut vel[62] sic formidemus nos esse ipsos,[63] de quibus Cristus sic[64] loquitur. Unde in persona proditoris noluit Petro[65] ostendere nisi in confusa noticia, | ut Matth. || *C fol. 33b*
26[h] scribitur:[66] unus ex vobis me traditurus est, et quando apostoli voluerunt scire, quis ille esset: qui, inquit,[i] intingit,[67] mecum manum in parapside,[68] hic me tradet. Et cum duodecim apostoli[69] in eadem tabula et in eadem parapside comederunt,[70] non erant apostoli plus certificati per illa verba sequencia, quam per[71] pri-

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[h] *v. 21* [i] *v. 23*

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[47] com. significet nat. om. su.· supp. *DGαγ* com. scilicet nat. om. su. supp. *C* com. scilicet sanctificet om. su. supp. *F* com. scilicet omnia sumpta *E*, *in mar. is add.* sua [48] per *CDFGαγ* et *(cr. out & ud.)* per *E* [49] venient *DEGαγ*, *C* (?, *as the abbrev.* ve. *(sic) is ambiguous* veniunt *F* [50] *in D is add. below the col.:* Falsi prophete v. a. v. i. v. ovium *D*[1] [51] venient *CDGαγ* veniunt *EF* [52] invidus *Cαγ* inmundus *DG* improvidus *EF* [53] significacionem *CDEFGγ* sermonem *(?) α* [54] termini *CDFGαγ* tremini *E*, *but in mar.* termini *E*[2] [55] suo *CDGαγ* in suo *EF* [56] verbis *CDEGαγ* verbo *F* [57] nos *CDEFGα om. γ* [58] simus *CDαγ* sumus *EFG* [59] d. v. l. *DFGαγ* l. d. v. *E* de nobis l. *C* [60] sua *CDGαγ om. EF* [61] confuso *CDαγ* confuse *E,GF(?)* *in D is add. in mar.:* Peccatores communiter increpat in confuso *D*[1] [62] vel *CDFGαγ om. E* [63] n. e. i. *CDEGαγ* n. i. e. *F* [64] Cristus sic *CDGαγ om. E* Cristus *F* [65] Petro *CDGαγ om. EF* [66] scribitur *CDGαγ om. EF* [67] inquit intingit *CDFGαγ* intingit inq. *E* [68] parapside *CEF* parapsidem *DGαγ* [69] apostoli *CDEGαγ* discipuli *F* [70] comederunt *CDαγ* comederent *EFG* [71] per *DGαγ om. CEF*

mum. Et quantum ad illud Ioh. 13:[72k] ille est, cui intinctum panem porrexero, facile est Cristo,[73] actum intellectus et voluntatis discipulorum confundere, ut[74] maneat particulariter eque eis incognitum[75] sicut primum. Et ita videtur, facesiam Cristi requirere, quod non particulariter accusent hominem, nisi[76] confusa accusacio sit insufficiens, quoad illud.

Et ita fratres, si docuerint istam sentenciam esse[77] falsam vel in modo faciendi deficere, oportet primo, quod[78] purgent se ipsos de crimine implicato, quod vite sue immunitas ostendat illam calumpniam esse falsam, quia[79] certum est, si tales fuerint, a qualibus[80] deus mandat attendere, tunc lex Cristi precipit[81] ab illis aufugere. Et cum praxis theologie non evagatur circa universalia, sed circa particulares homines[82] increpandos, manifestum est, quod deus intendit[83] particulares homines,[84] quorum reatus per verba ista[85] intelligitur,[86] sed confuse.

Deus enim cognoscit et intendit[87] distincte, quot[88] homines sub illo confuso termino continentur, et wlt atque intendit, quod per illud[89] verbum confusum scripture tales homines sint correpti, et per consequens deus wlt, quod tales homines sint per illos confusos terminos designati. Ille ergo est[90] sensus scripture, quam[91] deus eternaliter intendit, nisi talium personarum immunitas ab illo crimine excusetur.

Videat ergo querelans[92] de isto sensu huic scripture[93] imposito, si in[94] sua conversacione a tali crimine sit immunis. Quod si sit,

[k] *v. 26*

[72] 13° *CDEGαγ* *om. (it is erased) F* [73] Cristo *CEFGαγ* Cristum *D,G in mar. (texthand)* [74] ut *CDGαγ* et *EF* [75] eis incogn. *CDGαγ* ignotum eis *EF* [76] nisi *CDEFGα* ubi *(cr. out) above it by the texthand* nisi *γ* [77] esse *CDFGαγ* fore *E* [78] quod *DEFGαγ* *om. C, but add. in mar. by texthand* [79] quia *CDEGαγ* cum *F* [80] qualibus *EDα* qualibet *Gγ,C (?)* quibus *F* [81] precipit *CDFαγ* mandat *EG* [82] homines *CDFGαγ* homies *E* [83] intendit *CDFGαγ* incendit *F* [84] homines *CDGαγ* *om. EF* [85] ista *EFαγ* iste *CDG* [86] intelligitur *CEFGαγ* intelligatur *D* [87] intendit *CDEGαγ* incendit *F, but in mar.* intelligit *F*[1] [88] quot *CDEGαγ* quod *F* [89] illud *CDGαγ* idem *EF* [90] est *CDFGαγ* *om. E* [91] quem *CGγ* quam *(?) DEFα* [92] querelans *α* querelas *CDEFGγ* [93] scripture *CDEFGα* *om. γ* [94] in *CDEGαγ* enim *F*

nichil sibi et[95] hiis verbis domini, quod[96] si vita sua dicit istum reatum, tunc[97] credat, quod dominus ista verba intenderat, ut a tali crimine sit purgatus.

Nec in hoc potest hic[98] sensus verborum domini[99] accusari. Tota autem locucio fidelium in tali materia debet esse ad dei honorem, fratrum correccionem[100] et profectus ecclesie militantis.

Quod[101] si per glosam scripture sacre et exposicionem[102] sensus fuerit executum, auctor huius scripture habet suum prepositum.

Et patet in parte, quomodo in toto[103] corpore scripture legis gracie[104] non sit[105] mencio de hiis sectis, nisi vocetur[106] reprobativa mencio directa.[107] Sic enim fertur quendam scolarem[108] ingeniosum respondisse cuidam opponenti: Miror, inquit, quomodo in hoc ympno[109] sanctorum[110] omnium 'Criste redemptor omnium' sit[111] expressa mencio de apostolis, martiribus, confessoribus et[112] virginibus, sed de fratribus non fit ulla,[113] et dictus scolaris[114] respondit inquiens: non est ita, et ostenso sibi[115] ympnario vertit ad istum versiculum:

Gentem auferte perfidam
Credencium de finibus,
Ut Cristo laudes debitas
Persolvamus alacriter.

Hic, inquit, fit de hiis[116] fratribus mencio[117] specialis, cum sit gens illa perfida, quam oportet de ecclesia Cristi tollere ad hoc, quod ipsa laudes debitas persolvat suo capiti.[118]

Quomodocumque autem[119] sit de verbo isto iocoso,[120] multi credunt, quod ista verba excitabunt fratres et alios, si oppositum hic

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[95] et *CDGαγ* ex *EF* [96] quod *CDGαγ* et *EF* [97] tunc *CDFGαγ* talis *E* [98] hic *CDEFGα* *om.* *γ* [99] s. v. d. *CDFGαγ* v. d. s. *E* [100] correccionem *E* correccio *CDFGαγ* [101] quod *DGαγ* et *CEF* [102] exp. *CDFGαγ* per exp. *E* [103] toto *CDFGαγ* tototo *E* [104] gracie *CDEFGα* *om.* *γ* [105] sit *CDGαγ* fit *EF* [106] vocetur *CDEFGα* fuerit *γ* [107] *in F* directa *is repeated in mar.* [108] scolarem *CDEFG* secularem *(?)* *αγ* [109] ympno *CDGαγ* ympuro *F* vinuo *E* [110] sanctorum *CDFGαγ* seculorum *E* [111] omnium sit *CGαγ* sit *DF* fit *E* [112] et *CDGαγ* *om.* *EF* [113] *in C is add. in mar.:* Fundacio sectarum C² [114] scolaris *CEF* secularis *DGαγ* [115] sibi *CDGαγ* *om.* *EF* [116] hiis *CDFGαγ* eis *E* [117] f. d. h. fr. m. *CDEFGα* f. m. d. h. fr. *γ* [118] p. s. c. *CDFGαγ* s. p. c. *E* [119] quomodocunque autem *CDFGαγ* quomodo autem cunque *E* [120] s. d. v. i. io. *CDFGαγ* s. d. i. v. io. *E*

dictorum[121] convinci poterit ex scriptura, quia multi credunt tam-
| *C fol. 34a* quam pro||babile prope fidem, quod deus auctor scripture nullam sectam vel speciem ritus, que sit utilis ecclesie sue, dimittit. Sed quantumcunque[122] dimiserit, expediens foret, quod illa species,[l] quantum ad firmitatem fidei, de ecclesia sit ablata.[123]

Pexlicta Sutactart ed dafunocine rumsetac toscri niopsitum Dutroinrumcta. Anno MCCCCIX⁰.[124]

[l] *viz. sectarum*

[121] dictorum *CDGaγ* dicto *E* doctorum *F* [122] quantumcunque *CDEFGγ* quamcunque *a* [123] ablata *CFaγ* ablata etc. *DE* ablata et sic est finis huius tractatus de fundacione sectarum Cristo in oppositum introductarum *G* [124] *i. e. Explicit tractatus de fundacione sectarum Cristo in op(po)situm introductarum Anno 1409* — Explicit tractatus de fundacione sectarum Cristo in oppositum introductarum anno domini Millesimo CCCCXII⁰ sexta feria proxima ante Conductum Pasche hora quasi vicesima *D i. e. Friday, April 8th 1412, about 8 ocl. p. m.* Explicit de fundacione sectarum et Incipit de fide catholica *E* Explicit de fundacione sectarum *F (here the writing leaves off)* *om. G cp. not. 123* *om. a, there is a blank of about 3 lines, then:* In materia de religione privata de demonio meridiano *γ (here the Expl. is wanting)*

II.

DE ORDINATIONE FRATRUM.

DE ORDINATIONE FRATRUM.

I. Division.

Part I: Proof that the class of Friars was not ordained by Christ, chap. I—II.

Part II: They should, therefore, caritative *be led back to Christ, chap. III. Force should only be employed against such as openly resist, chap. IV.*

II. Contents.

Chap. I. *It is a false assertion that Christ, whose works and institutions are perfect, Himself introduced the four Sects into the Church p. 88; and to say that it is imprudent and wanting in love to Him, to oppose them is equally wrong, p. 89. Such Sects were never intended by Christ. All true believers, therefore, should make a stand against them, p. 89, for (1) they had crept in secretly, John X, 2, p. 90; (2) by enforcing their traditions upon the Church, they had, as it were, placed on the old garments pieces of new, Luke V, p. 90; and (3) had finally rendered themselves burdensome to the Church by their ceremonials, Act. XV, p. 90—91.*

Chap. II. *Opposition to the Sects is no novelty. The author is but following in the steps of Okkam, St. Amour, Grossetête und Richard Armagh, p. 91—93; the Monks, therefore, and not the author have evoked the opposition, p. 93. They themselves challenge the struggle, because all their innovations are contrary to Scripture, as well in regard to their numbers (compared to the twelve Apostles), p. 93, as to their wealth, — the renunciation of which had been the original object of their institution etc., p. 93—95.*

Chap. III. *Nay, they are disobedient to Christ's law, in secluding themselves, p. 96; in not preaching the Word of God plainly, but instead, making jests and telling lies, p. 97; in distinguishing among believers according to their own religion and manner of life, p. 97—98; and by confining their true liberty, p. 98—99.*

For all these reasons, believers are besought, considerately and gently (caritative) *to cause all Friars to return to the simple Sect of Christ, p. 99.*

Chap. IV. On the other hand, it would not be advisable to establish a rigid uniformity throughout the Church, p. 100. Distinctions among individual believers in congregations must exist, as the Militant Church also is divided into three parts, p. 100; but the distinctions in rank between Pope, Cardinal, Monk and Friar should cease, for they were neither taught by the Scriptures, nor by the Fathers (Hieronymus), p. 100—101. Extreme measures should be resorted to only against such as will not of their own free will return to the ancient faith, and renounce their present position, p. 101—102. This would present no difficulties, if the Fratres recognised the supremacy of the King, which, however, they refuse to acknowledge, either directly or indirectly, as they assert they have no sovereign but the Pope, p. 103. This is proof that, contrary to Christ's law, they have exempted themselves from all national duties, and thus rendered themselves a burden to their country, p. 103. This alone would be enough reason for the secular lords to forbid Friars to reside in the land, p. 105—106.

III. Date of Composition

uncertain. W. repeatedly refers to the contrast of the Sects to his simplices sacerdotes *(cp. p. 94 & 95). As the persecution of the itinerant preachers and the followers of W. commenced in June 1382. (see Lechler, I, 684 and 412 ff.), and duly considering chap. I note c. I am inclined to place the date of this Tract towards the end of the year 1382. It might be possible to give a more exact date, if the conspiracy of the Fratres, cp. p. 95, against the Duke of Lancaster could be fixed.*

IV. Genuineness.

External evidence:

(1) see in cod. C the Explicit with W.'s name, p. 106.

(2) cp. cod. D Explicit, p. 106.

(3) Wiclif-Catalogues of the Vienna codd., see above p. 7.

(4) Bale, Summarium fol. 156^b under the title: De Clericorum ordinatione (?).

(5) cod. E Index of the front-cover, see above General Introd. IV, Description of the codices.

(6) Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, 1438; 1460; 1467; 1501.

(7) *Shirley, Catal. Nro. 84.*

(8) *Lechler, J. v. W. II, 567.*

Internal evidence:

(1) *see above General Introduction V, e.*

(2) *The constant mention made of English affairs, and especially of the conspiracy of the Friars against the Duke of Lancaster (cp. p. 95), unknown in any other chronicles of the time, and the appeal to Occam etc. p. 91 ff., point to an English origin.*

(3) *cp. the reference to De Fundatione Sectarum cap. I note c.*

(4) *cp. for particulars, cap. I notes a; e; II a; i; n; III, a; c; e; g; h; i; IV, d; f; l; p.*

(5) *cp.* nec sumus nos primi *etc. p. 91, a passage which could not properly be applied to any one else than to W.*

V. *Not yet printed.*

VI. *Extant in*

cod. 4527 = C fol. 75^b—79^a { C^1 = *Corrector (pale hand)*; C^2 = *Glosser (red hand)* }

cod. 3930 = D fol. 192^c—196^b { D^1 = *Gloss. and Corr. (small black hd.)*; D^2 = *hand of the accidental glosses* }

cod. 1337 = E fol. 39^c—43^c { E^1 = *Corrector*; E^2 = *Glosser (red hand)* }

cod. 3927 = F fol. 1^a—3^c { F^1, F^2 = *Correctors*; F^3 = *Glosser* }

(all in the Imperial Library at Vienna)

VII. The Manuscripts.

A. ***Their relationship.*** *Two families clearly strike the eye: E–F and C–D.*

(a) Class E–F. (1) In 67 passages the codd. differ from each other, falling into groups of two each; of these, E–F and C–D agree with each other in 63 instances, E–C and D–F twice, D–E and C–F also twice. (2) cp. further antiqu. *II, 19;* licet aut *II, 44;* eccl. *(om.) II, 22;* viat. *(om.) II, 29;* irrac. *II, 47;* retic. *II, 46;* et ambo *etc. III, 28;* sicut *IV, 5;* secul. br. *IV, 11;* pen. *IV, 21; cp. especially the characteristic readings* intric. *II, 34;* dy. aut. *III, 37;* isto modo *etc. IV, 73;* cum hoc *etc. IV, 78. 3) cp. the*

irrelevant order of words peculiar to E–F, m. h. *II, 58;* un. se. *III, 46;* en. Cr. *I, 24;* e. s. *III, 70;* de e. p. *III, 71 and many others. (4) Of decisive importance are the three lacunae:* isto modo *etc. IV, 73;* cum hoc *etc. IV, 78; more especially* autem dyab. *III, 37. The codd. have not been derived from one another, but they had once the same original, in which the readings* intric. *II, 34;* antiquant. *II, 19,* aut. dyab. *III, 37 are to be found.*

F was not copied from E; cp. nec dubium *etc. III, 7;* fundare *II, 31;* fidelium *II, 48 and others; nor from the corrected E^1, cp.* est *I, 19;* leges *I, 45;* vetus *I, 35;* sic *IV, 1 and others.*

E was not copied from F; cp. inment. *III, 66;* alio *IV, 79: especially* nec dub. *III, 7, which is decisive.*

The codd. are not derived immediately from the same original: but that they have a very close connection is proved by their great consensus; they only differ in insignificant particulars (and e. g. in determ. *II, 28 and some others).*

E^1 has scattered corrections all over E, which stood much in need of them. This corrector E^1 had neither F (F^1), nor C, nor D as his original (est *I, 19;* scripte *I, 41;* alicui *III, 4;* pe. *IV, 21:* eis *IV, 74) I cannot recommend him for his corrections. F^1 also must have had an original different from the three codd. here used.*

(b) Class C–D. As to their connection, cp. above a, 1. It is not so close as that of E–F. That C is not immediately derived from D, is proved by the readings tercio *IV, 7;* per Cr. *IV, 84;* ideo *IV, 64;* hu. *I, 37 and others. That, vice versa, D is not derived from C, by the readings:* ergo *(om.) I, 21;* conmis. *I, 44;* enim *II, 17;* pres. *III, 2;* natur. *IV, 88.*

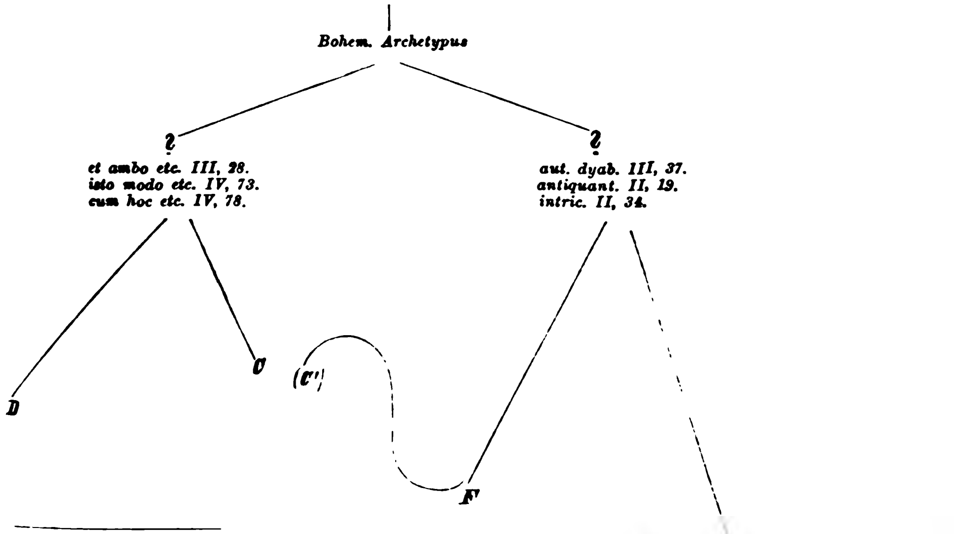
Their original, however remote from both it may be, is distinguished from the other codices by the readings: et am. *III, 28;* i. m. *IV, 73;* c. h. *IV, 78.*

C has been subjected to a very thorough and successful correction by C^1, who for his part had the cod. F, or one very nearly related to the latter, as his original, for (1) not one of his emendations differs from F (possint *III, 62 was probably an oversight); (2) cp.* intricantes *II, 34;* nec *II, 35;* inveherit *II, 36. — As to the pedigree of D^1 the slender materials do not afford sufficient particulars to decide it.*

B. **The best Codex.** — *Among about 195 decisive passages, E gives the false reading in 105 (54 %) instances, F in 65 (33 1/3 %), D in 35, C in 34. E and F are, therefore, out of the question. Because however E, either alone or sometimes in common with F, gives the correct reading, when C–D read the wrong, I also note the readings of the class E–F in my critical notes; likewise the readings of E¹, because he corrected from an unknown, but by no means bad original.*

It is hard to decide, whether D or C is the better MS. On examining the readings of C and D more closely, it is plain that C has the better text, for (1) the really incorrect readings of C consist merely in graphical errors, oversights and omissions (stabili. *I, 8;* ergo *(om.) I, 21;* mov. *II, 14 and others), (2) the false readings of D, on the other hand, are of a much graver nature, cp.* eccles. *II, 8; 57;* grosse *II, 10;* an. *IV, 88;* matr. *II, 21; especially* stat. *IV, 37;* public. *IV, 48;* ideo *IV, 64.*

For this reason I am inclined to give C the preference to D.



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¹ *F almost invariably wrote according to the sense: cp.* novit dicere *I. 14; 15.*

IOHANNIS WICLIF

DE ORDINACIONE FRATRUM.[1]

CAP. I.

C fol. 75b lin. 1 ‖ [2]Cum[3] Cristus sit primus et novissimus, cuius perfecta sunt opera, | videtur multis, quod ex novitate[4] sue nativitatis voluit novissimis | temporibus istos novos ordines introduci,[a] ut[5] sua ec|clesia sit regina astans[6] a dextris suis,[b] circumdata varietate.

CAP. I. [a] *As to this idea, cp. De Dissensione Pap., beginning and Trial. 385—386* [b] *see Ps. 45, 10*

CAP. I. [1] *Title and Incipit om. in CD* Pilextic tustactra ed diorcoinena Trufram etc. *C in the Expl., therefore:* de ordinacione,*) Explicit tractatus de cōr. na. cōdi *(?)* fratrum etc. *DF in the Expl.* de concordacione fratrum *F* De concordacione fratrum cum secta simplici Cristi *E, in like manner Shirley, Catal. p. 27, Nr. 84, whereas the new Vienna Catalogue III, 300 according to the Expl. of C, reads:* de ordinacione fratrum sive de sectis monachorum [2] *D fol. 192c lin. 19 E fol. 39c lin. 19 F fol. 1a lin. 1* [3] *in E in mar.* cor*(rectus) is three times added by 3 different hands* [4] *in E corr. word* [5] ut *D* et *CEF* [6] astans *EF* stans *D,C, but* a *add. above it by C*[1]

*) *According to cod. C, which is the best, I retain this title. The Vienna Catalogues also have it (probably from Denis II, 1469); in like manner Bale, Summ. 156b, if the Tract there mentioned be identical with the one before us. The title chosen by Shirley is only to be found in the very unreliable codd. E and F. It does not correspond to the contents of the Tract, inasmuch as a comparison, or a concord of the Fratres with the Sect of Christ is not at all spoken of in it. Shirley's De Sectis Monachorum is not suitable either, for the subject of debate is almost exclusively the Fratres. De Ordinacione Fratrum, on the other hand, fits far better W.'s argument, viz. that the Fratres were not ordained by Christ.*

Supposita ergo est quorumdam inveccio,[7] qui invehunt contra has novas sectas, que sunt stabilite[8] ex auctoritate domini cum tanta paciencia[9] sapientum et sanctorum ecclesie, qui currebant, et[10] tam approbata vita[11] ac utilitate ecclesie, quam[12] in dies inferunt matri sue.[13]

Quis ergo iam noviter[14] ex subtilitate ingenii vel aliquo dono dei diceret[15] aliquid contra hos novos ordines, qui sunt tam antiquitus stabiliti et tam utilibus iuvamentis ecclesie et racionibus vivacibus circumsepti?

Ista ergo racio movet[16] plures ad supponendum, quod dicta inveccio[17] non sapit caritatem vel eciam racionem.

Imprimis ergo constanter supponimus,[18] quod Cristus sit[19] verus deus et verus homo, et sic oportet, quod habeat perfecta opera et specialiter concernencia regimen sue ecclesie in duplici testamento, etsi foret replicacio, deducens aliquod[20] nobis inconveniens, quod aliquid in ista materia sentiremus, nisi quod in lege domini est fundatum. Cum ergo[21] Cristus non docuit has sectas introduci ad edificacionem ecclesie, sed pocius prophetavit earum subversionem subdolam, fideles ecclesie debent[22] constanter invehere contra ipsas specialiter, cum non habent fundacionem in domino Iesu Cristo, sed pocius Cristus innuit earum destruccionem, ut patet in quodam tractatu de fratribus.[c]

Et hic resumimus triplicem evidenciam[23] ad hoc idem. Cristus enim[24] docuit Ioh. 10:[d] quod ipse est ostium, et si quis non intrat ecclesiam per hoc ostium, ille fur est[25] et latro.

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[c] *Very probably De Fund. Sect. is meant here.* [d] *v. 1*

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[7] inveccio *CDE* invencio *F* [8] stabilite *DEF* stabili *C, but* te *is corr. above it by C*[1] [9] paciencia *CF* sapiencia *(cr. out and ud.)* paciencia *DE* [10] et *CD om. EF* [11] vita *CDF* via *E* [12] quam *CD* qua *EF* [13] sue *CEF* nostre *D* [14] noviter *CDE* novit *F* [15] diceret *CDE* dicere *F* [16] movet *CD* monet *EF* [17] inveccio *CDE* invencio *F* [18] *in F is add. in mar.:* Suppocicio prima *F*[3] [19] sit *CDEF* est *E*[1] *in mar.* [20] aliquod *CD* aliquid *EF* [21] ergo *DEF,C*[1] *in mar. om. C* [22] debent *CDE, F*[1] *in mar.* differunt *(!) F* [23] *in F is add. in mar.:* Triplex evidencia probans quod monachi non sunt in lege Cristi fundati *F*[3] [24] Cri. en. *CD* en. Cr. *EF* [25] fur est *CDF* est fur *E*

Dicant ergo hee quatuor secte, si sciverint,[26] et specialiter fratres, quomodo auctoritate huius ostii intraverunt[27] ecclesiam sanctam. Quod cum nesciverint, patet ex fide ewangelii, quomodo de furto[28] et latrocinio[29] sunt suspecte. Cristus ergo omnipotens, omnisciens et omnivolens non omitteret[30] tam necessarium iuvamen ecclesie[e], sicut ex eorum permanencia fratres fingunt.

Secunda evidencia,[31] movens ad hoc idem, capitur[32] ex illo dicto domini[33] Luc. 5:[34][f] nemo commissuram a vestimento novo immittit in vestimentum vetus,[35] alioquin et novum rumpit et veteri non convenit commissura a novo.

Fideles autem intelligunt per hoc verbum, quod Cristus noluit suam novam legem gracie fore[36] tradicionibus humanis[37] onustatam, sed libere et sic plus meritorie variari in talibus operibus, ut oportet; ex hoc enim excusavit suos[38] apostolos, quare[39] non tunc ieiunarunt,[40] ut pharisei et Iohannis discipuli.[g] — Et multa sunt dicta fidei scripture,[41] que confirmant istam sentenciam.

Cum ergo hee dicte secte quatuor, et fratrum specialiter, onustant ecclesiam pro tempore legis gracie novis tradicionibus et infundabilibus,[42] quas miscent cum[43] Cristi legibus, videtur, quod || *C fol. 76a* fidelis || opponeret se obvians huiusmodi commissuris et specialiter cum secte commiscent[44] hereses[45] contrarias libertati, quam[46] Cristus ex magna utilitate dedit sue ecclesie.

Et tercio[47] confirmatur ex prima communi synodo apostolorum post missionem spiritus sancti, de qua Act. 15,[48][h] in qua Petrus

[e] *This idea is often repeated by W., see for instance above p. 14; 34 Trial. 384; Suppl. Trial. 437* [f] *v. 36* [g] *Matth. 9, 14; 15; Marc. 2, 18; Luc. 5, 33* [h] *v. 4 ff.*

[26] sciverint *CDF* sciverunt *E* [27] intraverunt *CD* intrarunt *EF* [28] furto *CDF* furtu *E* [29] latrocinio *in F corr. word* [30] obmitt. *in C corr. word* [31] *in F is add. in mar.:* Secunda probacio *F¹* [32] capitur *CDE* capit *F* [33] domini *CD om. EF* [34] 5º *CD* 10 *EF* [35] vetus *CDE¹ in mar., corr. into the text by F¹ om. EF* [36] fore *in E corr. word* [37] humanis *C om. DEF* [38] suos *CEF* Cristus suos *D* [39] quare *CDF* qualiter *E* [40] ieiunarunt *CDF* ieiunaverunt *E* [41] scripture *CDF* scripte *E, above the* e *an* a *by E¹, therefore* scripta [42] infundabilibus *CDF* infudabilibus *E* [43] cum *CDF* tum *E* [44] *in C there was a blank space, into it* conmiscent *has been inserted by C¹* [45] hereses *CDEF* leges *E¹ in mar.* [46] quam *CDF* quas *E* [47] *in F is add. in mar.:* Tercia probacio *F¹* [48] 15º *E* 5º *CDF*

et Iacobus, Hierosolymitanus episcopus, decreverunt, quod omnes[49] gentes fideles et Iudei forent liberi a talibus cerimoniis iudaicis et evidencius tradicionibus sensibilibus noviter adinventis, cum, si quidquam boni faciunt, non tantum proficiunt,[50] sicut temptacio demonum, per quam permittit ecclesiam promereri.

Et sic breviter omnes tradiciones nove istarum sectarum quatuor multum nocent ecclesie et[51] perturbando prolongant eius viacionem, licet quibusdam predestinatis, qui fideliter obviant adinvencionibus,[52] prosint[53] ad gloriam.[54]

CAP. II.

Restat solvere clarius obiectus, quos innuunt iste secte.

Et primo supponendum est, quod cautela dyaboli[1] per ypocrisim, qua laborat,[2] in istis temporibus scit abscondere longe diucius peccatum ecclesie, quod est ex sua versucia introductum de peccato originali, quod inevitabiliter consequitur genus humanum, licet Sergius[a] et alii heretici nitebantur istud peccatum abscondere. Et idem est iudicium magis sensibile de secta saracenica et multis aliis sectis fratrum antiquioribus per dyabolum introductis.

Nec sumus[3] nos primi, qui invehimus[4] contra ipsos,[5] sed recenter beatus[6] Richardus, Armacanus episcopus,[b] laboravit ad pur-

CAP. II. [a] *cp.* ***Cruciata*** *cap. III, beginning. Arnold, S. E. W., III, 245, 99: And þus dude þe Machamete and Surgeus þe monk, whanne þey made a lawe after þer owene malys, and toke somwhat of þe gospel to a fleschlyche understondyng, so þat, þurghe þe lore of hem, heþene folk to þis day beþ oute of here byleve* [b] *Richard Fitz-Ralph, Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1333, Archbishop of Armagh, in*

[49] omnes *CDE* eius *F* [50] proficiunt *CDF* perficiunt *E* [51] et *CD om. EF* [52] adinv. *CD* istis adinv. *EF* [53] prosint *CDF* prosit *E* [54] *in E* Sequitur ultra cam secundum *von* E^2 *in C after* gloriam: cam secundum C^2

CAP. II. [1] *in F is add. in mar.:* Cautela dyaboli F^3 [2] laborat *CDF* laborant *E* [3] sumus *CD* fuimus *EF* [4] invehimus *CDF* iuvenimus *E* [5] *in F is add. in mar.:* Nota F^3 [6] beatus $CDEF^1$ beatis *(?) F*

gacionem ecclesie de criminibus per sectas fratrum noviter introductis. — Et sic[7] laboravit eciam Occam[8] cum multis aliis fratribus fidelibus ad purgacionem suorum fratrum, qui a primeva regula declinaverunt.[c] Et idem facit Willelmus[9] de Sancto Amore[d] cum multis aliis, postquam fratres inceperant. Ymo Robertus, episcopus Lincolniensis, grosseteste et[10] subtilis ingenii, invexit acute contra hos ordines prope mortem suam, quando fuit in moribus plus maturus.[e]

Que ergo mali suspicio, si nos intrantes in labores eorum, ex innovacione sceleris fratrum, addimus super eos?[f] Aliter

1377 commenced his attacks against the Friars by preaching against, and exposing, their errors in St. Paul's Church; see for particulars Lechler, J. v. W. I, 218 ff. [c] *William Occam, an Englishman, doctor invincibilis, Professor in Paris and Provincial of his order, was expelled by his fraternity (the Franciscans) as being a partizan of the Zelatores; he then energetically defended the cause of Louis of Bavaria against the attacks of the Hierarchy; with ref. to him and his book Compendium errorum Iohannis XXII, see Goldast, Monarchia II, 957—976; his Defensorium contra Ioannem papam XXII see in Brown, Fascic. rer. expet. Lond. 1690, II, 439—464. As to his attacks on the Pope. see Lechler I, 121 ff.* [d] *William of St. Amour, a Parisian doctor. who in his book, De Periculis Novissimorum Temporum (1255), called the Friars the forerunners of Antichrist, an idea, which W. probably borrowed from him. Thomas Netter of Walden, W.'s bitter opponent, goes so far as to name William of St. A. and the above mentioned Fitz-Ralph, W.'s magistri ac paedagogi, cp. Doctr. Fidei I, 242; 485; 528; 449; II, 187.* [e] *W. often refers to the Lincolniensis, in his Trialogus as well as in his English writings (cp. the Tract Lincolniensis, Arnold, S. E. W. III.). As to his attack on the Friars. see Lechler I, 191 ff. 230* [f] *This in opposition to Lechler's view, I, 586, who with Shirley, Fascic. Ziz. 517 ff., calls it 'eine sagenhafte Überlieferung, dass W., als der wackere Erzbischof Richard Fitz-Ralph starb, 1360, gleichsam in dessen Hinterlassenschaft eingetreten sei und als sein Geisteserbe den von ihm so nachdrücklich geführten Kampf wider die Bettelorden aufgenommen und fortgesetzt habe'. Just this is unmistakeably expressed by the above passage.*

[7] sic *CD* *om. EF* [8] occam *CEF* ecclesiam *D* [9] Willelmus *CEF* Wilhelmus *D* [10] grosse teste *F* grosse teffe (teffe *cr. out*) teste et *C* grosse et *D* grosteth *E*, *an erasure here, on which* teth *was afterwards corrected by E*[1]

enim inciperet arguere contra[11] novitates culpabiles noviter introductas.

Nam tenendo[12] fidem catholicam et veritatem cristiane regule culpa pendet super sectis illis innovantibus peccata, et non super alios ex[13] hoc, quod invehunt contra crimina ministrata.

Sicut ergo deus movit[14] priores patres[g] ad hoc opus meritorium, sic et[15] posteriores, qui[16] ex maiori materia invehunt patencius contra ipsos. Peccatum quidem[17] dyaboli fit[18] multis imprimis insensibile, sed modo nimis antiquatum[19] sensibiliter patet stultis. Invehat ergo obiciens contra raciones factas et excuset has sectas, si sciverit,[20] quia tam modus laudabilis quam accusacionis materia ministratur.

Teneat ergo secta fratrum racionem vel limites legis Cristi et non in hoc aliquis fidelis ipsos argueret, sed propter culpabiles novitates.

¶ Sunt enim in numero[21] ecclesie[22] onerosi, cum ex fide scripture pauci discipuli Cristi non viventes claustraliter, sed peragrantes[23] secundum formam ewangelii[24] diversas patrias cristianismum ad deum converterunt. Numquid ergo numerus[25] tot fratrum et obligacio ad suum ritum putridum cum sumptuosis[26] edificiis[h] et aliis infinitis novitatibus culpabilibus, que in ecclesiam introducunt, prosint[27] ecclesie? Vel a sancto spiritu emanarunt? Practica sue culpe et deterioracio[28] viatorum[29] docent expresse oppositum.[30]

C fol. 76b

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[g] *viz. Okkam, St. Amour, Grossetête, Armagh* [h] *As to the extravagance of the Friars in convent houses, see Vaughan, J. de W., a Monogr. 83; also* Supplem. Trial. *444. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 490. Cp. also the description in Pierce the Ploughmans Crede, lin. 118 and p. 47 note c*

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[11] contra *CDF* extra *E* [12] tenendo *CDF* censendo*(?) E* [13] ex *CEF* et ex *D* [14] movit *DEF, C¹ in mar.* mo *C (sic)* [15] et *CDE om. F.* [16] qui *CDE om. F* [17] quidem *CEF* enim *D* [18] fit *C* fuit *DEF* [19] antiquatum *CD* antiquantum *EF* [20] sciverit *CDF* sciunt (sciverint?) *E* [21] numero *CF* matrimonio *ED (?)* [22] ecclesie *CD, E¹F¹ in mar. om. EF* [23] peragrantes *CD* peragentes *EF* [24] ewangelii *CDF* ewangelicam *E* [25] numerus *CDF uncertain reading E* [26] sumptuosis *CDF* suptuosis *E* [27] prosint *CD* profuit *EF* [28] deterioracio *CD* determinacio *FE* [29] viatorum *CD, E¹ in mar. om. EF* [30] oppos. *CD* oppos. viatorum *EF, in E* viatorum *is cr. out*

Declinent ergo ab istis novitatibus culpabilibus et teneant legem ewangelicam, de quanto ipsam auctoritate vel racione fundare[31] sciverint et habebunt ad hoc alios adiutores. — Si autem istud omiserint et appreciati fuerint has novitates culpabiles[32] et[33] infundabiles ecclesiam intricantes,[34] quis fidelis non[35] inveheret[36] contra illos specialiter in isto, quod consenciunt crimini et heresi, gracia cuius destruendi dicuntur esse in ecclesiam introducti? Nam dotacio[37] cleri ex stulticia cesaris ad magnum malum ecclesie[38] inolevit,[i] et fratres contra istam dominacionem culpabilem[39] dicuntur in ecclesiam introducti.

Unde usque hodie fratres observant superficietenus saltem vitam pauperem et expropriętariam ex[40] auctoritate domini Iesu[41] Cristi. Et idem senserunt[42] Occam,[43k] Bonaventura[l] et multi fratres alii laude digni.

Licet autem fratres hodie[44] sint confessores et consiliarii regum et principum, dominorum et dominarum, consenciunt tamen opposito huius fidei et declamant, sacerdotes pauperes, qui dicunt in hoc fidem catholicam, esse manifestos hereticos destruendos.

Numquid ergo credimus, fratres, qui contra fidem scripture et contra vitam[45] suam propriam isti culpe consenciunt eciam reticendo,[46] non esse hereticos manifestos? Nec possunt ex isto irracionabili[47] odio excusari, quin sint aliorum sacerdotum fidelium[48] homicide, quia I Ioh. 3[m] dicit dominus: omnis, qui odit fratrem

[i] *W. frequently blames this, see e. g. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 122; 284; 385; 388; 445; 476; also Suppl. Trial. cap. I (407 ff.) and in many other places* [k] *cp. above note c* [l] *Bonaventura, an 'ornament to the Franciscans', doctor in Paris since 1253, † 1274, in his Vita S. Francisci (cp. Luc. Wadding, Annales Minorum, Rome 1731, tom. I, 31)* [m] *v. 15*

[31] fundare *CDF,E¹ in mar.* *om. E* [32] culp. *CDF* suas *(ud.)* culp. *E* [33] et *CEF* eciam *D* [34] intricantes *EF, C¹ in mar.* intrantes *D, C (ud.)* [35] non *DE, C (ud.)* nec *FC¹* [36] inveheret *D,C the last* e *ud.* inveherit *FC¹* invehet *E* invehit *E¹* [37] *in F is add. in mar.:* Dotacio ecclesie *F³* [38] ecclesie *C¹DEF* ecclesia *C, the* a *ud.* [39] culpabilem *CDF* culpabiliter *E* [40] ex *CDF* *om. F* [41] Iesu *CDE* nostri Ie. *F* [42] senserunt *D, but in mar.* sensierunt *D¹* sencierunt *CEF* [43] Occam *CEF* ecclesia *D* [44] lic. a. fr. ho. *CD* ho. lic. a. fr. *EF* [45] vitam *CDF* fidem *E* [46] reticendo *EF* *om. CD* [47] irracionabili *EF,C¹ in mar.* notabiliti *D,C (ud.)* [48] fidelium *CDF,E¹ in mar.* *om. E*

suum, homicida est; et sic non solum fratres, qui conspirant mendaciter in mortem domini ducis Lancastrie,[n] sunt perniciosissimi, sed et[49] alii fratres, qui conspirant contra sacerdotes fideles, qui ostendunt in vita et opere, quod sunt pugiles legis dei.

Sicut igitur[50] dyabolus et peccator quilibet ex propriis principiis se ipsos redarguunt, sic et fratres. Dicunt enim verbo et opere, quod[51] est fideli satis credibile, quod cuncti clerici Cristi, qui non sunt sacerdotes cesaris sive Baal, debent[52] vivere expropriatarie vitam pauperem instar magistri sui Cristi et suorum apostolorum, qui istud tam verbo quam facto docuerunt. Et cum consensu multiplici fovent contrarium.

Ideo cum[53] Psal. 118[54] [o] scribitur: maledicti, qui declinant a mandatis tuis, est evidens[55] multis fidelibus, quod sunt a domino maledicti nec possunt fratres ab isto consensu proditorio excusari. Et sic licet fratres sint modo[56] contrarii Occam[57] et aliis, qui, declinantes a sua comitiva, istam sentenciam docuerunt, tamen non possunt negare fidem scripture, que in ista materia est edocta.

Et ista vecors heresis est peccatum precipuum contra fratres, cum fratres dicant in factis prelatis et dominiis: consentite vos heresi mee et iuvate[58] et ego consenciam vestre[59] heresi de | secu- || *C fol. 77a*
lari dominio atque pugna.

CAP. III.

Ex predictis liquet, quod ista argucia, que ex reprobacione novitatis innuitur, peccat tam in materia quam in forma; in materia quidem, quia olim per multos[1] de fratribus inventa fuit ista

[n] *cp. De Sept. Donis Sp. S. cap. VIII, below p. 227; De Nov. Ord. cap. III, beginning.* [o] *Ps. 119, 21*

[49] et *DF om. CE* [50] igitur *CD* ergo *EF* [51] quod *CD* quid *EF* [52] debent *CDF* dicuntur *E* [53] cum *CD* ut *EF* [54] 118 *CDE* 58 *F* [55] ev. *CEF* enim ev. *D* [56] modo *EF, C¹ in mar.* mihi *C (ud.)* nec *D* [57] Occam *CEF* eciam *D, see above, note 43* [58] her. m. et iuvate *CD* m. her. iuvate *F* m. her. invate *E* [59] vestre *CDE* vestro *F*

CAP. III. [1] multos *EF, C¹ has corr.* os multis *D*

seducio, qua fratres presumpserint,[2] suam[3] legem domini meliorem[a] et tradicionem liberam aliam[4] frivolam et ypocriticam[5] infundabiliter invenire.[6]

Nec dubium, quin hoc facit multum malum altrinsecus, malum quidem[7] fidelibus noviter ingredientibus, qui relicto ordine magis bono eligunt minus[8] bonum, quia[9] deserunt cristianum ordinem liberum per se bonum et eligunt ordinem frivolum ex stolidis peccatoribus adinventum. Cristus enim dominus universitatis et temporis scivit legem statuere,[10] que in libertate suorum limitum conveniat[11] universitati hominum, quod[12] ignoraverant[13] hii patroni.

Ideo credibile[14] est, quod multi ingrediuntur hos novos ordines, qui rumpunt ipsos et fiunt altrinsecus deteriores. Nec dubium, quin presumptiva stulticia[15] sit fautoribus istorum novorum ordinum imputanda.[16] Ideo dicit Cristus[17] Matth. 9:[b] nemo autem immittit commissuram panni rudis[18] in vestimentum vetus;[19] tollit enim plenitudinem eius[20] a[21] vestimento et peior[22] scissura fit. Novitas autem istorum ordinum impedit plenitudinem observancie[23] legis Cristi,[24] quia multi ingrediuntur hos novos ordines, quibus non convenit hec 'rudis'[25] observancia. — Et sic tollunt tam tradicionem hanc frivolam, quam eciam ordinem Iesu Cristi.

CAP. III. [a] *A reproach frequently made by W. against the Friars, cp. e. g. Trial. 367; 371; above p. 34 l. 12; 26 l. 15* [b] *v. 16*

[2] pres. *in C inserted in the blank space by* C^1 [3] suam *EF* sua *CD* [4] *in E is add. in mar.* alicui E^1 [5] ypocriticam *CD* ypocritam *EF, cp. not.* 7 [6] fr. et yp. inf. inv. *CDE* friv. inv. *F* [7] nec dub. — quidem *CD* nec du. q. h. f. multum (*add. in mar.* altrinsecus E^1) malum quidem fidelibus altrinsecus (q. f. a. *cr. out.*) mal. quidem *E* nec du. q. h. f. ypocritam et infundabiliter multum malum altrinsecus malum quidem *F* [8] minus *in E cr. out* [9] quia *CD* qui *EF* [10] statuere *CDF* stature *E* *in F is add. in mar.:* Cristus dominus statuit legem universitati hominum convenientem F^3 [11] conveniat *CDE* conveniant *F* [12] quod *CDF* quid *E* [13] ignoraverant *CF* ignoraverunt *D* ignorant *E* [14] cred. *CDE* quod cred. *F* [15] stult. *CDF* ecclesia (*cr. out and ad.*) stult. *E* [16] imput. *CDF* reput. *E* [17] Cristus *CEF* dominus *D* [18] rudis *CDF* radis *E* [19] vetus *CDF* verus *E* [20] eius *CDF* eiuus *E* [21] a *EF* *om. CD* [22] peior *CDF* prior *E* [23] observancie *EF* ab observanciam *D* ab observancia *C*, ab *and the end*-a *rd., above the latter an* e *by* C^1 [24] *in F is add. in mar:* Novitas ordinum impedit observanciam legis Cristi F^3 [25] rudis *CDE*, F^1 *in mar.* radix (*cr. out*) *F*

Et hec creditur racio, quare predicando immiscent mendacia atque ludicra,[c] et non in sinceritate predicant verbum dei, quia scribitur Matth.[26] 9[d] cap.: neque,[27] inquit Cristus, mittunt vinum novum in utres veteres; alioquin rumpuntur utres et vinum effunditur, et utres pereunt; sed vinum novum in utres novos mittunt, et ambo conservantur.[28]

Multi enim ingrediuntur hos fictos[29] ordines, qui ad mendicacionem et aliam limitatoris frivolam et involuntarie et per consequens demeritorie limitantur, qui, licet habeant vinum sapiencie fidelibus propinandum, tamen ex ruptura hac dissona hoc vinum disrumpitur et ars menciendi ac[30] mendicandi[31] [e] per frivolas tradiciones introducitur, quia deficit illis ars consuendi, que Cristo est propria, illos[32] utres.

Et quantum ad illud Psal.[33] 44:[f] ecclesia est regina astans[34] a[35] dextris Cristi, circumdata varietate, patet, quod ista religio deficit in argucia gulosorum. Cristus enim, sponsus ecclesie, sicut sciencie sue est proprium, istam varietatem[36] in membris triplicibus ordinavit, dyabolus autem[37] per peccata istorum patronorum subtiliavit Cristi fideles et varietatem excessivam istorum ordinum introduxit.

Et hec fuit[38] racio, quare Paulus et ceteri apostoli non audebant subtiliare[39] partes cristiani ordinis, quas Cristus in integritate libera limitavit. Et sic ista sapiencia[40] illorum fundatorum, que infundabiliter[41] excessit apostolos, est stulticia apud deum,[42] quia omnino est insipiencia dimittere plus[43] perfectum et magis liberum

[c] *see Suppl. Trial. 436* [d] *v. 17* [e] *cp. the same expression, Suppl. Trial. 435 and 436* [f] *Ps. 45, 10*

[26] Matth. *CDF* Marc. *E* [27] neque *CDF* nequit *(ud.)* neque *E* [28] et ambo cons. *CD* *om. EF* [29] fictos *CDF* sictos *E* [30] ac *CD* et *EF* [31] mendic. *CDF* medicandi *E* [32] illos *CD* illas *EF* [33] psalmi *CD* psalmum *EF* [34] astans *CDE* constans *F* [35] a *EF* ad *D*, *C the* d *is ud.* [36] var. *CD* veritatem *(ud.)* varietatem *E* vanitatem *E*, *but* ni *cr. out and* rie *corr. above it* [37] dyab. aut. *CD* au. dyabol. *E*, *F*, *but here transposed by marks* [38] fuit *CD* *om. EF* [39] subtiliare *CDF*, *E*[1] *in mar.* *om. E* [40] ista sapiencia *CD* istam sapienciam *EF* [41] infundabiliter *CDF* in fundamentis *E* [42] deum *CDF* dominum *E* [43] plus *CDF* plus *(cr. out)* plus *E*

et anxie eligere imperfectum. Et in ista stulticia sunt omnes hii || *C fol. 77b* novi ordines, cum || ex fide cognoscimus, quod ordo Cristi excedit omnes illos[44] in regula et patrono.[g]

Et quantum ad libertatem[45] non dubium, quin secta Cristi sit longe liberior, quam hii status. Et in hoc videntur specialiter excedere sectam Cristi, quod sepe stultificati obligant se uni[46] dyabolo et observancie, que eis non conveniunt secundum limites legis Cristi. Et sic tam patroni quam sui discipuli sunt multis heresibus involuti,[47] ut, quod[48] status suus et vita est perfeccior quam status apostolorum vel[49] martirum ex hoc, quod quibusdam ordines suos ingredientibus facit bonum sanctitas aut status in signis sensibilibus seducit multos per ypocrisim contrarie legi Cristi.[h]

Et sic licet multi sancti peccata ista toleraverunt, non est evidencia, quod sunt[50] bona, cum Cristus maiora crimina in summis sacerdotibus phariseis, scribis et ceteris toleravit.[51] Quando autem ipsorum mendacium manifestius cognoscitur nocivum populo, debent fideles[52] operari virilius[53] ad perfeccionem[54] ordinis, quem Cristus instituit reducendum. Et sic per artem mendacii et nigromanciam[55] assumitur[56] non fundatum,[57] quod tales ordines sunt per deum[58] stabiliti vel ex suis signis ypocriticis sancte vivunt.

Quis ergo racionabiliter increparet inveccionem[59] hanc contra sectas novas, ut suus populus ad unam meliorem et liberiorem ordinacionem domini reducatur? Idem enim esset istud presumere[60]

[g] *An assertion frequently repeated by W., see for instance Trial. 362 ff.* [h] *With ref. to this, cp. below the Tract De Perfeccione Statuum, in which this question is treated of more amply*

[44] illos *CDF* istos *E* [45] *in D is add. in mar.:* De libertate *D²* [46] se un. *CD* un. se *EF* [47] involuti *CDF* involu *(cr. out)* involuti *E* [48] quod *CDF* quid *E* [49] vel *CEF* et *D* [50] sunt *CD* non sunt *EF* [51] *in F the passage* et sic licet — toleravit *is underlined; in mar. is add.:* Quod sancti toleraverunt multa vicia, non tamen est evidencia, quod illa sunt bona *F²* [52] fideles *CDE* homines *F* [53] virilius *CD* virilia *EF* [54] perfeccionem *CDF* perfectorum *E* [55] nigromanciam *CDE* ingromanciam *F* *in D is add. in mar.:* Nigromancia *D¹* [56] assumitur *CD* assumuntur *F, E, but here the 3 strokes preceding the* t *are ud.* [57] fundatum *CDF* fundamentum *E* [58] deum *CDF* dominum *E* [59] inveccionem *CEF* invocacionem *D* [60] presumere *CDF* resumere *E*

et innuere, quod anticristus extollitur[61] super Cristum. Et sic licet quidam possint[62] in hac reprobacione excedere caritatem, *(tamen)*[63] caritas legis Cristi necessitat, quod homo caritative invehat contra sectas istas ad maiorem unitatem et concordiam populum reducendo. Scimus quidem, quod hoc potest[64] bonum facere licet male.[65] Ideo cum deliberacione mature credimus, caritative velle has sectas dirumpi et in puram sectam domini introduci.

Et claret fidelibus, quod ista sentencia crebrius[i] reperta non sit racioni vel caritati contraria. Sed cum fundamentum sit immentibilis[66] veritas, et intencio tundentis debeat esse recta, patet, quod sit meritorium crebro repetere istam sentenciam. Nam nec Baal lapides nec metalla unica tuncione[67] recipiunt formam ultimam, sed oportet ipsos[68] prudentibus et diuturnis laboribus ad artificium[69] debitum humanis usibus stabiliri.

Sed quis scit, si hos extraneos ordines deus wlt per tunciones crebras suorum servorum ad unitatem sue ecclesie[70] introduci? Non autem petimus de eis[71] pecuniam vel vindictam, sed quod ingrediantur sectam meliorem et liberiorem domini Iesu Cristi, quam credimus nos servare. Et sic volumus illis commodum,[72] quod habemus, et faciliter donarent[73] nobis[74] istam iniuriam.

CAP. IV.

Sicut autem apostolus voluit omnes homines esse sicut se ipsum, et tamen non omnimode sicut[1] se ipsum,[a] sic caritas com-

[i] *in nearly all the longer tracts printed in this volume.*
CAP. IV. [a] *cp. Act. 26, 29*

[61] extollitur *CD* extollatur *EF* [62] possint *C*[1] *(inserted in the blank space)* possit *D* possent *E* possunt *F* [63] *all codd. read* cum [64] pot. *CDE* homo pot. *F*, homo *is corr. above* pot. [65] male *CDF* enim *(ud.)* male *E* [66] inmencibilis *CD* immentibilis *F*, *but in mar. an illegible correction* (invincibilis?) invincilis *E* [67] tuncione *CE* tinicione *D* tunicione *F*, *but* ni *ud.* [68] ipsos *EF* ipsas *CD* [69] artificium *CEF* artificem *D* [70] s. e. *CD*. e. s. *EF* [71] p. d. e. *CD* d. e. p. *EF* [72] commodum *CEF* cor nedum *D* [73] donarent *DEF* domarent *C*, *but one stroke of the* m *ud.* [74] nobis *EF*, *C*[1] *in mar.* *om.* *CD*
CAP. IV. [1] sicut *DE*[1] *a.R.* sic *CF* *om.* *E*

pelleret cristianos, velle fratres esse de pura secta Cristi, et tamen non quemlibet eorum omnino ut quemlibet,[2] cum principium individuans[3] requirit, quod unus sit virgo, alius vinculatus, et alius in || *C fol. 78a* statu, quem deus ordinat[4] ad || edificacionem corporis sue ecclesie. Wlt tamen, quod sicut[5] Cristus est caput ecclesie,[6] sic omnia membra sua sint similiter cristiani. Et videtur parabolam Cristi Luc. 14[b] edocere, quod dominus wlt servum suum tercio[7] missum in vias et sepes ad compellendum homines intrare in suam[8] ecclesiam per brachium seculare,[9] quia declinante clero a Cristi doctrina, sicut fecit in tempore passionis, videtur, quod Cristus wlt dare spiritum sanctum secularibus ad clerum cum modestia compellendum, quia Luc. 19 scribitur:[c] si hii tacuerunt, lapides clamabunt,[10] hoc est, si clerus mutescat ostendere tam verbo quam opere sectam Cristi, seculare brachium,[11] quod modo[12] est durum, ut lapides, clamabit[13] aspere et quadam austeritate, quod Cristus deus et homo sit, a cunctis fidelibus in[14] suo ordine imitandus.

Et sic cum Cristus[15] integravit[16] ecclesiam suam ex tribus partibus,[d] — primam autem, que est clerus, voluit ex sacerdotibus, qui debent[17] esse socii, et dyaconibus integrari, — ad perfeccionem status[18] cleri satisforet, illam integritatem cleri hodie observari. Nam secundum Hieronymum,[19][e] olim idem fuit episcopus et sacerdos.

[b] *v. 23* [c] *v. 40* [d] *cp. e. g. De Christo et Adv. cap. I: clerici, milites, vulgares.* [e] *see Hieron. Epistol. ad Titum cap. 1, 5 in Corp. iur. can., Decr. P. I. Dist. 95 cap. V S. 332: Olim idem presbyter, qui*

[2] quemlibet *CDF* quelibet *E* [3] ind. *CDF* et ind. *E* [4] ordinat *CF* ordinavit *DE* [5] sicut *in E and F corr. into the text between* quod *and* Cr. [6] eccl. *DEF* sue *(ud.)* eccl. *C* [7] tercio *CEF om. D* [8] suam *CDF* ad *(ud.)* suam *E* [9] *in F is add. in mar.:* Compelle intrare per brachium seculare *F²* *in D is add. above the col.:* Compellere homines *D¹* [10] *in D is add. below the col.:* Si hii tacuerunt, lapides clamabunt *D¹* *in C in mar.:* Nota [11] sec. br. *CD* brachium *F,E, but in mar.* seculare *is add. by E¹* [12] modo *CEF* michi *D* [13] clamabit *CDF* clamabunt *E* [14] in *CDF* a *(ud.) E, above it* in *is corr.* [15] Cristus *CDF, E¹ in mar. om. E* [16] integravit *CDF* integrat *E* [17] debent *CD* dicunt *EF* [18] status *in E is add. (by E¹?) in mar.* [19] Ieronimum *CDF* Iohannem *E*

De papa autem et cardinalibus, monachis, canonicis atque fratribus[f] non recolo, quod sit mencio in scriptura. Concedo tamen, quod deus wlt esse ordinem clericorum,[20] quia wlt, quod unus sacerdos sit reliquo superior atque episcopus, sed non wlt, quod illa superioritas penes[21] maioritatem mundanam[22] vel mundi divicias attendatur, sed penes maioritatem gradus[23] ministerii humilis secundum legem, quam[24] Cristus docuit.

Et sic[25] amando personas credimus esse expediens ecclesie et specialiter fratribus, quod non essent alique tales secte.

Ad equandum vero sacerdotes conformiter legi Cristi secundum gladium brachii secularis,[26] videtur esse consonum ewangelio, tollere[27] ab eis omnem dominacionem superfluam et restituere perfecte parti ecclesie, a qua illa dominacio indebite[28] est ablata et crescentibus vitulaminibus[29] spuriis, que non per ostium intraverunt,[g] negare eis salvacionem et temporalium occupacionem, cum secundum veritatis testimonium sunt fures ecclesie et latrones.

Prudencia autem practizandi hanc viam duplicem iusticie[30] veritatis relinquo fidelibus ab ipsa veritate humiliter postulandum. Hoc tamen videtur fidelibus, quod necesse est, ut[31] prudenter fiat et cum moderamine paulativo[32] secundum ewangelicam prudenciam, incipiendo a papa,[33] non ulterius obedienciam expetendo, quam fuit obediencia Cristi et Petri, sui vicarii secundum legem domini

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et episcopus, et antequam diaboli instinctu studia in religione fierent .... communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiae gubernabantur etc. [f] *that is to say, the* *Quatuor Secte novelle* [g] *cp. John 10, 1*

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[20] *in D is add. in mar.:* Deus wlt esse ordinem clericorum *D*[1] [21] penes *CD*, *E*[1] *in mar.* circa *F*[1] *in mar.* *om. EF* [22] maioritatem mundanam *CD* mundana *EF* [23] gradus *CDF* graciarum *E* [24] quam *CDE* quomodo *F* [25] sic *DEF*, *C*[1] *corr. into the Text* *om. C* [26] *in F is add. above the col.:* Equare sacerdotes *(? -dos)* per seculares dicitur *F*[2] [27] tollere *CDE* tolle *F* [28] indebite *CEF* *om. D* [29] vitulaminibus *DEF* vitulanibus *C* [30] iusticie *CDF*, *E*[1] *in mar.* *om. E* [31] ut *CEF*, quod *(cr. out) D*, ut *is corr. above it* [32] paulativo *CD* paulative *EF* [33] *in F is add. in mar.:* Paulatim incipiendo a papa in vera via Cristi *F*[2]

tribuenda.[34] Et obscurato[35] hoc fonte, sic[36] scaturiente,[37] hereses facile foret[38] destruere in provinciis ex discordia a lege domini emanantes.[39]

Videtur ergo secundum sensum ewangelii,[40] quod nedum[41] Saraceni, Iudei et cetere[42] secte infideles sint in lata via ducente ad infernum extra civitatem ecclesie, sed isti privati ordines latentes in sepibus, et has ambas partes[43] humani generis debet seculare brachium prudenter compellere intrare cenam vel convivium celeste domini Iesu Cristi.

Et sic oportet, quod illa compulsio sit prudens[44] et introitus[45] voluntaria inductiva.[46]

C fol. 76b || Vocantur autem isti privati ordines sepes terre habitabilis propter duo:[47] primo elevantur paululum secundum reputacionem suam falsam per ypocrisim ad beatitudinem acquirendam et sic faciunt in campo pasturas publicas[48] secundum legem domini multis personis humani generis deperire, et inter ipsos ac superficiem[49] secte domini contingit sepe aquam[50] lacunarem putridam profundari, et ipsa aqua utramque partem humani generis maculari.

Isti ergo ypocrite latentes in sepibus indutilatis habitibus per vepres et tribulos a complecione legis domini sepius retardantur. Ideo medicinale foret, amputare vepres tradicionum et ipsos in plana via domini prudenter erigere. Et ad hoc requiritur compulsio secundum gladium, quem Cristus dedit ecclesie.

Unde quidam sepius mussitarunt,[51] si fratres sint homines legii regum[52] terre, quia, hoc dato, forent facilius secundum leges hominum compellendi.

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[34] tribuenda *CDE* tribuendam *F* [35] obscurato (obturato ?) *CD* obturante *EF* [36] sic *CDF* sicut *E*, *but* ut *is ud.* [37] scaturiente *CEF* statuere est te *D* [38] foret *CD* *om.* *EF* [39] emanantes *CDF* emanentes *E* [40] ewangelii *CDF* ewangelicum *E* [41] ne dum *CDF*, *E*¹ *in mar.* non dum *E* [42] cetere *C* alie *DEF* [43] has amb. par. *CDF* am (*ud.*) has par. amb. *E* [44] *in F is add. in mar.:* Compulsio qualis *F*² [45] *in E a corr. word* [46] inductiva *CDF* inductiva *E*, *but* iv *ud.* [47] *in D is add. in mar.:* Sepes vocantur privati ordines propter duo *D*¹ [48] publicas *CEF* publicari *D* [49] superficiem *CF* superficiencie *DE* [50] aqnam *CEF* aliquam *D* [51] musitarunt *CDF* musitavit *E* [52] regum *CDE* legum *F*

Quidam autem tractantes istum articulum[53][h] supponunt, quod fratres in Anglia non sint[54] hospites et advene[55] terre, quam incolunt, sicut[56] erant apostoli ad seminandum verbum dei habitabilem[57] peragrantes.[58] Patet hoc ex fratrum habitacione propria sumptuosa[i] et[59] ex regni operacione in provincia, quam incolunt, frequentata. Et tunc videtur, quod fratres non sunt homines legii regum terre, quia nec mediate nec immediate tenent de ipsis regibus; non, inquam, mediate, quia, ut inquiunt, sunt immediate sub papa et non sub episcopo vel alio domino temporali.[k] Ideo nec temporalis dominus nec episcopus facit regi homagium pro ipsis fratribus in communi. Ideo non potest fingi, quod mediate alio superiori domino, de quo tenent, de rege teneant[60] mediate, nec sunt immediati[61] tenentes regis, tum[62] quia nec[63] faciunt regis in persona sua homagium, tum eciam, quia sunt immediati sub papa, ut inquiunt; et ut defendunt, papa non est sub aliquo domino temporali.

Cum ergo plus capiunt de regno Anglie[l] quam Cristus et omnes sui apostoli ceperant de Iudea et nec[64] regi nec cesari solvunt didragma,[65] ut Cristus fecerat Matth. 17,[m] videtur, quod de servitute mundana plus quam dominus sunt exempti.

Ideo videtur multis difficile, quod fratres sunt[66] legii homines regum terre. Si autem solverent regi terre[67] vel suis tenentibus decem marcas[n] plus vel minus annuatim de[68] quocunque menso

[h] *viz the question just raised: si fratres sint legii regum terre* [i] *cp. above p. 47 note c* [k] *Allusion is here made to the Cluniacenses, cp. Pelargus, Gesch. der Abtei Clugny, Tübingen 1858* [l] *60,000 marcas (cum aedificationibus etc.) accord. to Trial. 369; 40,000 accord. to De Fundacione Sect. p. 28 l. 19; see also De 4 Sect. Nov. cap. II* [m] *v. 24 ff.* [n] *A Mark, accord. to Longman., Hist. of Edw. III, I, 126 had the 'exchangeable value' of about £ 10, compared with our present*

[53] articulum *DEF* argumentum *(?) C* [54] sint *CD* sunt *EF* [55] et advene *CDF* et *(cr. out)* advive *(advene ?) E* [56] sicut *CDE* sed *F* [57] habitabilem *CDE* habitabileiem *F* [58] peragrantes *CDF* peragentes *E* [59] et *CDF om. E* [60] teneant *CF* tenent *D* tenencium *E* [61] immediati *CEF* immediate *D* [62] tum *CD* cum *EF* [63] nec *DEF* non *C*, *above it* nec *by C*[1] [64] nec *EF* ideo *(ud.)* nec *C* ideo *D* [65] didragma *CDF* dei dragma *E* [66] sunt *CEF* sint *D* [67] terre *CD om. EF* [68] de *CDE* a *F*

regis, quod occupant, et utilitatem regni, quod[69] incolunt, fideliter vendicare, quod sunt[70] legii homines regum terre.

Unde multi mussitant[71] super ista sentencia et describunt[72] legios homines isto modo, quod sunt homines,[73] qui regnum incolunt, eiusdem lingwe et subiecti plene legibus regis regni. Videtur autem eis primo, quod non sit necessarium,[74] quod sint nati in regnis regum, quorum sunt homines legii,[75] cum stat reges regnare licite super regna, qui producuntur[76] et nascuntur secundum legem domini extra ipsa. Ymo duces, comites et alii inferiores seculares domini possunt procreari[77] et nasci legittime extra regna cum hoc, quod sint homines legii ipsorum, licet[78] nascantur legittime extra || C *fol. 79a* | ipsa, sicut homines possunt devenire legii homines regum terre, postquam in matura etate fuerant legii homines regni solummodo alieni. Vident insuper, quod non sufficiunt nativitas, lingwa et quelibet incolia, cum stat, Anglicum nativitate et lingwa fieri predonem in regnis aliis et redeundo in Angliam fieri vespilionem regni alii destructivum.

Ideo oportet ad hominem legium regni dati, quod regno illi proficiat secundum corpus, sed specialiter secundum animam ipsum

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silver value; but L. himself considers this amount to be too high. His authority is Sismondi X, 131 Note: As the mark of silver was at that time worth 8 francs (or 8 sh. 6 d. of English money), it is necessary to multiply by 6 to get the weight of silver in actual money, and again by 4 to obtain its exchangeable value according to the scarcity of metals. See also Lect. on the Hist. of Engl. I, 416, and what Rees says, Cyclop. (Amer. Ed. without date), XXIII, which agrees much better with the passage above: An English mark, formerly (about 1200, accord. to Matth. Paris) in circulation is two thirds of a pound Stlg., or 13 sh. 4 d.

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69 quod *CDF* quam *E* 70 sunt *CD* sint *EF* 71 musitant *DEF* musitat *C* 72 describunt *CDF* distribunt *(!) E* 73 isto m. q. s. h. *CD* *om. EF* 74 nec. *CDF* *in E before* nec. *in mar. is add.* eis *by E*¹ 75 *in D is add. with mark of ref. above the col:* Homines legii *D*¹ 76 producuntur *CDF* producunt *E* 77 procreari *CD* procreare *EF* 78 extra r. c. h. q. s. h. l. i. lic. *CD* extr. r. int. ho. le. ips. lic. *F* ext. *(in mar. is add.* regna inter *E*¹*)* sint *(cr. out)* homines legii *(in mar. is add.* ipsorum *E*¹*)* licet *E*

incolens conformiter legi dei. Et alio[79] modo Cristus fuit legius homo cesaris, et apostoli fuerunt legii homines regum terre. Non enim sufficit, quod homines invite subiciantur[80] legibus regum terre, cum hoc potest vespilioni competere, sed oportet, quod subiciantur voluntarie et meritorie legibus regum[81] terre, de quanto consonant legi dei.

Et hec racio, quare nec reges sunt reges, sed tyranni congregacionis dyaboli, nec regna sunt regna, sed conventicula anticristi, nisi secundum se[82] tota[83] vel secundum partes vivant conformiter legi dei. Et hec racio, quare per Cristum[84] reges regnant et per ipsum terre sunt regna et omnia habitacula hominum viatorum regis regum imperio sunt subiecta.[85]

Et sic si fratres vel secte alie non fundentur[86] in domino, non sunt homines legii regum terre, sicut[87] nec sunt dominantes secundum naturam[88] disparem in[89] se ipsos. Et hec racio, quare Saul in scriptura sacra dicitur regnare per biennium,[90] quandoque[91] extensive loquendo per viginti[92] annos et amplius, ut patet I[93] Reg. 13.[o]

Hec igitur foret racio sufficiens et utilis regnis[94] terre, quod reges non permittant[95] sectas aliquas regna sua[96] incolere,[97] nisi sectas ipsas sciverint in lege dei fundare. Et super isto fundatur sacerdotum[98] consilium, quod fratres non incolant regnum nostrum mendicando et spoliando eius pauperes,[p] nisi docuerint,[99] quod Cristus

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[o] *cp. I Sam. 13, 1* [p] *To understand to what degree this spoliation of the land and its inhabitants had taken place, see above, p. 28; De tripl. Vinc. Amor. cap. IX; further above, p. 39; 44; 69; 72. W. is constantly referring to this reproach against the Friars*

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[79] alio *CD*, *F*, *but in mar.* illo illo *E* [80] subiciantur *CDE* subiciant *F* [81] regum *DEF* legum *C* [82] se *CEF* *om. D* [83] tota *CEF* totum *D* [84] p. Cr. *CEF* *om. D* [85] subiecta *CDF* subiecti *E* [86] fundentur *DC* fundantur *EF* [87] sicut *CEF* sed *D* [88] naturam *EF*, C^1 *(inserted in the blank space)* animam *D* [89] in *CED* secundum *(cr. out & ud.)* in *F* [90] biennium *CD* bigennium *EF* [91] quan. *CEF* et quan. *D* [92] viginti *DEF* 44 *C* [93] primo *CD* primi *EF* [94] regnis *CDF* regni *E* [95] permittant *CDF* permutant *E* [96] sua *CDF*, E^1 *in mar.* *om. E* [97] *in D is add. in mar.:* Reges non permittant sectas aliquas regna sua incolere D^1 [98] sacer. *CDE* sacramentum *(cr. out)* sacer. *F* [99] docuerint *CDE* docuerit *F*

taliter mendicavit, cum regnum dyaboli habeat hoc sibi proprium, quod super mendacio[100] sit fundatum.

Pilextic tustactra ed diorcoinena
Trufram deisut omastrgia En Joahn
Wkiffle Creasgeinap Ropfsesore.[101]

[100] mendacio *CDF* mendacium *E* [101] *i. e.* Explicit tractatus de ordinacione Fratrum editus a magistro Iohanne Wikleff Sacre Pagine Professore. Explicit tractatus de cōr na cōdi (concordancia?) fratrum editus a magistro Iohanne sacre pagine professoris *(sic)* Finitus anno domini MCCCCº XIIº in Collegio pauperum.*) In die sancte Agne**) hora quinta vicesima***) *D* Explicit tractatus de concordancia fratrum cum secta Cristi Incipit tractatus de ordine cristiano *E* Explicit de cōr na condi etc. (concordancia ?, *cp. the Explicit of D) F; here, as in E, follows* De Ordine cristiano.

**) It is also called Domus pauperum Studentium, and often appears later on in the history of the Prague University, cp. Tomek, Gesch. der Prag. Univ., Prag 1849, p. 25. It was situated near St. Valentins Church. and was foun- in 1379 on the 7th of August by Vincenz Nydek of Görlitz (Silesia)*

***) The same form is given by Denis, Cod. Man. Theol. I, 1502*

****) i. e. Thursday, the 21st of January 1412, about 8 p. m., cp. Grotefend. Handbuch der histor. Chronologie 144.*

III.

DE NOVA PRAEVARICANTIA MANDATORUM.

DE NOVA PRAEVARICANTIA MANDATORUM.

I. Division of the Tract.

Part I: All believers are equally subject to God's law (Biblical proof), chap. I—III.

Part II: Historical proof: the Pope, chap. IV; the Monks, chap. V; the Canons, chap. VI; the Friars, chap. VII stand in the strongest contrast to this law. — But believing Christians also fail more or less to fulfil God's law, and must expect reward or punishment according to their doings (Discourse on Purgatory), chap. VIII.

II. Summary of its Contents.

***Chap. I.** The fulfilment of God's law is requisite, according to Matth. XIX, to enter the kingdom of Heaven, p. 116; this necessitates a knowledge of that law in our native tongue, p. 116. Contents and division of the Decalogue, p. 117—119.*

***Chap. II.** Not only a part, but the whole of the law must be obeyed. There is no duty that any man can excuse himself from fulfilling; God does not accept obedience to the letter of the law only, but He regards the spirit in which obedience is done, p. 119—122.*

***Chap. III.** For this reason a profound knowledge of the law is neccessary, p. 122. — Objection raised by recent heretics: as it is impossible for a man to fulfil the whole law, it must be equally impossible that he shall ever be saved, p. 122—123. — Answer: Christ died for us, and will himself strengthen our weakness, p. 124; we must, above all, avoid worldliness, p. 124—125.*

***Chap. IV.** It is but natural that the enemies of the Church should oppose the preaching of the Gospel in the tongue of the land, p. 126, for if this were allowed, people would see for themselves, what a very strong contrast exists between the four Sects and that of Christ, p. 126; (1) The Pope, their head, places Christ in a false light, by asserting that his manner of life is in accordance with the Lord's command, p. 127. It is proved, that he lives in opposition to every law of God, p. 128—130.*

Chap. V. (2) Nor do the Monks love either God or their neighbours, p. 131: this is proved from the Second Table of the Decalogue p. 131 ff.; especially by the fourth Commandment. They despise Christ and the Church in preferring carnal pleasures; they take possession of churches in their own interest, p. 131—133, and unlike the Apostles and first Monks, neglect the care of souls, p. 133—134. The fifth and sixth Commandments explained, p. 134—135.

Chap. VI. (3) The same holds true in regard to Canons, who very much resemble the second Sect, p. 135. Their sin against the second Commandment is, however, still greater, for they use the church-property for their own interests, p. 136—137. Their life would be more in accordance with Christ's law, if they went among the people endeavouring to gain adherents to His cause, p. 138; and if they gave up their possessions, p. 138, the better to enable them to give themselves up to His service, p. 138—140.

Chap. VII. (4) All the Sects, but more especially the Friars, are reproached for holding (a) their patron in higher estimation than Christ, p. 140; and (b) their doctrines above the Gospel, p. 141. It is therefore impossible that they should live according to Christ's law, p. 141—142; for by breaking Christ's regulations and dividing the Church into two parts, p. 142, one of which appropriates for private ends the gifts commanded by Him, they sin against the ninth and tenth Commandments, p. 143. The argument, that many Saints in Heaven belonged during their lifetime to these Sects, p. 144, can form no defence for the latter, or give them any right to enter the kingdom of Heaven, till they live an equally holy and saintlike life, p. 144—145.

Chap. VIII. It is but too true, that simple believers also sin against the law, although not as much as the Sects, p. 145. Some are hardened in sin, and await God's punishment as certain; others are as reeds waving in the wind, p. 145—146. The question of a future punishment is, therefore, a most important one. So many fables and lies have been attached to the belief in Purgatory, p. 146, that it must be examined cautiously, p. 146. Without doubt, the soul after its separation from the body, must be cleansed from many worldly desires, p. 147, and cannot therefore attain at once to full blessedness, p. 147—148. This should be sufficient for the Church, p. 148—149. There is no need to search for the place, duration or manner of torment, p. 148. At any rate, the indulgences etc. of the Pope are mere fictions, p. 149. These things, however, are certain: (1) the souls of the

pious attain immediately, after their death to a higher state of happiness than they enjoyed on earth, p. 148; (2) those who remain on earth can do nothing for departed souls, p. 149; and (3) indulgences and good works for the dead are diabolical deceptions, p. 149. For this reason one must guard against the disciples of the Devil, who endeavour by such inventions to deceive believers, p. 149—150.

III. Date of Composition.

This Tract seems to have been occasioned by an opposition raised by the authorities of the Church to W.'s doctrine that the Gospel, and especially the Ten Commandments, should be preached and taught in the mother tongue, chap. I, p. 116 ff., IV, p. 126. W.'s translation of the Bible was finished (according to Lechler, J. v. W. I, 448) in June 1382. The present Tract evidently alludes only to preparatory studies for the great work. From the year 1381 W. 'began to pour forth an almost ceaseless stream of publications in the mother tongue', cp. Vaughan, J. Wyckliffe, a Monograph 405 and 411; Polyd. Vergil., Hist. Angliae lib. 19. — I am sorry to say that I am not able to decide, whether iste refuga, *p. 128, refers to Pope Clement VII. or Urban VI. But to judge from the general tone of the Tract, which seems to treat of the very first attempts made to circulate the Scriptures in the English tongue, and which brought on the opposition of the Romish Church (cp. chap. IV p. 126), I am inclined to think that the term refers to Clement VII., whom W. often blamed because of his flight (cp. De Christo et Adv. suo, chap. XII). The retirement of Pope Urban VI. from Rome to Naples in 1383 (Walsingh., Hist. Angl. II, 105)*[1] *could not be called a flight exactly, nor the Pope* refuga. *The flight of the Antipope took place in the year 1379: cp. Walsingham, Hist. Angl. I, 393: quod audiens etc. If W. referred to Urban VI. — which would bring the date of the Tract down to 1383 —, it would be very remarkable (apart from the fact that the tone of the controversy is not very severe), that neither the conflict concerning the Holy Eucharist (summer of 1381, cp. Shirley, Fasc. Ziz. 104), nor even the Crusade p. 129 ff. (where the fifth Commandment is treated of, chap. V, p. 134), is taken any notice of. This, indeed, is an argumentum*

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[1] *Urban left voluntarily, from political grounds. Only after his departure was the anger of the Romans turned against him, cp. Th. de Niem, Hist. s. t. (Argent. 1609) p. 31. Knighton, X Scr., Col. 2657.*

e silentio; but added to the fact, that W. (chap. V, p. 134 ff.) treats of the spiritualis occisio *only, when the* corporalis *in the Crusade would have formed a very dangerous weapon in his hand, this argument appears to me not without weight. It is certainly not weakened by the general notice made of the* suscitatores bellorum et discordie *chap. IV, p. 128. As early as the year 1379, a bloody war raged between the two Popes, cp. Walsingham, Hist. Angl. I, 343 and Niem, Hist. s. t. p. 19. For these — I admit, by no means imperative — reasons, I am inclined to place the date of the present Tract in the first half of the year 1381. Shirley, Catal. No. 79 p. 26 places it 'after the Great Schism of the West'.*

IV. Genuineness.

External evidence:

(1) *Wiclif-Catalogues of the Vienna codd., see above, p. 7.*
(2) *Walden, Doctr. Fidei II, chap. 34 (under the title: De praevaricantia sectarum).*
(3) *Bale, Illustr. Script. Summ. fol. 157.*
(4) *see notice on front cover of cod. A.*
(5) *see notice on the inner side of front cover of cod. B.*
(6) *see index on front cover of cod. E.*
(7) *see index on front cover of cod. G. Compare, as to 4, 5, 6, 7 General Introd. IV, Description of the codd.*
(8) *Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. 1441; 1454; 1470; 1474; 1493; 1505; 2105.*
(9) *Shirley, Catal. No. 79 p. 26.*
(10) *Lechler, J. v. W. II, 568.*

Internal evidence:

(1) *cp. above, General Introduction V, e.*
(2) *cp. the reiteration of W.'s thoughts as expressed in, and known from, his genuine writings: cp. especially as an irrefutable proof, the characteristic description of the four Sects which, without being named at all, are presupposed in exactly the same order as known from W.'s other writings. Compare, e. g., chap. IV p. 127 with chap. V in the beginning; again, the Pope as* abbas et patronus ordinum privatorum *p. 127 l. 3; again, his designation as* satrapa *etc. For particulars, refer to chap. IV, notes b; e; V, a; b; VI, b; g; h; VII, b; c; d; VIII, b; c.*

V. *Not yet printed.*

VI. *Extant in*

cod. 3929	= *A fol.* 187^a—192^a	A^1 = *Corrector (of only a few pass.)* A^2 = *Glosser (notes above the col.)* A^3 = *red hand*
cod. 3933	= *B fol.* 88^d—92^a	B^1 = *Corrector*
cod. 4527	= *C fol.* 171^a—178^a	C^1 = *Corrector (pale hand)* C^2 = *Corrector (thin scribbling hand)* C^3 = *Glosser*
cod. 3930	= *D fol.* 263^d—271^d	D^1 = *Glosser (small black hand)* D^2 = *Glosser (small pale hand)* D^3 = *Glosser (thick red hand)*
cod. 1337	= *E fol.* 117^c—125^a	E^1 = *Corrector* E^2 = *Glosser (above the col.)*
cod. 4536	= *G fol.* 122^a—132^b	G^1 = *Glosser (towards the end of the Tract)*
cod. 4515	= *H fol.* 75^a—83^a	H^1 = *the new texthand beginning from chap. II, cp. note 9*
cod. 1387	= *K fol.* 108^a—109^a	*contains only the last part, chap. VIII p. 146 l. 4 ff.*

cod. Ashburnham[1] *XXVII c* = *Ash fol.* 90^a—96^b *without Corrector.*

VII. The Manuscripts.

A. Their relationship.

I. Class A–E. In 325 passages (with about 670 various readings) the MSS. consulted here[2] *differ from each other; (1) in about 290 instances A–E read the same; (2) in 38 instances both give a reading of their own, which differs from the consensus of the rest. This number in itself does not seem to say much for their relationship; it must however be noticed, (a) that the writer of E, as always, copied here in an extremely careless manner, (b) that no other combination even approaches this number [viz. 38; cp. above (2)] Their consensus of readings consists (1) in a striking and, at the same time, irrelevant order of words peculiar to both MSS., cp. e. g.* ass. in v. *I, note 29;* sibi in moribus *IV, 49 and many others;*

[1] *became only accessible to me, when my MS. was in the Printers' hands; the readings are recorded, but could not be made use of for critical purposes.*

[2] *Ash is not included.*

(2) in a number of lacunae common to both codd.: sit *II 33;* patet *III, 69;* Mt *IV, 8;* ig. *(om.) IV, 11;* numq. *etc. IV, 55;* digne *V, 49;* sic *VI, 27;* fidel. *VIII, 24;* et tercia est *VIII, 29;* edif. *VIII, 67; these omissions cannot be explained away as oversights or slips of the pen. — (d) Of decisive importance are* reus *II, 4;* hac *II, 41;* totitem *(sic) III, 27;* hiis *IV, 6;* pape *IV, 17;* inquit *IV, 44;* abbachie *V, 21;* cum *V, 26;* istorum *V, 43;* perf. apost. *VI, 60;* fecte *VII, 4;* eccles. *VII, 11;* mult. *VIII, 50;* et *VIII, 79 and especially* inv. *II, 30. — That E in many instances gives its its own, and in almost every case, a false reading compared with A, must be attributed to its carelessness in copying. In two passages only A goes its own way (in mere graphical slips), independently of E, cp.* edocet *I, 22;* tantum *IV, 76.*

E is not A's original: cp. (1) E's very incorrect text with the much superior A, and (2) the lacunae quam in approp. *etc. V, 9:* in statu *etc. III, 34. — On the other hand, I do not think it improbable, that E was copied from A's revised text, cp.* delic, i. e. lat. *VI, 35; more especially* obstruere *V, 39. — E's corrector, E^1, did not correct here (as he did in De Christo et suo Adv.) immediately from B, cp. (1) their widely divergent text, and (2)* si *III, 53;* Mt. *IV, 8;* eccl. *VI, 5;* iurisdicc. *VI, 28;* delir. *VI, 35;* sua *VI, 56; nor from any of the other codd. here consulted; but, I think, we may imply from* racione *II, 50 (where only B gives this reading against* reo *of the other codd.);* effundere *V, 39;* fidei *VII, 55;* tamen *VIII, 56;* dicitur *VIII, 76 and others, that he copied from some original closely connected with, but older than, B.*

II. Class D–G. In the 325 passages in question, these two MSS concur in 254 instances, 6 (7) times they have a reading in common which differs from the consensus of the all other codices.

III. As to the relationship of the group D–G, as well as of B, C, H and K I have not found out much: the materials are too slender to judge of their closer connection. Ash belongs to a totally different (an English) family of codd. cp. VII, 13; VI, 67; 69; II, 13.

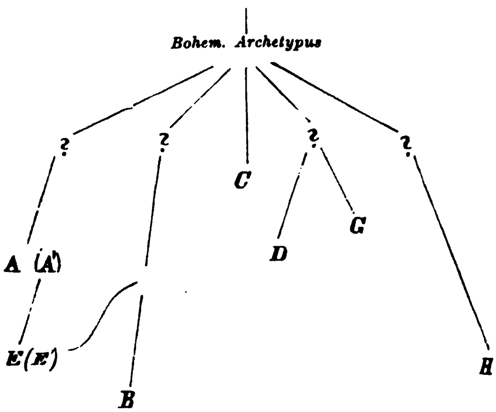
B. ***The best codex.*** *If from the 325 differing passages we separate those that are entirely irrelevant, and examine the remaining 245, we obtain the following relative numbers in regard to the value of the codd.: C contains 31 false readings, G 37; D 39; A 53; E 71; H 81; B 83. C, therefore, appears best adapted to base the text upon. The intrinsic value of its readings still more heightens its*

chance. Nearly all are attributable to orthographical errors and slips of the pen except capicione *II, 25 and probably also* propinqua *IV, 41: only twice are (unimportant) words as e. g.* ut, est, *omitted; the omission of* homo *III, 12 and* possibile *III, 33 has been filled up by C¹. — The group G–D is by no means a bad one; with the exception of* capicione *II, 25,* prolong. *IV, 25;* meditacio. *VII, 42, the remaining lectio falsa consists of insignificant graphical errors. I however prefer C, because D in 12 instances, and G in 10, give independent false readings of their own compared with the consensus of the rest, C on the other hand gives them in only four instances.*

Group A–E, with about 20 such independent false readings, and 53 decisive false readd. (or 71, if we look at the whole number of readd.) is much inferior.

A superficial glance over the table of the various readings will suffice to show how very incorrectly H, K and B copied. B, in particular, is in a very bad state of corruption.

The following may serve as a pedigree of the MSS.:



JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE NOVA PREVARICANCIA MANDATORUM.

lipextic vrebum cmt' orcle te smd, et lppo gnire nri.[1]

CAP. I.

|| *C fol. 171a lin. 15*

||[2]Cum secundum veritatis testimonium Matth. 19[a] ad ingressum in | patriam sufficit et requiritur servancia mandatorum,[3] quilibet fidelis daret | operam ad istam servanciam in vita et opere adimplendum. Ideo | decem mandatorum noticia[4] est cunctis fidelibus annotanda.

Unde quidam considerantes, quod Cristus et sui apostoli fidem scripture in lingwis variis conscripserunt,[5] doctrinam decalogi tam in lingwa latina quam anglica[6] diverso scemate diversis hominibus

CAP. I. v. 17

CAP. I. [1] *i. e.* Explicit verbum comuniter clero et dominis et populo regni nostri, *or, more accurately, according to the Summary of the cod. given on its front cover:* Verbum communiter dicendum clero dominis et populo regni nostri Tractatus de nova prevaricancia mandatorum *A* Explicit de exhortacione cuiusdam doctoris de nova prevaricancia mandatorum primum *(viz. cap.) B* Explicit tractatus de fundacione sectarum Cristo in oppositum introductarum Anno domini millesimo CCCCXII° sexta feria proxima ante conductum Pasche hora quasi vicesima *D* Explicit de iuramento collectoris pape Incipit de nova prevaricancia mandatorum *E* *without Expl. and Inc. HGAsh* [2] *A fol. 187ª lin. 16 B fol. 88ᵈ lin. 32 D fol. 263ᵈ lin. 18 E fol. 117ᶜ lin. 26 G fol. 122ª lin. 7 H fol. 75ª lin. 1 Ash fol. 90ª* [3] s. m. *ABCEGHAsh* m. s. *D* [4] not. *ABCDEHAsh om. G* [5] conscripserunt *ABCDEGAsh* conscripserint *H* [6] anglica *ACDEGHAsh* anglico *B*

collegerunt.[7] [b] Intendentes autem brevitati[8] doctrinam decalogi in[9] quodam compendio aptaverunt,[10] quibus dicetur[11] in anglico, quod lex Cristi compilatur in quodam dyalogo, sicut decalogus per Mosem in duabus tabulis est collectus, quarum prima docet[12] debite deum[13] diligere et secunda, diligere proximum. Et existentibus tribus[14] mandatis in prima tabula et septem in altera, decem mandata in duabus tabulis sub isto binario[15] de diligendo deum et proximum sunt contenta.

Unde secundum veritatis testimonium Matth. 22[c] in hiis duobus mandatis universa lex pendet et prophete, et hinc metricus sic compilat:

Unum crede deum,[16] nec vane iures[17] per ipsum,
Sabbata[18] sanctifices, habeas in honore parentem.
Non sis occisor, mechus, fur,[19] testis iniquus,
Vicinique[20] thorum resque caveto suas.

Fides autem scripture Matth. 22[21] [d] edocet,[22] quod deus[23] est super omnia diligendus, hoc est ex toto corde, ex tota anima et[24]

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[b] *W. has not only in view here his itinerant preachers, but, I think, also his writings concerning the subject mentioned above, On the Ten Commandments, ed. by Arnold, S. E. W. III, 82, who speaks of two recensions of this Tract, both from the pen of W. (cp. also Bale. Summ. under the title Compendium Decem Praeceptorum). Cp. also Book I of the Summa with the special title De Mandatis Divinis (this is at present being prepared for the Wyclif Society by F. D. Matthew)* [c] *v. 40* [d] *v. 37*

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[7] collegerunt *ABCDGHAsh* collegerut *E (compend. om.)* [8] brevitati *ABCDEGAsh* breviter *H* [9] in *ACDEGHAsh* *om. B* [10] aptaverunt *ABCDEG* aptaverint *H* optaverint *Ash* *this is in D the last word of col. 264[d], below it:* De nova prevaricancia mandatorum *D[3]* [11] dicetur *ABCDEGH* dicebatur *Ash* [12] docet *BDAsh* docent *ACEGH* [13] deb. de. *ACDEHAsh* de. deb. *BG* [14] tribus *ABCEHAsh* primis *DG* [15] binario *ABCEGHAsh* denario *D* [16] crede deum *ABCDGHAsh* credendum *E*, (dum *ud. & with mark of ref. in mar.* deum *E[1]*) [17] va. iur. *CDGH* iur. va. *ABE* [18] Sabbata *ABCDEGAsh* Sabbam *H* [19] *in C* fur me., *but transposed by marks* [20] vicinique *ABCDEGAsh* vicini *H* [21] 22 *ACDEGHAsh* 20 *B* [22] edocet *BCDGHAsh* docet *AE* [23] deus *ABCEGHAsh* Cristus deus *D* [24] et *ACDEGHAsh* *om. B*

in tota mente. Et consequenter fidelis debet diligere proximum ut se ipsum.

Explanando autem particularius, quomodo deus est super omnia[25] diligendus, notari debet, quod[26] ipse est assidue cogitandus, secundo debite est credendus, et tercio summa voluntate, que est suprema mentis potencia, est amandus. Et sic credere in deum, C fol. 171b quod est affeccione et cogitacione sibi firmiter adherere, ‖ est primum[27] mandatum decalogi. Secundum[28] mandatum est negativum, quod fidelis non in vanum assumat[29] nomen domini, dei sui. Et tercium mandatum est,[30] quod fidelis memoretur, ut diem sabbati[31] sanctificet.

Primum autem mandatum secunde tabule est,[32] ut fidelis honoret patrem et matrem. Et sex mandata sequencia sunt[33] quodammodo negativa. Secundum[34] mandatum istius secunde tabule est, quod fidelis non occidat. Tercium[35] autem mandatum istius[36] secunde[37] tabule est, quod fidelis domini[38] non mechetur. Quartum[39] est, quod non furetur. Quintum[40] est, quod non loquatur falsum testimonium contra proximum suum.[41] Sextum[42] est, quod fidelis non concupiscat domum proximi nec[43] uxorem et liberos. Septimum[44] autem[45] et ultimum mandatum[46] est, quod homo non concupiscat residuum bonorum domus[47] proximi, cuiusmodi sunt bestie et residua bona sua. Et omnia ista septem mandata servanda sunt[48] sub pena defectus caritatis proximi, sicut omnia tria man-

[25] e. su. o. *ABCDEGAsh* s. o. e. *H* [26] quod *BCDGHAsh* quomodo *AE* *from here in C, numbers corresponding to the commandments accompany the text, thus* Primo, Secundo, *etc. C³* [27] *in G is add. in mar.:* Primum [28] *in G is add. in mar.:* Secundum [29] n. i. v. ass. *BCDGHAsh* n. ass. i. va. *AE* [30] est *ACDEGHAsh* *om. B* *in G in mar.:* Tercium [31] diem sabbati *ACDEGHAsh* dei sabbathum *B* [32] *in G is add. in mar.:* Quartum [33] sunt *ABCDEGAsh* sint *H* [34] *in G is add. in mar.:* Quintum [35] *in G is add. in mar.:* Sextum [36] istius *ABCDEHAsh* huius *G* [37] secunde *BCDG* *om. AEHAsh* [38] domini *ABCDEGAsh* deum *H* [39] *in G is add. in mar.:* Septimum [40] *in G is add. in mar.:* Octavum [41] co. pr. su. *ACDEGHAsh* *om. B* [42] *in G is add. in mar.:* Nonum [43] nec *ABCDEGH* ut *Ash* [44] *in G is add. in mar.:* Decimum [45] autem *ACDEGHAsh* *om. B* [46] et ult. mand. *ABCDEGH* *om. Ash* [47] domus *ACDEGHAsh* *om. B* [48] sunt *in B in mar. with mark of ref. by B¹*

data prime tabule servare debemus sub pena defectus caritatis[49] dei.

Et in isto dyalogo plenitudo legis, que[50] est dileccio, est[51] impleta.

CAP. II.[1]

Sed restat ulterius sub eodem compendio propter eos, qui affectant[2] brevitatem,[a] restringere, quomodo iste mandatorum decalogus est contra voluntatem domini[3] intercisus.

Docet autem fides Iac. 2,[b] quod, qui offendit in uno, factus[4] est omnium reus,[5] non ad hunc sensum sophisticum, quod, quicunque in uno decem mandatorum offenderit, factus est non illorum omnium observator,[6] sed quod sic sunt illa mandata dei connexa, quod, quicunque in uno illorum deum suum offenderit, reus est prevaricacione singulorum.

Primo, inquam, offenditur contra primum mandatum[7] dimittendo cogitatum de deo et in creaturis fallacibus confidendo.

Et in[8] istam prevaricacionem incidunt homines communiter per tres hostes, scilicet[9] per dyabolum, carnem propriam atque mundum. Et sic multi dicunt false et nominetenus, se esse fideles decalogi servatores et tamen[10] sunt[11] manifesti ypocrite et prevaricatores pessimi, cum secundum apostolum[c] quidquid homo[12] magis

CAP. II. [a] *see above p. 117, l. 1* [b] *v. 10* [c] *The quotation is, I believe, according to the sense; as to the matter, cp. Eph. 5, 5; Col. 3, 5; I Cor. 8, 3 ff.; also Matth. 6, 24*

[49] proximi sicut o. t. m. p. t. s. d. s. p. d. caritatis *ACDEGH, B[1] with mark of ref. above the col. om. B* prox. sic. defect. carit. *Ash.* [50] que *ABCDEGH* quod *Ash* [51] est *ABCDEGAsh om. H*

CAP. II. [1] secundum *BCAsh, D (in mar.), E[2]G[1] om. AEGH* [2] affectant *ACDEGHAsh* afficiunt *B* [3] domini *ACDEGHAsh* dei *B* [4] factus *BCDGH Ash* reus *A, E (ud.), but in mar.* factus *E[1]* [5] *in D is add. in mar.:* Qui offendit in uno, factus est omnium reus *D[2]* [6] obser. *BCDEGHAsh* reus *(ud.)* obs. *A* [7] *in D is add. in mar.:* Contra primum mandatum offenditur *D[2]* [8] in *ACDEGHAsh om. B* [9] *in H, from this place a new hand (H[1]) copies that wrote much more negligently than the old one* [10] tamen *BCAsh* cum *ADEGH[1]* [11] sunt *BCGH[1]Ash* sint *ADE* [12] homo *BCDEGH[1]Ash* est ydolorum servitus et superatos peccatis carnalibus *(ud.)* homo *A*

dilexerit, illud constituit deum suum. Et sic avaricia secundum esse[13] est ydolorum servitus et superatos peccatis carnalibus dicit esse ydolatras, quorum deus venter est.[d] Et sic non solum gentiles, quos dicimus infideles,[14] sunt prevaricatores istius mandati primi et maximi, sed nos ipsi, qui dicimur[15] cristiani, sumus prevaricatores istius mandati, ypocritice[16] plus ingrati.

In secundum[17] mandatum offenditur[18] contra deum,[19] non solum accipiendo nomen dei sui vel creature sue superflue, sicut faciunt iuratores, verum eciam accipiendo nomen cristiani et tamen negando in opere moraliter Cristum sequi. Et in ista prevaricacione peccat communiter totus mundus.

Tercio prevaricatur contra mandatum tercium[20] in hoc, quod intendentes ocio nec legem dei servant in sabbato in audiendo nec in predicando vel publicando ad dei reverenciam verbum suum.

In primum mandatum secunde tabule offendunt[21] plurimi, quando[22] non solum non honorant parentes carnales, vivos aut[23] mortuos, sed communiter, quando parentes spirituales, hoc est, Cristum et suam ecclesiam non honorant.[24] Et stat talis honoracio non in capuciacione,[25] genuflexione[26] || vel signis aliis mundialiter variatis, sed in sincera procuracione boni, utilis anime persone dilecte vel ecclesie[27] militantis. Unde Cristus Ioh. 13[e] dicit pro regula: mandatum[28] novum do vobis ut diligatis invicem, sicut dilexi

| C fol. 172a

[d] *cp. Phil. 3, 19* [e] *v. 34*

[13] esse *ACDEG*H^1 eum *BAsh* [14] inf. *ABCE*H^1*Ash* esse inf. *DG* [15] dicimur *ABCDG*H^1*Ash*, E^1 *in mar.* dicuntur *(ud.)E, in A also the word is written so, that it can be easily read for* dicuntur [16] ypocritice *ABDEGAsh* ypocrite H^1 ypocrice *C, but in mar.* ti C^1 *(therefore* ypocritice*)* [17] *in D is add. in mar.:* Contra secundum mandatum D^1 [18] offenditur *ABCDEGAsh* offendere H^1 [19] deum *ABCDEGAsh* *om.* H^1, *but added in mar. by the texthand (now* H^1*)* [20] *in D is add. in mar.:* Contra tercium mandatum D^1 *in C in mar.:* Tercio C^3 [21] offendunt *B*H^1*Ash* offenduntur *ACDEG* [22] quando *ACDEG*H^1*Ash* quod *B* [23] aut *ABCDEGAsh* autem H^1 [24] honorant *ABDEG*H^1*Ash* honorat *C* [25] capuciacione *D, G in mar.*, H^1 (ca͞picoē) capicione *ABCEG* decapiciacione *Ash* [26] gen. *ACDEG*H^1*Ash* vel gen. *B* [27] ecclesie *ACDEG*H^1*Ash* ecclesia *B* [28] mandatum *ABCDEGAsh* mandiats H^1

vos, ut[29] et vos diligatis invicem.[30] Ex quibus patet, quod honor vel amor, quem[31] Cristus precipit, non consistit in terrenorum cumulacione,[32] cum Cristus non sic suos dilexerat, sed sepe vergit ad dampnum anime et strangulacionem hominis contra deum; sed cum sit[33] sepe ad[34] salutem anime hominis pauperari, patet, quod honor vel amor consistit in racionabili[35] subtraccione istorum stercorum, dum cedit ad commodum anime pro beatitudine consequenda.

Contra secundum mandatum[36] secunde tabule innaturaliter offendunt plurimi in affeccione, verbo et opere, cum multi iniuste volunt fratres suos occidi, ut patet de multis odientibus fratres suos. Multi eciam in verbis irracionabilibus perpetrant hoc[37] homicidium, sicut et multi occidunt corporaliter, tam per manus proprias, quam[38] eciam per[39] consensum. Et dum ad nullum istorum habent auctoritatem a domino, patet, quod sunt iniusti proximi occisores.

Et conformiter prevaricatur in mandatum tercium[40] huius tabule non solum deturpando uxorem proximi, sed inhoneste volendo perpetrare hoc[41] facinus; sed tercio communius[42] in personam, que debet esse de ecclesia, deturpando.

In quartum mandatum[43] huius tabule offenditur multis modis, quia quandocunque[44] creature alique, que debent esse bona proximi, sunt abuse. Et patet, quod multis modis peccatores sunt fures contra deum[45] et proximum bonis Cristi et[46] ecclesie abutendo.

In quintum mandatum[47] tam extense offenditur, cum triplex sit locucio, in corde, voce[48] et opere; et quelibet[49] illarum debet esse

[29] ut *DGH^{1}Ash*, *B^1 in mar.* *om. ABCE* [30] invicem *BCDGH^{1}Ash* invicis *AE (cp. this abbrev. of* inv. *with the* inv. *shortly preceding: in both cases both abbreviations in both codd. strikingly agree)* [31] quem *BCDGH^{1}Ash* que *A* quam *E* [32] cumulacione *ABCDEGAsh* comunilacione *(? in no case* cumulacione) *H^1* [33] sit *BCDGH^{1}Ash* *om. AE* [34] ad *ABDEGH^{1}Ash* contra *(cr. out & ud.)* ad *C* [35] racionabili *ABCDEGAsh* racionali *H^1* [36] *in C is add. in mar.:* Secundo *C^3* [37] hoc *ABCDGH^{1}Ash*, *E^1 in mar.* *om. E* [38] quam *ACDEGH^{1}Ash* tam *B* [39] per *ABCDGH^{1}Ash* perost *E, but* ost *ud.* [40] *in C is add. in mar.:* Tercio *C^3* [41] hoc *BCDGH^{1}Ash* hac *AE* [42] comunius *ABCDEGAsh* corpus *H^1* [43] *in C is add. in mar.:* Quarto *C^3* [44] quandocunque *(?) GAsh* quecunque *ABCDEH^1* [45] deum *ABCDEGAsh* dominum *H^1* [46] et *C* atque *ABDEGH^{1}Ash* at. ecc. ab. *ABDEGAsh* ab. at. ecc. *H^1* et ecc. ab. *C* [47] *in C is add. in mar.:* Quinto *C^3* [48] voce *ACDEGH^{1}Ash* ore *B* [49] *in G a corr. word: upon it,* quelibet *has been written with thick ink*

non contra proximum, sed pro bono proximi, et quelibet illarum locucionum est in reo[50] cuiuscunque criminis satis falsa.

In sextum mandatum[51] secunde tabule prevaricatur cottidie non solum in concupiscendo indebite feminam uxoratam, sed abusum personarum ecclesie tam in feminis quam liberis illicite affectando.

In septimum mandatum et ultimum offendunt plurimi, cum bona proximi per media nepharia contra legem domini concupiscunt.

CAP. III.[1]

Sed tercio videtur lacius et expressius inferendum[2] pro declaracione istius materie pro illis, qui in profundiore[3] sermone domini delectantur.

Et videtur primo,[4] ut dicunt recentes heretici, quod non est possibile, cristianum servare decalogum mandatorum,[5] quia cum mandata sint[6] eterna, pro statu innocencie hominem[7] obligarunt, sed cum nemo ex peccato suo sic melioratur in condicione, quod nunc minus, quam tunc obligatur[8] ad observanciam mandatorum, videtur, quod nunc post lapsum homo debet tantum deum diligere, sicut debuit in statu innocencie. Et cum hoc non potest, cum sit tantum wlneratus[9] in naturalibus, tam corporis quam anime, videtur, quod cuilibet cristiano sit impossibilis observancia mandatorum. Quis enim viator citra Cristum potest tam[10] continue et tam intense[11] cogitare de deo, sicut debuit homo[12] in statu innocencie non tam continue, quia necessitatur cogitare de temporalibus et ipsa aliquo modo[13] diligere?

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[50] reo *ACDGH¹Ash, E (ud.)* racione *B, E¹ in mar.* [51] *in C is add. in mar.:* Sexto *C³*

CAP. III. [1] tercium *CDAsh, B (in mar.) om. AEGH¹* [2] inferendum *ABCDEG* disserendum *H¹* inserendum *Ash* [3] profundiore *ABCDEG* profundiori *H¹Ash* [4] primo *ABCDEGAsh* prius *H¹* [5] *in E is add. below col. 119ᵃ:* Arguitur quare nemo posset servare decalogum *E²* [6] sint *ACDEGH¹Ash* sunt *B* [7] hominem *ABCDEG* homines *Ash* [8] obligatur *ABCDEH¹Ash* obligabatur *G* [9] wulneratus *ACDEGH¹Ash* voluratus *(!) B* [10] tam *ACDEGH¹Ash om. B* [11] intense *ABCDEH¹Ash* intercise *G* [12] homo *ABDEGH¹Ash, C¹ in mar. om. C* [13] i. a. m. *ABCEGH¹Ash* a. m. i. *D*

Sed quis dubitat, quin talis cogitacio[14] atque[15] affeccio mitigant intellectum et affectum hominis citra deum? Et per conse- || *C fol. 172b* quens talis non ex toto corde deum diligit.[16] Si enim occupacio et affeccio circa temporalia in deum foret collecta simpliciter, de tanto dileccio[17] dei in sic cogitante potencior. Et cum tunc non deum diligeret, nisi ex toto corde, patet,[18] quod nunc ista dei dileccio[19] mitigatur. Et sic[20] cum vires anime debilitantur ex corpore corrupto, et ipse vires circa creaturas taliter dispergantur,[21] videtur, quod homo deficit in ista prima particula mandati primi et[22] maximi. Et istud videtur ewangelistam sentire I Ioh. 1[a]: si dixerimus, quoniam peccata[23] non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus et veritas in nobis non est.

In oppositum videtur fides[24] catholica, cum nemo potest ad vitam ingredi, nisi servet mandata, ut patet Matth. 19.[b] Si ergo nemo potest servare mandata, nemo potest ad vitam ingredi.

Sed que conclusio foret maior desperacio contra fidem, cum sepe dicit Cristus suis apostolis,[25] quod erunt beati, alias tribus Israel iudicantes?[c] Multi ergo erunt salvati,[26] ut patet Matth. 25,[d] quia totidem,[27] quot forent homines in statu innocencie servato ex integro, et quot spiritus cum lucifero ceciderunt, quia aliter Cristus non redemisset genus humanum, nisi ex virtute passionis sue superhabundaverit gracia[28] supra hoc, quod delictum primi hominis habundavit.[29]

CAP. III. [a] *v. 8* [b] *v. 17* [c] *cp. Matth. 19, 28* [d] *v. 33 ff.*

[14] qu. t. c. *ABCDEGAsh* *om. H¹, but in mar.* qu. t. c. *texthand (H¹)* [15] atque *ACDEGH¹Ash* sive *B* [16] de. di. *BCDGAsh (also in the original of H¹, see note 18)* di. de. *AE* diligit *H¹, (i. e.* de. *om.)* [17] dil. *ABCDEGH¹* foret dil. *Ash* [18] patet *ABCDEGAsh* deum diligit Si enim occup. et a. c. t. i. d. f. c. s. d. t. d. dei *(ud.)* patet *H¹, the original of H¹, therefore, read* deum *(see note 16), H¹ copied negligently* [19] i. de. di. *ACDEGH¹* di. i. de *B* [20] sic *ABCDEGH¹* sicut *Ash* [21] dispergantur *ACE* disperguntur *BDGH¹Ash* [22] pr. et *ABCDEH¹Ash fe. G* [23] peccata *ABCDEG* peccatum *H¹Ash* [24] fi. *ABDEGH¹Ash* esse *(ud.)* fi. *C from this place in H darker ink, but the same hand* [25] s. a. *ABCDEGAsh* a. s. *H¹* [26] *in D is add. in mar.:* Multi erunt salvati *D¹* [27] *E reads* quia *(cr. out)* totitem *(ud.), but in mar. is add.:* quia totidem *E¹ (A also reads:* totitem) [28] gracia *ABCDEGAsh om. H¹* [29] hab. *ACDEGH¹Ash* superhab. *B*

Teneamus hanc[30] fidem firmiter, quod[31] possibile est, omnem predestinatum servare decalogum,[32] sicut fuit sibi possibile[33] in statu innocencie et erit[34] possibile[35] post diem iudicii; et derideamus istam arguciam: non est possibile cristianum in vita ista[36] fragili sine peccato servare decalogum, ergo[37] non est possibile simpliciter ipsum servare decalogum.[38] Verum tamen bene concluditur, quod non est possibile, cristianum hoc facere nisi mediante[39] virtute et gracia domini Iesu[40] Cristi, nec est possibile cristianum viventem[41] in ista vita carnali omnino sine defectu servare decalogum,[42] verum tamen dolens de isto defectu continue,[43] et manens in sancto proposito, quod decalogum observaret nec gratis in prevaricacione deum[44] offenderet, habet[45] ex[46] speciali gracia unam morulam ante[47] mortem,[48] in qua virtute meriti Cristi potest sine defectu istum decalogum observare.

Et hec est una racio, quare debemus dolere continue et, ut dicit Iohannes,[e] peccata nostra pro vita ista carnali et fragili non negare. Et ad istum sensum videtur iste Iohannes loqui, quod, si dixerimus, quod peccata[49] non habemus,[50] hoc est, in tota vita ista integra non peccamus, nos ipsos seducimus.

Et quantum ad primum assumptum patet, quod est verum,

[e] *cp. I Joh. 1, 8*

[30] hanc *ABCDEGH¹* ergo hanc *Ash* [31] quod *ABCDEGAsh* quia *H¹* [32] *in E is add. in mar.:* Responsio *E²*, *likewise above the col.:* Decalogum mandatorum potest homo servare *E²* [33] poss. *ABDEGH¹Ash*, *C¹ in mar.* *om. C* [34] in sta. i. et er. *ABCDGH¹Ash*, *E¹ in mar.* *om. E* [35] poss. *ABCGH¹Ash*, *E¹ in mar.* sibi poss. *D* *om. E* [36] ista *ABCDEH¹Ash* sua *G* [37] ergo *ACDEGH¹Ash* igitur *B* [38] *in E is add. with mark of ref. below the col.:* Decalogum servare nemo potest sine defectu *E²* [39] mediante *ABCEGAsh* mediate *DH¹* [40] Ie. *ACDEGAsh* nostri Ie. *BH¹* [41] cr. viv. *ABCDEGAsh* cristianum viventem (viv. *cr. out & ed.*) cristianum viventem *H¹* [42] *in D is add. in mar.:* Nota bene *D³* [43] *in E is add. with mark of ref. above the col.:* Dolemus continue, quia peccatum habemus *E²* [44] de. *ABCDEGH¹* huiusmodi *Ash* *in C is add. in mar.:* Nota *C³* [45] habet *ACDEGH¹Ash* *om. B* [46] ex *ACDEGH¹Ash* de *B* [47] ante *ACDEGH¹Ash* anime *B* [48] *in E is add. in mar.:* Morula ante mortem *E²* [49] peccata *ABCDEGAsh* peccatum *H¹* [50] *in D is add. in mar.:* Quod si dixerimus, quod peccata non habemus *D¹*

cum secundum Gregorium,[51] [f] dum augentur dona,[52] raciones eciam crescunt donorum. Tanto ergo esse humilior atque ad serviendum deo prompcior quisque debet esse ex munere, quanto se obligaciorem esse conspicit in reddenda racione. Et probabile[53] videtur, quod Paulus in raptu[54] et hora mortis, sicut et multi alii sancti dilexerunt deum sincerius,[55] et fortificati sunt in mentis viribus[56] ad deum plus unice[57] diligendum, quam dilexerunt[58] in statu innocencie viatores.

Et patet ulterius, quod falsum assumitur, dum dicitur, quod nullus cristianus potest deum || tantum diligere, quantum diligeret in statu innocencie,[59] quia wlneracio in naturalibus anime ex dei gracia est sanata, et per passionem domini specialiter est[60] adiuta. Et patet defectus argucie consequentis. || *C fol. 173a*

Et quantum ad confirmacionem dicitur, quod quilibet cristianus et[61] specialiter in mortis articulo debet intelleccionem et affeccionem omnium terrenorum postponere et ipsas[62] pure in deum[63] infigere.[64] Et tunc mediante dei gracia potest faciliter intellectum et affectum, qui fuerunt in viatore[65] pro statu innocencie supra illum statum erigere. Et deficiendo ab isto[66] citra gradum peccati[67] irremissibilis in purgatorio est purgandus.[68] Et patet,[69] quomodo pro morula in mortis articulo homo potest habere dileccionem dei satis continuam, licet non fuerit ista diuturna, sicut fuisset in statu in-

[f] *Gregorii Opp. (Edit. of the Benedictines, Paris 1705) tom. I lib. I, homil. IX p. 1463 E: Cum enim augentur dona, rationes etiam crescunt donorum*

[51] *in D is add. in mar.:* Gregorius D^1 [52] dona $ABCDEH^1Ash$ bona G [53] prob. AC, E, *but in mar.* si *(not:* sic*)* E^1 sic prob. $BDGH^1Ash$ [54] *in E is add. in mar.:* Paulus in raptu E^2 [55] sinc. *in* H^1 *indistinctly written* [56] viribus $ABCDEGAsh$ virilius H^1 [57] unice $AEGH^1$ unite $BCAsh$ vince D [58] dilexerunt $ABCDEGH^1$ diligeront Ash [59] *in E is add. with mark of ref. below the col.:* Diligere potest cristianus deum, sicut in statu innocencie E^2 [60] sp. e. $ABCDEH^1Ash$ e. sp. G [61] et $ABCDGH^1Ash$ est E [62] ipsas $ACDEGH^1$ ipsos B [63] pu. i. d. $ABCDEG$ i. d. pu. H^1Ash [64] *in E is add. with mark of ref. above the col.:* Mortis in articulo, quando cristianus se disponeret E^2 [65] in viat. *in D in mar.* [66] isto $ABCDEGH^1$ ipso Ash [67] peccati Ash peccatum $ABCDEGH^1$ [68] purg. Ash *om.* $ABCDEGH^1$ [69] patet $BCDGH^1Ash, E^1$ *in mar.* *om.* AE

nocencie. Et pro illa morula non debet affici circa hec temporalia et sic habet uberiorem graciam,[70] quam in statu innocencie[71] habuisset.

CAP. IV.[1]

Cum satrape et pharisei nostri[a] dicunt, quod homo non debet predicare nec colligere ewangelium in wlgari,[2] ne forte ex eius diwlgacione in anglico sit suspectum, sed septem peccata mortalia[b] et mandatorum decalogus[c] sunt in anglico populo explananda, videndum est, quid probabiliter sit ex observancia decalogi viris istis specialiter inferendum.

Dixit autem quidam, quod hec est[3] racio, quare hec rudimenta fidei ex ewangelio nollent populo in anglico predicari, quia cum ex fide debent[4] vivere Cristo conformiter et in moribus sequi ipsum,[5] detecta conversacione Cristi pateret luce clarius, quod in vita sunt sibi contrarii et non fideles vel cristiani ab aliis[6] salutandi, sed pocius superiores disciPuli anticristi. Ideo ad detegendum[7] hoc facinus nollent ewangelium taliter diwlgari, sed cum Cristus dicit Matth.[8] ultimo[d] suis sacerdotibus: euntes in universum mundum predicate ewangelium omni creature, iudicent[9] isti heretici, si obedire oportet plus[10] deo quam homini.

CAP. IV. [a] *that is, the Pope and his followers, but above all the clerici dotati, cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 2; 27; 312; also below p. 127. l. 3 & 9* [b] *cp. W.'s English Tract On the Seven Deadly Sins, Arnold, III, Nro. IX* [c] *cp. above cap. I note b* [d] *Matth. 28, 19*

[70] *in E is add. with mark of ref. below the col.:* Uberior gracia in statu innocencie, quando habetur *E*[2] [71] quam i. st. in. *ABCDEH*[1]*Ash* quam quam *G*

CAP. IV. [1] quartum *CAsh, D in mar., G*[1] *in mar.* *om. AEGH*[1] *in B after* habuisset: sequitur capitulum sextum *B* [2] *in D is add. with mark of ref. below the col. (266*[d]*):* Utrum ewangelium ex latino in wlgare est interpretandum et predicandum D[2] [3] hec est *CDGH*[1] hoc est *Ash* hec esset *ABE* [4] deb. *BCDEGH*[1]*Ash* scripture *(ud.)* deb. *A* [5] ipsum *ABCDEH*[1]*Ash* Cristum *G* [6] aliis *BCDGH*[1]*Ash* hiis *AE* [7] detegendem *CDG* tegendum *ABEH*[1]*Ash* [8] Mt. *CDGH*[1]*Ash, E*[1] *in mar.* Mr. *B* *om. AE* [9] iudicent *ABCDEGAsh* viderent *H*[1] [10] o. p. *ACDEGH*[1]*Ash* p. o. *B*

Videtur igitur,[11] quod iste secte[12] quatuor[e] prevaricantur in isto primo et maximo mandato decalogi.

Et incipiamus primo a papa, qui videtur esse abbas[13] et patronus[f] omnium istorum ordinum privatorum.[14] Fingit enim, quod sit immediatus Cristi vicarius in terris[15] et simillimus sequax[16] Cristi in moribus, cum sit pauperrimus, humillimus et secundum hoc maxime operativus ad edificacionem ecclesie et sic maxime consolativus et nulli parti ecclesie onerosus.

Sed ut testantur cognoscentes statum huius satrape[17] et fidem scripture de Cristi conversacione,[18] nullum[19] est manifestius mendacium in hoc mundo, cum pene declinando ad eius contrarium non est[20] superstes superbior,[21] mundo dicior, ab[22] edificacione[23] ecclesie Cristi elongacior[24] et sic[25] ovibus Cristi onerosior et per consequens per fraudem ypocrisis et alia mendacia pauperum spoliativior.[26] Et sic in verbis crescit in obligacionibus supra Petrum, sed decrescit in operibus Petri vicarii et crescit in maliciis anticristi. Et hinc orant fideles illud Psal. 124:[g] declinantes autem in obligaciones adducet[27] dominus cum operantibus iniquitatem, pax super Israel.[28]

Tales autem discipuli anticristi, licet declinent a mandatis domini, tamquam satrape maledicti et sic incurrunt debitum dei | *C fol. 173b*
ac sue[29] ecclesie, et per consequens ad penam acriorem continue

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[e] *viz. the clerus cesareus, canonici, monachi and fratres, cp.* *De Quat. Sect. novell. cap. I, commencement* [f] *cp. De Quat. Sect. nov. cap. I, commencement* [g] *Ps. 125, 5*

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[11] igitur *BCDG* ergo *H¹Ash* *om. AE* [12] secte *in H¹ in mar. (H¹)* [13] abbas *ACDEGH¹Ash*, *B¹ in mar.* *om. B* [14] *in E is add. below the col. 120ᵃ:* Prevaricatores mandatorum, quomodo sunt superiores *E²* [15] *in D is add. with mark of ref. below the col.:* Papa est patronus quatuor sectarum, fictus vicarius Cristi *D²* [16] sequax *ABCDEGAsh* sectarum *H¹* [17] satrape *BCDGH¹Ash* pape *AE* [18] conversacione *CDGH¹Ash* comiseracione *AEB* [19] nullum *ABCEGH¹* ullerum *(?) D* quod nullum *Ash* [20] est *DGH¹Ash* *om. ABCE* [21] superbior *ABCDEGAsh* superior *H¹* [22] ab *ABCDGH¹Ash*, *E¹ in mar.* *om. E* [23] ed. *BCDEGH¹Ash* ecclesie Cristi *(ud.)* ed. *A* [24] elongacior *ABCDEH¹Ash* prolongacior *G* [25] sic *ABCEGH¹Ash* sit *D* [26] *in A uncertain whether* adducet [27] spoliativior *ACDEGH¹Ash* spoliacivior *B* [28] *in D is add. in mar.:* Pax super Israel *D¹* [29] sue *ACDEGH¹Ash* *om. B*

obligantur. Deus tamen[30] non potest penam huiusmodi[31] oblivisci.

Sed quomodocunque sit de illis suscitatoribus bellorum[32] atque discordie,[h] rogemus, quod sit pax super Israel. Et inter omnia peccata hominum, que iam regnant, istud est magis nepharium atque blasphemius,[33] plus ecclesie turbativum. Nam mentiri super persona[34] gravi in vita et moribus,[35] dum cederet sibi ad scandalum, foret peccatum detestabile. Sed quanto peccatum gravius est, mentiri super dominum Iesum Cristum, seducendo oves suas per latam viam inferni? Et quantum est in isto mendaci blasphemando[36] et[37] scandalizando dominum Iesum Cristum dicendo assertive vel[38] innuitive, quod Cristus taliter vixit et vivere taliter suo vicario imperavit.[39] Et sic stante fide scripture et veritate mendacii[40] istius supposita foret Cristus, qui ex fide est prima veritas, mendacissimus homo mundi. Sed quis unquam[41] audivit plus horrendam blasphemiam?

Unde quidam applicant illud Psal. 49[i] huic anticristo, ac si deus sibi[42] pro continuacione huius sceleris minaretur: estimasti[43] inquit,[44] quod ero tui similis, arguam te et statuam contra faciem[45] tuam. Licet enim[46] iste refuga[k] vendicat nunc[47] iudicare totam

[h] *Allusion is here made to the Friars (who were foremost in preaching the Crusade against Clement VII.) and, in a wider sense, to the Pope's followers at large* [i] *Ps. 50, 21* [k] *It is uncertain which of the contending Popes is here alluded to. — Clement VII. was* refuga *in the year 1379, see Walsingham, H. A. I, 393; Urban VI. in 1383, when, on his escape from the rebellious Romans, he had retired to Naples.*

[30] tamen *ABCDEGH¹* enim *Ash* [31] huiusmodi *ABCDEGAsh* huius *H¹* [32] *in D is add. in mar.:* De suscitatoribus bellorum *D¹* [33] *in E is add. with mark of ref. above the col.:* Peccatum plus nepharium et blaphemius prelatorum quid? *E²* [34] *in D is add. in mar.:* Mentiri super personam *D¹* [35] mor. *ACDEGH¹Ash* in mor. *B* [36] blasph. *ACDEGH¹Ash* blasphemando blasphemando *(twice) B* [37] et *ABCDEGH¹* ac *Ash* [38] vel *ABCDEGAsh* *om. H¹* [39] *in E is add. in mar.:* Vivere contrarie Cristo *E²* [40] mendacii *ABCDEGH¹* *om. Ash* [41] unquam *DGH¹Ash* inquam *ABE* propinqua *C* [42] sibi *ABCDEH¹Ash* *om. G* [43] estimasti *ABCDEGH¹* existimasti *Ash* [44] inique *BCDGH¹Ash* inquit *AE* [45] fac. *ABCDEGAsh* te fac. *H¹* [46] enim *ACDEGH¹Ash* ergo *B* [47] nunc *ABCDEGAsh* *om. H¹*

ecclesiam militantem, et quod habeat plene[48] sensum domini, quem necesse est sibi assistere, totum quod fecerit, confirmando et sic quod Cristus fuit in moribus sibi[49] similis, sicut et erit in[50] die iudicii. Cum tamen ista existimacio sit blasphemia[51] et per consequens iniqua, non dubium, quin in die iudicii verus iudex seculi arguet ipsum et blasphemiam istam statuet contra faciem mentis sue. Et sicut fidelis iste existimat,[52] non est superstes aliqua persona, que plus perturbat ecclesiam militantem, vel que plus facit ipsam[53] a lege domini[54] declinare. Numquid credimus ipsum specialiter servare dei decalogum? Constat expertis,[55] quod non diligit debite dominum deum suum, cum non diligit vitam suam conformari legi sue, sed vivendo Cristo contrarie est nimis contrarius trinitati. Et,[56] ut dicitur, multa scit de anticristi legibus,[57] sed de Cristi[58] legibus scit parum speculative vel practice, cum sit in articulis fidei satis stolidus ydiota. Sed quomodo emanaret a deo gracia, virtus sive sciencia per talem fistulam sic corruptam? Nec dubium, quin non diligit proximum, ut se ipsum, quia[59] se ipsum non diligit, et proximo tam propinquo[60] quam distanti, tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus[61] multum nocet. Cum enim tantum seducit militantem ecclesiam et mentitur[62] de Cristo, patet, quod prevaricatur in primum mandatum secunde tabule, et cum tantum[63] nocet spiritualiter militanti ecclesie, patet, quod occidit spiritualiter multas animas,[64] quod est infinitum peius quam occisio corporalis.[65] Ideo

cp. for particulars Walsingham, H. A. II, 105—106. Th. de Niem, Hist. sui temp. ll. 4, Argentorati 1609, I 31 ff. and L. Maimbourg, Hist. du Grand Schisme d'Occid., Paris (without date „dernière edition") tom. I, 162.

[48] h. pl. *ABCDEGAsh* pl. h. *H¹* [49] i. m. s. *BCDGH¹Ash* s. i. m. *AE* [50] in *ABCDEGH¹* *om. Ash* [51] blasphemia *ABCDEGH¹* blasphema *Ash* [52] existimat *ACDEGH¹Ash* existimet *B* [53] ipsam *ACDEGH¹Ash* *om. B* [54] domini *ABCDEGAsh* dei *H¹* [55] numquid cr. i. sp. s. d. d. c. expertis *BCDGH¹Ash, E¹ in mar.* *om. AE* [56] et *CDGH¹Ash* sed *AE* *om. B* [57] Et ut dic. — legibus *ACDEGAsh, H¹ (cp. note 58)* *om. B* [58] legibus, sed de Cristi *ACDEGAsh, B (cp. not. 57)* *om. H¹* [59] quia *ABCDEGH¹* qui *Ash* [60] propinquo *CDGH¹Ash, E¹ in mar.* proximo *ABE* [61] sp. q. i. t. *ABCDEH¹Ash* t. q. i. sp. *G* [62] mentitur *ABC* sic ment. *DGH¹* sic mentit *Ash* [63] tantum *ABCEGH¹Ash* *om. D* [64] m. a. *ACDEGH¹Ash* a. m. *B* [65] o. c. *ABCDEGAsh* c. o. *H¹*

de corporali occisione per excommunicacionem,[66] incarceracionem vel omissionem hortacionis[67] ad pacem, que pertinet Cristi[68] vicario, taceamus.[l]

Et mechatur[69] cum dyabolo et furatur bona[70] ecclesie contra legem[71] domini spoliando.[72] Iniquissime eciam[73] per bullas et alia signa mendacia contestatur, quod ista persona sit || digna ducere[74] per semitam oves Cristi et quod ista persona,[75] quantumcunque facinorosa fuerit, dum tamen[76] pecuniam vel lucrum mundanum sibi accumulat,[77] absolvit a pena et a culpa, contestans, quod est iustissima in celum statim post mortem ex dei iudicio volatura.

|| C fol. 174a

Et sic concupiscit domum proximi generalius, quam persone alie[78] militantes, dum curatos, qui custodirent in exteris[79] provinciis oves pauperes, ut Cristus precipit, facit propter[80] spem lucri in sua curia residere.

Et sic a primo usque ad ultimum non est manifestior prevaricator decalogi quam est papa, et per consequens magis a caritate dei et proximi[81] elongatur.

Et fere idem est iudicium de alis[82] suis,[83] hoc est, de clericis suis cesareis, quos sic docet.

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[l] *Had the Crusade into Flanders (Summer 1383) been already entered on, or even been imminent, it would, most probably, have been referred to here*

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[66] excommunicacionem *B*, E^1 *with mark of ref. above the col.* excitacionem *ACDEG*H^1 *Ash* [67] hortacionis *ABCDEGAsh* ortaliscionis (lis *ud.*) H^1 [68] Cristi *ACDEG*H^1*Ash* ipsi *B* [69] mech. *AC* sic mech. *BDG*H^1*Ash*, *E*, *but here* sic *has been subjected to corrections* [70] bona *ABCDE*H^1*Ash* bonum *G* [71] legem *ABCDEGAsh* bona H^1 [72] *in CD and G is add. in mar.:* Nota quomodo anticristus prevaricatur in totum decalogum C^3,D^2 *(or texthand)*, *G (texthand)* [73] eciam *ABCDEG*H^1 *om. Ash* [74] ducere *ABCDEGAsh* docere H^1 [75] digna d. p. s. o. C. e. q. i. persona *ACDEG*H^1 *Ash*,B^1 *with mark of ref. below the col. om. B* [76] tamen *CDE*H^1*Ash* tantum *ABG* [77] accumulat *Ash* accumulant *ABCDEG*H^1 [78] p. a. *ABCDE*H^1*Ash* a. p. *G* [79] exteris *ABCDEGAsh* exteriis H^1 [80] propter *ACDEG*H^1*Ash* per *B* [81] et prox. *ABCDE*H^1 *om. GAsh* [82] alis *ACEG* aliis *BD*H^1 *Ash* [83] suis *ACDEG*H^1*Ash* *om. B*

CAP. V.[1]

Restat videre, si secunda secta monachorum vivit religiose in observancia mandatorum.

Et videtur primo, quod peccant[2] graviter in odiendo deum et proximum. Et quia ista[3] secta plus cum temporalibus invisc*(er)*atur,[4] ideo intendo discurrere[5] per septem mandata secunde tabule istud odium declarando.

Videtur enim primo, quod prevaricantur in primo mandato secunde tabule Cristum et suam ecclesiam contempnendo. Contempnunt quidem Cristum sponsum ecclesie, qui debet esse illis abbas vel pater, cum dimittunt et postponunt istam[6] regulam et preeligunt pro regula tradicionem humanam, que in multis est frivola et contraria legi Cristi. Cum autem idem sit Cristum contempnere[7] et contempnere legem suam, manifestum videtur, quod dehonorant culpabiliter patrem patrum et per consequens se ipsos et proximum.

Et quantum ad Cristi ecclesiam, patet ex conversacione eorum, quomodo[8] tam in redditibus secularibus, quam in appropriatis[9] basilicis[a] faciunt sue matri ecclesie iniuriam manifestam. Debent enim abdicare seculari dominio ut veneno et in vita pauperi servire ecclesie, ut patres eorum priores fecerant.[10] Et sic cum manifeste

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CAP. V. [a] ***The appropriation by the Sects of parochial churches is very often referred to by W. in his polemical works, see Matthew, E. W. h. u., 97; 116; 190; 223; 236; 419; 427. He says that, in consequence of this practice, the spiritual care of the congregations is injured and that also the exterior of the churches, their roofs, walls etc. are falling into decay, see below p. 132 l. 20 ff. and 134 l. 10***

CAP. V. [1] quintum *CDAsh,E (after* docet*)* ***om.*** *AGH*[1] 7[m] ***B in mar. in E above the chap. is add. in red ink:*** de secta monachorum cap. 6 [2] peccant *ACDEG* peccat *BH*[1]*Ash* [3] ista *ABCDEGAsh,H*[1] ***in mar. om.*** *H*[1] [4] inviscatur *ABCDEGH*[1] inniscatur *Ash* [5] discurrere *GH*[1]*Ash* discernere *ABCDE* [6] istam *ABCDEH*[1] illam *G* suam *Ash* [7] Cr. c. *ABCDEH*[1]*Ash* c. Cr. *G* ***in D*** cont. ***is the last word of col. 267***[d]***, below it:*** XXII [8] quomodo *ABCDEG Ash* quoniam *H*[1] [9] q. i. app. *ABCDGH*[1]*Ash,E*[1] ***with mark of ref. below the col. om.*** *E* [10] fecerant *ACDEGH*[1]*Ash* feerunt *B*

vivant contrarie, patet, quod nedum iniuriatur[11] seculari brachio, sed cuilibet membro ecclesie militantis. Et cum plus ponderanda sit spiritualis iniuria quam corporalis, sicut preeligenda est spiritualis iusticia supra iusticiam corporalem, patet, quam late et quam intense extenditur ista iniuria in ecclesiam militantem.

Ideo mirantur quidam, quomodo hec secta tam attente exequitur debitum temporale secundum tradiciones humanas, que sepe deviant a iusticie complemento et tamen[12] parvipendit dei iusticiam et continuat eius iniuriam dictatam non humanis tradicionibus, sed expressius lege dei. Et sic frons meretricis facta est secundum induracionem dampnabilem isti secte.[b] Colant quidem culicem et degluciunt camelum, sicut Cristus Matth. 23[c] recitat de ypocritis phariseis.

Et eodem modo patet de spirituali iniuria, que est amplius ponderanda. Debent enim secundum ultimum sue potencie citra honorem dei[13] prodesse sancte[14] matri ecclesie; sed cum tam multipliciter in isto deficiunt, patet, quante[15] incurrunt debitum erga deum et proximum, nec disponunt se ad resipiscendum,[16] sed ad continuandum in isto scelere sine fine.

De appropriacionibus autem basilicarum[17] est nimis manifesta
|| *C fol. 174b* iniuria. Ideo, ut dicit Lincolniensis,[d] ecclesiarum || appropriacio[18] est iniurie militantis ecclesie perpetuacio. Constat quidem, quod appropriata ecclesia,[19] oblaciones et decime stricte ad nidum[20] abbacie[21] colliguntur. Et cum necesse[22] sit, curatum de istis vivere, patet,

[b] *see below* De Demon. Merid., *in the beginning* [c] *v.* 24 [d] *The works of Grossetête were not accessible to me, not being in the Royal Public Library of Dresden.*

[11] iniuriatur *CG* iniuriantur *ABDEHAsh* [12] tamen *BH¹Ash, E¹ in mar.* cum *ACDEG* [13] dei *ABCDEGAsh om. H¹* [14] sancte *BGH¹Ash* sancti *ACDE* [15] quante *ABCDEGH¹* quantum *Ash* [16] res. *ABCDEGAsh* se res. *H¹* [17] *in D is add. in mar:* De appropriacionibus basilicarum *D³* [18] *in E is add. above the col.:* Ecclesiarum appropriacio, quare nociva *E²*, *also below the col.:* Religiosi privati appropriantes ecclesias acute tanguntur *E²* [19] ecclesia *BCGH¹Ash* ecclesie *ADE* [20] nidum *ACDEGH¹Ash* mundum *B* [21] *A's text reads* abbachie, *in mar. is add.* abbacie *by A¹*, *likewise E's text* abbachie, *the* h *is erased, but can still be recognised under the erasure, in mar. is add.* abbacie *by E¹* [22] necesse *CDGH¹Ash* necessario *ABE*

quod necesse sit[23] propter talem[24] subtraccionem officium[25] pastoris deficere. Unde vel preficitur vicarius nimis inhabilis ad regendum se ipsum conformiter legi dei, et per consequens nimis ydioticus ad ducendum hunc populum per artam viam, que ducit ad celum, vel preficitur unus anticristi vicarius, qui[26] secundum cautelas tradicionis humane scit et optat[27] de temporalibus suum populum spoliare.

Et quantum ad curam spiritualem anime omittendo predicare ewangelium exemplare[28] suis ovibus vitam rectam in sua conversacione secundum legem domini parvipendit. Et cum ista spiritualis[29] iniuria sit infinitum gravior quam iniuria corporalis,[30] sicut spiritus est infinitum[31] melior corpore,[32] patet, quam iniusti sunt tales appropriatores ecclesiarum et istud peccatum absconditum parvipensum[33] est nimis contra spiritualem edificacionem ecclesie et contrarium legi Cristi.[34] Cristus enim ordinavit semina verbi dei[35] dispergi in populo[36] instar pluvie et ordinavit temporalia tamquam necessaria peripsimata[37] pro isto officio in singulis parochiis remanere.[38] Sed anticristus, ac si vellet effundere[39] pluvias celi per gurgites, colligit fimum[40] fetentem temporalium in unum nidum dyaboli, in quo nido peccata plurima[41] nutriuntur. Si enim collecta foret sancta societas ad ecclesiam postmodum edificandum, debet tale collegium iuste vivere cavendo de iniuria proximi, quia

[23] sit *CDG*H^1*Ash* est *ABE* [24] talem *ABCDEG*H^1 istam *Ash* [25] officium *ACDEG*H^1*Ash* officii *B* [26] qui *BCDG*H^1*Ash* cum *AE* [27] *in A first was written* opertat, *afterwards the strok through the* p *was erased* [28] exemplare *ABCDEG*H^1 et exemplare *Ash* [29] spiritualis *ACDEG*H^1*Ash om. B* [30] *in D is add. in mar.:* Iniuria spiritualis est infinitum gravior quam corporalis D^1 corporalis *ABCDEGAsh* carnalis H^1 [31] e. i. *ACDEG*H^1*Ash* i. e. *B* [32] corpore *ABCDEGAsh* carne *(corr. from* corpore*)* H^1 [33] parvi pensum *ABCDG*H^1*Ash* per inpensum *E* [34] *in E above the col. (121°) there is a gloss which, very probably, refers to this place:* Ecclesiarum appropriaciones, quare nocive declarantur E^2 [35] semina verbi. dei *ABCDEGAsh* sciencia verbi verbi dei H^1 [36] *in D is add. in mar.:* Cristus ordinavit semina verbi dei dispergi in populo D^1 [37] peripsimata *ACDEAsh* peripsamata *G*H^1 perisomata *B* [38] *in D is add. in mar.:* Ordinavit temporalia tamquam necessaria peripsimata pro isto officio D^1 [39] effundere *BAsh*, E^1 *in mar.* offendere *CDG*H^1,*A*, *but in mar.* obstruere A^1 obstruere *(ud.) E* [40] finum *BCD*H^1*Ash* fumum *AEG* [41] pe. pl. *ABCDEG Ash* pl. pe. H^1

aliter tamquam quedam demonum legio ad nocendum ecclesie est collectum.

Videat igitur[42] fidelis apostolorum collegium et sanctorum,[43] qui postmodum[44] sunt collecti, et videbit, quod vixerunt vitam pauperem atque parcam et non fuerunt sic cum lapidibus et temporalibus desponsati, sicut nec monachi primitivi. Ideo sicut paulative papa declinavit a Petri vestigiis,[45] sic iste abbacie[46] a suorum patronorum vita ad seculum declinarunt,[47] sic quod omnes iste[48] nove secte non sunt digne[49] modo vocari nomine[50] patronorum. Alii autem attendentes ad seculum horrent, quod iste basilice appropriate tantum deficiunt in tectis et ceteris ornamentis. Sed infinitum gravior horror est quod populus ille tamquam desertus a domino deficit in spirituali pastore, qui ipsum[51] duceret ad beatitudinem secundum regulas legis Cristi. Tales autem appropriaciones faciunt multos populos infideles, ac si dyabolus infra regnum[52] Cristi longe lacius quam fideles sparguntur[53] per cautelam istam conquireret sibi regnum.

Et quantum ad secundum mandatum, quod est: non occides,[54] patet, quod ista secta occidit spiritualiter, si non corporaliter plurimos fratres suos.[55] Temporalia enim, de quibus egeni debent vivere, in tales abbacias[56] secundum strictam custodiam sunt collecta. Et si[57] tu occidisti, si iniuste edulium[58] subtraxisti, videtur, quod ista
|| C fol. 175a secta occidit corporaliter nedum[59] parentes et cog||nacionem propriam, sed se ipsos,[60] non solum secundum corpus, quia plures occidit

[42] igitur *CDGH^1* ergo *ABEAsh* [43] et sanctorum *BCDGH^1Ash* istorum *AE* [44] qui po. *ABCEH^1Ash* po. qui *DG* [45] *in E is add. in mar.:* Paulative declinavit clerus a Cristi vestigiis et monachi similiter *E^2* [46] *in A and E clearly* abbacie, *see above note 21* [47] declinarunt *ABCDEGAsh* declinaverunt *H^1* [48] iste *in G corr. into the text with pale ink* [49] digne *BCDGH^1Ash, E^1 in mar. om. AE* [50] nomine *ABCDEGAsh, H^1 in mar. om. in the text H^1* [51] ipsum *ACDEGH^1Ash* populum *B* [52] regnum *ABCDEGAsh* legem *H^1* [53] sparguntur *ABCEGH^1Ash* sperguntur *D* [54] *in D is add. in mar.:* Non occides *D^1* *in C in mar.:* Secundum occisio *C^3* [55] *in E is add. above the col.:* Occidunt monachi multipliciter *E^2* [56] abbacias *AE (see above note 21 and 46) BDGH^1Ash* abbocias *C* [57] si *BCDGH^1Ash* sic *AE* [58] edulium *ABCDEGAsh* edulum *H^1* [59] ned. *ABCDEGH^1* ned. nedum *Ash* [60] *in E is add. with mark of ref. below the col.:* Occidunt se ipsos religiosi vocati *E^2*

gula, quam gladius,[61] sed secundum animam, cum tam iniuste et pertinaciter defendunt tantam iniuriam contra ecclesiam sanctam dei. Nec oportet ostendere, quomodo spoliant[62] egenos extraneos,[63] quia participacio huius iniurie ad omnia membra dyaboli et quodammodo ad ecclesiam consentaneam se extendit.

Et quantum ad tercium mandatum huius tabule, patet, quod dimittendo desponsacionem cum Cristo[64] mechantur turpissime cum dyabolo in basilicis, domibus atque claustris, que plus diligunt quam iusticiam[65] legis dei. Et sic sunt ydolatre[66] nedum in gula ventris proprii, sed in avaricia, que est ydolorum servitus, et non dubium spiritualis fornicacio est cum dyabolo, ad talem avariciam sic temptante. Et ista spiritualis mechia cum dyabolo seducit[67] plurimos de hiis sectis.

Et idem est iudicium de quatuor mandatis aliis[68] hic dimissis.

CAP. VI.[1]

Cum secunda secta et tercia multum conveniunt, dicta superius[a] contra secundum[2] sunt dicenda contra terciam, sicut dicenda contra terciam applicari poterunt[3] ad secundam.

Hec autem secta[4] tercia canonicorum fuit quondam liberior et propinquior secte Cristi, nunc autem declinando ab ipsa est propinquior secte dyaboli et remocior a lege domini, cum secte iste nove sicut

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CAP. VI. [a] *see cap. V*

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[61] *in D is add. above the col.:* Plures occidit gula quam gladius *D*[1] [62] spoliant *ABCDEGAsh* spoliavit *H*[1] [63] extraneos *ACDEGH*[1]*Ash* exneos *B* *(the* " *is om.)* [64] Cr. *in C not clear in C is add. in mar.:* Tercium mechacio *C*[3] [65] iusticiam *ABCDEGH*[1] iusticia *Ash* [66] ydolatre *ABCDEGAsh* ydolatrie *H*[1] [67] seducit *ACDEGH*[1]*Ash* ad talem avariciam sic temptante *(cr. out and ud.)* seducit *B* [68] aliis *ACDEGH*[1]*Ash* *om. B*

CAP. VI. [1] *om. ACGH*[1] cap. sextum *BAsh* cap. sextum, quomodo tercia secta Canonicorum prevaricatur in decalogi quatuor mandata *C*[3] VI *D in mar.* secta secunda cap. 6 *(after* dimissis*) E* [2] secundam *ABCDEGH*[1] secundum*(?) Ash, likewise the following* 3m [3] poterunt *ABCDEGAsh* poterint *H*[1] [4] autem *CDEGAsh* *om. H*[1]

indurantur in crimine, sic a libertate, quam Cristus concessit sue ecclesie,[5] elongantur.

Restat igitur[6] videre,[7] quomodo hec secta[8] in quatuor mandatis ultimis prevaricatur. Et idem est iudicium de secunda. Videtur enim primo, quod comittit furtum in Cristi ecclesiam, quidquid[9] de bonis ecclesie consumpserit sic private,[10] quia cum Cristus sit capitalis dominus omnium bonorum ecclesie,[11 b] quidquid aliqua secta consumpserit sine Cristi licencia, illud[12] furatur. Et cum hoc[13] faciunt hee secte[14] parcialiter in abscondito peccatorum, et parcialiter in publico quoad mundum,[15] licet sint absconse per ypocrisim sub umbra arborum, videtur, quod sint fures quoad deum et latrones[16] quoad ecclesiam militantem. Sic enim dicit Cristus Ioh. 10:[c] omnes autem, quotquot venerunt[17] preter summi pastoris licenciam, fures sunt et latrones. Et videtur multis, quod si ad hoc haberent Cristi licenciam, olym cartam istius licencie detexissent. Illa enim carta foret preciosior, quam carta humana,[18] quam tamen ostendunt[19] solempniter[20] pro sua iusticia ostendenda. Sed cum[21] deest licencia capitalis domini, ut patet ex lege multiplici tam novi quam veteris testamenti, patet, quod carta humana ad iustificacionem huius sceleris nichil valet, cum principium debet esse fidelibus, quod non licet donare quidquid[22] alteri, nisi prehabita licencia illius domini capitalis. Cum autem tam spissa sit in lege

[b] *see Matthew, E. W. h. u. 423; 448* [c] *v. 8*

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[5] ecclesie *DGH[1]Ash,E[1] in mar. om. ABCE* [6] igitur *ABCDEG* ergo *H[1]Ash* [7] videre *ABCDEGAsh* dicere *H[1]* [8] *in D is add. below the col.:* De sectis *D[1]* [9] quidquid *BCDGH[1]Ash* quidlibet *AE* [10] *in C is add. in mar.:* Quartum furtum *C[3]* *in A the commata are from the commencement of this chap. in a thick red ink. from this place in black* [11] ecclesie *ACDEGH[1]Ash, B[1] in mar. om. B* [12] illud *ABCDEGH[1]* id *Ash* [13] hoc *ABCH[1]Ash,E[1] in mar.* hec *D* hoc, *above the* o *an* e *G om. E* [14] secte *ABCDEGAsh, H[1] in mar. om. H[1] in the text* [15] mundum *CDGH[1]Ash* modum *ABE* [16] *in E is add. below the col.:* Fures et latrones, quomodo convincuntur secte, prima *E[2]* [17] venerunt *ACDEGH[1]Ash* venerint *B* [18] *in E is add. above the col.:* Carta monachorum de sua iusticia pungitur *E[2]* [19] ostendunt *ACDEGH[1]Ash* ostendit *B* [20] solempniter *ACDEGH[1] Ash om. B* [21] cum *Ash* tamen *ABCDEGH[1]* [22] quidquid *CAsh* quidquam *ABDEGH[1]*

domini huius prohibicio et nusquam eius licenciacio, videtur prohibicionem istam debere stare suis filiis tamquam legem. Et hec unica racio tollit patenter[23] dotacionem ecclesie iure dei.

Et quantum ad quintum mandatum[24] de non loquendo contra proximum falsum testimonium, patet, || quod hec secta sicut alie || *C fol. 175b* prevaricatur expresse et pertinaciter contra istud. Cum enim quelibet res dicit se ipsam et modo suo loquitur sentenciam,[25] quam[26] sic[27] dicit, patet, quod hec iniusta detencio bonorum ecclesie et defraudacio in spirituali iuvamine est locucio falsi testimonii contra quemlibet proximorum. Et cum in isto non sit satisfaccio, sed dyabolice induracionis[28] continuacio, patet, quod omnes hee[29] secte in hoc haberent conscienciam, quod vivunt taliter vel consenciunt sic viventi. Et hec racio moveret conscienciam[30] secularium dominorum,[31] cum ex officio, quod eis Cristus Luc. 14[32][d] iniunxerat, ipsi debent exire in vias et sepes et compellere intrare in sectam Cristi[33] sectas tales privatas contra legem domini delinquentes.[34] Et signanter vocantur hee[35] secte sepes, quia contra planiciem legis dei suffodiuntur et cum spinis temporalium contra Cristum et suam ecclesiam defenduntur. Nec dubium, quin domini, qui[36] debent[37] deo servire[38] specialiter in isto officio, consenciunt dampnabiliter in ista desidia, quia secundum sanctorum sentencias et legem ecclesie, 'qui emendare potest et negligit',[e] absque dubio participem delicti[39] se constituit. Seculares ergo domini propter commodum et meritum

[d] *v. 21* [e] *see above p. 19 l. 9 and note g*

[23] patenter *ABCEGH[1]* potenter *DAsh* [24] *in C is add. in mar.:* Quintum falsum testimonium *C[3]* [25] *in E is add. below the col.:* Loquitur et dicit se ipsam quelibet res — Falsum testimonium monachorum, unde eliceretur *E[2]* [26] quam *ABCDEGAsh* quoniam *H[1]* [27] sic *BCDGH[1]Ash, E[1] in mar.* *om. AE* [28] *in E with ref. to* induracionis *is add. in mar.* iurisdiccionis *by E[1]* [29] hee *ABCDG H[1]Ash* hec *E* [30] conscienciam *ABCDEGAsh* *om. H[1]* [31] *in E is add. in mar.:* Domini seculares quid *E[2]* [32] Luc. 14 *ACDEG,BAsh in mar.* *om. H[1]* [33] *in D is add. in mar.:* Exire debent in vias et sepes et compellere intrare in sectam Cristi *D[1]* [34] delinquentes *B* delicentes *CDG,A, with mark of ref. in mar.:* id est latentes *A[1], H[1], in m. is add.:* Luc. 9 delitentes *Ash* delicentes id est lattentes *E, with mark of ref. in mar.:* delirentes id est latentes *E[1]* [35] hee *ACDGH[1]Ash* hec *BE* [36] qui *ABCDGH[1]Ash* *om. E* [37] deb. *ABCDEGAsh* *om. H[1]* [38] d. s. *C* s. d. *ABDEGAsh* d. debent s. *H[1]* [39] delicti *ABCDGH[1]Ash* dedelicti *E*

temporale laxarent in isto ministerio facili membra sua[40] et dimitterent[41] sic bellare contra regna extera et fideles intrinsecos, cum iste labor sit tediosus et inutilis[42] et dampnabilis a[43] capitali domino, qui generaliter caritatem precipit tam ad amicos quam inimicos, tam[44] ad intrinsecos quam extrinsecos. Cum omnes illi sint[45] proximi in natura et iuxta mandatum domini, quilibet debet diligere proximum ut se ipsum. Unde magna gracia[46] foret, quod hee secte tradiciones suas privatas et bona ecclesie, que iniuste occupant, gratis dimitterent et servarent pure ex integro legem Cristi. Sic enim voluit Augustinus relinquere civibus Hipponensibus bona contra legem domini occupata[47] et vivere de bonis donatis[48] titulo elemosine,[f] ut debent esse[49] oblaciones et decime,[50] sicut vixerunt clerici tam novi quam veteris[51] testamenti.

Et oro deum meum et sanctos in triumphante ecclesia, ut sic fiat.

Ista autem secta properat incipere istud opus, cum sit racionabile,[52] facile et meritorium, a quibus omnibus ista secta hodie[53] est[54] privata. Non enim est racio contra Cristum ut[55] legem suam, sed ipse consonat cuilibet racioni. Ideo est manifesta cecacio meridiani demonii,[g] quod homines habent conscienciam sine licencia speciali[56] dyaboli, servare pure et integre legem Cristi, sed consciencia staret pocius super isto, quod tam diu istam deseruerant puritatem.[57]

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[f] *cp. August. Opp. (Edit. of the Bened.), tom. XI, August. vitae lib. IV p.155—156; 158* [g] *Ps. 91, 6; cp. below De Demonio merid., beginning*

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[40] *in E is add. below the col. (122^c):* Domini seculares laxarent maius pro reformacione cleri prima *E*^{2} [41] dimitterent *BCDH*^{1}*Ash* dimittent *AEG* [42] *in E is add. in mar.:* Bella inutilia que *E*^{2} [43] a *ACDEGH*^{1}*Ash* aut *B* [44] tam *ACDEGH*^{1}*Ash* et tam *B* [45] sint *ABCDEGH*^{1} sunt *Ash* [46] gracia *ACDEGH*^{1} *Ash* regula *(ud.)* racio *B* [47] *in D in add. in mar.:* Augustinus voluit relinquere civibus yponensibus bona contra legem domini occupata *D*^{1} *likewise in E below the col.:* Augustinus relinquere voluit cuncta bona etc. iponensibus *E*^{2} [48] donatis *ABCDEGAsh* colatis *H*^{1} [49] esse *ABCDEGAsh* *om. H*^{1} [50] dec. *BCDEGH*^{1}*Ash* eleomosine *(ud.)* dec. *A* [51] tam n. q. v. *ABCDEGAsh* t. v. q. n. *H*^{1} [52] racionabile *ABCDEGAsh* racionale *H*^{1} [53] hodie *ABCDEG Ash, H*^{1} *in mar. om. H*^{1} *in the text* [54] h. e. *BCDGH*^{1}*Ash* e. h. *AE* [55] ut *BCDG* et *AE* nec *H*^{1} vel *Ash* [56] speciali *ABCDGH*^{1}*Ash* spirituali *E*, *add. with mark of ref. in mar.:* sua *E*^{1} [57] pur. *ABCDGHAsh* potestatem *(ud.)* pur. *E*

Lex enim et ordinacio, quam Cristus cum apostolis suis[58] servaverat, fuit melior quam ista religio hodierna.[59 h] Et ideo sicut exeundo ab una secta in aliam minus perfectam comitteretur apostasia,[60] ut[61] viri isti fantastice profitentur, sic foret evidencior apostasia[62] deserere puritatem legis domini et istas novas sectas ‖ induere, cum sint indubie minus perfecte, ut patet ex patronis proximis et[63] regulis, sub quibus militant et ex militibus[64] agonizantibus in hiis sectis.[65] Idem enim[66] videtur has novas sectas putatas[67] supra sectam domini commendare et dicere, quod Cristus dominus[68] noster fuit in ordinacione sua stultus et in secta, quam ipse edidit, imperfectus, cum tradiciones istas sensibiles non curavit, sed leges insensibiles[69] et morales in noviciis suis impressit et ab istis tradicionibus humanis suos filios liberavit. Vel ergo[70] oportet negare apostasiam, quam iste secte nove affirmant ut ewangelium, vel[71] concedere, quod omnes iste secte nove fuerunt apostate in ingressu. Nec est color dicendi, quod iste sunt secte nove vel religiones, que secte Cristi[72] sunt superaddite, quin per idem homines non sunt[73] apostate vel religiones[74] nove,[75] quantumlibet[76] servando decalogum varientur.[77] Et sic liceret consuetudines vel tradiciones

‖ *C fol. 176a*

[h] *see Trial. 371, where the same idea is treated of more elaborately*

[58] suis *ABCDEGAsh* *om. H¹* [59] *in D is add. in mar.:* Lex et ordinacio Cristi et apostolorum fuit melior quam alia *D¹* *likewise in E below the col. (122d):* Cristi secta perfectissima *E²* [60] apostasia *BCDGH¹Ash* perfca *(ud.)* apostasia *A* perfecta apostasia *E* *in E is add. above the col.:* Apostasia perfecta que sit, elice *E²* *in G in mar.:* Apostasia quid *G¹* [61] ut *ADEGH¹Ash* Et *(ud.), above it* ut *C* *om. B* [62] ut viri — apostasia *ACDEGH¹Ash* *om. B* [63] et *ACE* ex *BDGH¹Ash* [64] militibus *ABCDEGAsh* milititibus *H¹* [65] *in G is add. in mar.:* Secte sunt apostasie *G¹* [66] enim *in C corr. into the text by the texthand* [67] put. *BCDEGH¹* fe *(cr. out.)* put. *A* privatas *Ash* [68] dominus *ABCDEGH¹* deus *Ash* [69] non cur. s. le. ins. *Ash* *om. ABCDEGH¹* [70] ergo *ABCDEGH¹* igitur *Ash* [71] vel e. o. n. a. q. i. s. n. affirmant ut ewangelium vel *CDGH¹Ash*, *B¹ with mark of ref. below the col.* *om. B* vel e. o. n. a. q. i. s. n. affirmant apostatein in gressu (ingr. *ud.)* ut ewangelium vel *A* vel e. o. n. a. q. i. s. n. affirmant apostate in infenssu (infen. *not clear because of a correction made here) E* [72] Cristi *ABCDEAsh* Cristo *G* Cristum *H¹* [73] sunt *BCDGH¹Ash* sint *AE* [74] religionis *ACDEGH¹Ash* religiones *B* [75] nove *BCDEGH¹Ash* que secte Cristo sunt superaddite *(ud.)* nove *A* [76] quantumlibet *BCDEGH¹ Ash* quam quantumlibet *A* [77] varientur *ABCDEGH¹* varient *Ash*

humanas relinquere, quando percipitur,[78] quod difficultant ad observanciam legis dei. Sed cum istud iste secte odiunt ut venenum et destructivum[79] sui ordinis, relinquitur,[80] quod oportet ipsos[81] concedere, quod omnes illi fuerunt apostate in ingressu ordinis sui[82] novi. Que igitur[83] foret consciencia redire sub tam misericordi et tam pio patrono ac tam graciosa regula, licet ad hoc non licenciet anticristus, specialiter cum sub ista primeva regula[84] possent[85] homines vivere meritorius, liberius et facilius quoad Cristum?

CAP. VII.[1]

Cum omnes hee secte quatuor in parte conveniunt, prudens catholicus potest elicere, quid obiectum communiter contra unam moveret[2] contra[3] reliquam et quid communiter contra omnes.

Quarta autem secta fratrum sicut tres alie priores non videtur esse species specialissima, sed genus ypocriticum introductum. Conveniunt autem omnes hee species[4] in isto blasphemo porismate,[5] quod honorant suum privatum patronum tamquam dominum Iesum Cristum et regulam suam privatam magnificant ut ewangelium. Et in ista bimembri blasphemia deserunt sectam Cristi. Ex quo infami[6] numero inferunt inconveniencia infinita, ut quod religiosum et voluntatis Cristi est, quod talis religiosus subiciat se suo preposito faciendo quidquid mandaverit, licet fuerit stolidissimus ydiota, quia obediencia,[7] ut inquiunt, est virtus maxime meritoria et luciferine

[78] percipitur *ABCEGH¹Ash* precipitur *D* [79] odiunt u. v. et d. *BCDEGH¹ Ash* *om. A* destructivum *BDEGH¹Ash* destruitivum *C* *om. A* [80] relinquitur *ABCDEGH¹* reliquitur *Ash (compend. om.)* [81] ipsos *BCGH¹Ash* ipsas *ADE* [82] or. s. *ACDEGH¹Ash* s. or. *B* [83] igitur *ABCDEGH¹* ergo *Ash* [84] *in E is add. above the col.:* Primeva regula est optima Cristi videlicet *E²* [85] possent *AB CDEGAsh* possint *H¹*

CAP. VII. [1] cap. septimum *BAsh,C³ in mar., D in mar.* *om. AGH¹* secta quarta cap. 7m *E (after* Cristum) [2] moveret *BCDH¹Ash* maneret *AE* moneret *G* [3] contra *ACDEGH¹Ash* *om. B* [4] species *BCDGH¹Ash,E¹. in mar.* secte *A,E (ud.)* [5] *in E is add. with mark of ref. below the col.:* Porisma blasfemum sectarum *E²* [6] infami *ABCDEGH¹* insani *Ash* [7] *in D is add. with mark of ref. above the col.:* Obediencia *D³* *in E in mar.:* Obediencia non bona que *E²*

superbie maxime depressiva. In ista ergo obediencia supra alios extra has sectas quatuor[8] incomparabiliter promerentur. Sed idem foret hominem ebullire in istam stulticiam et obligare se dyabolo, ut parate faciat, quidquid mandat, cum multi tales abbates ac priores sunt dyaboli manifesti.

Ideo ingredientes istos privatos ordines videntur specialiter temptare deum,[9] sicut Cristus innuit Matth. 4[a] in secunda temptacione dyaboli. Quando enim quis posset per viam securam incedere, doctam a domino, et ipsam deserit, capiens aliam viam ambiguam[10] preter necessariam,[11] temptat deum || sicut potens, descendere de pinnaculo per gradus ab opifice ordinatos, dimittit illum descensum ac eligit saltum sine racione confidens, quod dei adiutorio debet[12] liberari. Talis, inquam, secundum verbum domini temptat deum, et sic videtur quilibet de istis novis ordinibus temptare deum,[13] dum regiam[14] sectam dimittit et preeligit[15] sectam aliam infundatam.[16] Et in istam temptacionem dei videtur incidere quilibet talis secte, quod est eo[17] periculosius, quo[18] tales religiosi putant se patrare[19] deo obsequium in hoc, quod diligunt ultra ewangelium regulam[20] talis secte. Et sic videntur imprimis incidere in perfidiam legis dei, cum patronum et[21] regulam suam prediligunt ultra regulam Iesu Cristi. Nec dubium, quin ista sit infidelitas contra Cristum. || *C fol. 176b*

Et istud videtur patencius,[22] quod positi in eleccione duarum sectarum dimittunt sectam Cristi et regulam et preeligunt sectam

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CAP. VII. [a] *v. 5 ff.*

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[8] quatuor *ABCDEGH¹* multum *(?) Ash* [9] *in E is add. in mar.:* Temptant deum monachi *E¹* *in G in mar.:* Temptare deum quid *G¹* [10] *in D is add. with mark of ref. below the col.:* Quando quis posset per viam sec. inc. doct. a dom. et ips. des. ca. al. viam amb. *D¹* [11] necessariam *BCDGH¹Ash, E¹ in mar.* ecclesiam *A, E (ud.)* [12] debet *ABCDEGH¹* debeat *Ash* [13] et sic v. q. de i. n. or. t. de. *Ash om. ABCDEGH¹* [14] regiam *ABCDGH¹Ash, E¹ in mar.* regina *(ud.) E* [15] *C reads* preelegit, *the last* e *ud., above an* i [16] *in E is add. with mark of ref. below the col.:* Regiam sectam Cristi dimittunt privati religiosi *E²* [17] eo *CDGH¹ Ash* in eo *ABE* [18] quo *ABCEGH¹Ash* quomodo *D* [19] patrare *ABCDEGH¹* prestare *Ash* [20] regulam *ABCDEGAsh* regularium *H¹* [21] et *ACDEGH¹Ash* suum et *B* [22] patencius *ABCDEGH¹* palencius *Ash*

et regulam magis duram. Sed que maior stulticia, cum ut sic difficultarent se ipsos ad meritum, onus Cristi leve et liberum dimittendo? Et cum obligacio talis privata[23] occupat multum de capacitate hominis ad vite regulas observandum,[24] manifestum est, quod tales se ipsos inhabilitant ad regulas Cristi[25] faciliter observandum. Occupata quidem tota capacitate humane observancie[26] ad regulam secte Cristi, vix sufficeret[27] viator aliquis ipsam[28] ex integro, ut patet de apostolis, observare, quanto magis[29] dirupta ista capacitate et aliis extraneis observanciis introductis?

Videtur igitur,[30] quod hec secta quarta specialiter prevaricatur in duo[31] ultima mandata secunde tabule. Concupiscit enim indebite uxorem[32] et liberos sui proximi. Dimittamus autem carnalem concupiscenciam, qua ad actus venereos concupiscunt[33] uxores et filias proximorum. Dimittamus et[34] illicitas concupiscencias, quibus furtive rapiunt[35] liberos proximorum, et notemus, quomodo[36] dirumpunt ordinacionem Cristi in sua ecclesia, ac si sanitate dirupta in humano corpore niterentur monstruose inducere novam partem.

Ex tali, inquam, induccione totum corpus ecclesie patitur discrasiam.[37] Et cum talis monstruosa pars adiecta sugit[38] ad suam nutricionem partem notabilem alimenti, videtur,[39] quod de toto alimento, quod Cristus ordinavit sue ecclesie primeve, iste private secte partem suam avide spoliant et faciunt in toto corpore ecclesie defectum notabilem, cum Cristus non propter tales dei temptaciones variat suam regulam in cibaria sua ecclesie ministrando.[40] Et sic se ipsos necessitant ad concupiscencias bonorum proximi usque ad

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[23] *in E is add. in mar.:* Obligacio privata *E²* [24] observandum *ABCDEGAsh* servandum *H¹* [25] r. C. *ABCDEGAsh* C. r. *H¹* [26] *in E is add. in mar.:* Capacitas humana *E²* [27] *in E is add. below the col.:* Vix homo sufficit Cristi sectam regulamve observare, quid tunc? *E²* [28] ipsam *ACDEGH¹Ash om. B* [29] magis *ABCDGH¹Ash,E¹ in mar. om. E* [30] igitur *ABCDEGH¹* ergo *Ash* [31] duo *BCDGH¹Ash* domino *A,E (ud.)* in duo *E¹ in mar.* [32] ux. *ABCDEGH¹* ux. uxorem *Ash* [33] concupiscunt *ABCDEGAsh* concupiscuncium *H¹* [34] et *ABCDEGH¹* eciam *Ash* [35] rapiunt *ACDEGH¹Ash* capiunt *B* [36] quomodo *ACDEGH¹Ash* quo *B (compend. om.)* [37] *in E is add. with mark of ref. above the col.:* Discrasiant totam ecclesiam religiosi privati *E²* [38] sugit *ABCDEGAsh* sugerit *H¹* [39] videtur *ACDEGH¹Ash* videtur quod de toto alimento, quod Cristus ordinavit *(cr. out and ud.)* videtur *B* [40] ministrando *ABDEGH¹Ash* monstrando *C*

minimum pro construendis edificiis suis et aliis superfluis ornamentis. Et sic talis monstruositas in sectis necessitat[41] ad simulanda mendacia, ad seminandum discordias et dogmatizandum hereses nimis multas, ut patet de mendicacionibus,[42] quas sibi fundamentaliter contra Cristum constituunt, de sanctitate habitus[b] et signi corporalis multiplicis,[43] que[44] induunt, et omnino de vendicionibus particionis sui largi meriti,[45] ut patet de literis fraternitatum,[c] || de sepulcris[46] || C fol. 177a magnatum[d] et aliis blasphemis satis multis.

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[b] *cp. below p. 198, l. 10; also Sermo de Matth. 23, cap. III. (cod. Ashburn. fol. 72[a]): Ut quod sint habitus fatrum tam sacri et virtuosi, quod nullus mortuus in istis habitibus dampnabitur ad infernum; likewise in Purgat. Secte Chr. (cod. Ashb. fol. 51[b]); with ref. to this idea, see Matthew, E. W. h. u. 316; also Erasmus Colloquia, Funus et exsequiae seraphicae. As to the matter, W. frequently refers to it, see above p. 35 l. 8 ff.*
[c] *cp. above p. 35 note g; also Matthew, E. W. h. u. 489; Trial. 349 ff.; 367*
[d] *In his English writings W. very frequently recurs to the burials of the rich see Matthew, E. W. h. u. 9; 15; 212; 224; 492. The reproach of the, text is made in reference to the 'trentalis'. an office of 30 masses, to be said on as many successive days for the dead. The term includes the offerings, to be made to the Church on consideration of such masses. On the 30[th] day from the death special rites were performed. The testament of Sir Thomas Cumberworth († 1450), printed by Peacock, Academy, Oct. 18, 1879, gives us a good example of the way, in which money was extorted by the Church on such occasions and distributed among those present at the Trental: 'I will the interment be made at my XXX day & the abbot of Thorneton do the masse derige & the exquies & have XX[s] & the V[s] III[d] that he owes me aforesaid & I will the abbot of Neusom & the abbot of Welhow yf thay both come to the XXXday haf ather of tham XII[s] IIII[d] and ilke prior & prioris that comes to the XXX day hafe VI[s] VIII[d] and ilke chanon or none that comes to the said XXXday have XX[d] & ilke prest & frere that comes that day to derygе & masse hafe IIII[d].' Further two priest are to sing at the altar, and that 'ilken of tham haf C[s] to say the Trentall for hus in all the hast. So common was the custom of having said a Trental for the dead, that we may notice in the Poor Men's Gild of Norwich an order, 'þat any broþer*

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[41] *in E is add. below the col.:* Monstruositas in sectis ad que necessitat E^2 [42] mendicacionibus *ABCEH¹Ash* meditacionibus *DG* [43] multiplicis *ACDEGH¹ Ash* multiplici *B* [44] que *ABCEGH¹Ash om. D* [45] *in E is add. with mark of ref. below the col.:* Meritorum vendicio blasphema est E^2 [46] sepulcris *ABCDEGH¹* sepulturis *Ash*

Et obiectus, qui fiunt ad stabiliendum has sectas, non sunt digni memoria, ut solvantur.[47] Assumunt[48] enim sepe, quod multi sancti, qui iam triumphant in celo, servaverant[49] istas sectas. Ideo necesse[50] est, ut iste secte remaneant ex post sancte.[e] — Sed non recolunt,[51] quomodo istud assumptum est apocrifum citra fidem[52] et quomodo isti modo[53] superstites non vivunt istis patronis conformiter, sed tam varie, ac si constituerent novam sectam. Pictacie[54] quidem superaddite hiis novis regulis constituunt unum novum, ac si foret regula saracenica compilata. Et hec racio, quare Cristus prohibuit sue legi vel regule fieri[55] addiciones huiusmodi, ne lex sua foret in sua substancia variata.

Conceditur ergo, quod[56] extra has quatuor sunt in qualibet trium parcium ecclesie[f] prevaricatores notabiles, sed non ita communiter ut in istis. Ideo qui appetit[57] libertatem legis domini et exoneracionem ecclesie, appetit[58] puritatem secte Cristi secundum caritatem, quam habet ad deum et quemlibet proximorum.[59] Dya-

or sister of þis gilde deye VII mile abouten þe Cite, or wiþinnen þe cite. alle þe breþerin and sistrin shullen ben at þen enteryng of þe dede corps, and offerin at his messe, and ȝeuen XXX[d] for XXX messes singing for þe soule, and for alle cristen soules', cp. English Gilds (publ. by Early Engl. Text Soc.) No. 40 p. 41. In the Missa pro Defunctis of the Sarum Missal, a special secret prayer is inserted, and a post-communion ordered on the 30[th] day. see Sarum Breviary, ed. Proctor & Wordsworth II, 529. Sometimes the 30 masses were all said on one certain day. In the ordinance for the Gild of St. Katherine, Aldersgate, the wardens are to summon the friars to say the dirge, 'and on þe morwe to seie a trent of masses at same freres' cp. ibid. p. 8. As to the matter, see Welzer & Welte, Kirch. Lex. (first edit.) VII, 103 [e] *With ref. to this, cp. Trial. 356* [f] *cp. De Christo et suo Adv. I, beginning*

[47] solvantur *ACDEGH¹Ash* salvantur *B* [48] assumunt *CDEGH¹Ash,A (the last stroke cr. out.)* assumuntur *B* [49] servaverant *ACDEGH¹Ash* servaverunt *B* [50] nec. *ABCDEGAsh* nunc nec. *H¹* [51] recolunt *ABCDEGAsh* recolant *H¹* [52] *in E is add. with mark of ref. above the col.:* Apocrifum citra fidem est assumptum monachorum *E²* [53] isti modo *ACEAsh* isto modo *BH¹* isti vere *DG* [54] pictacie *ABCDEG* putacie *Ash* pictatice *H¹* [55] fieri *ACDGH¹Ash. E (ud.)* fidei *B,E¹ in mar.* [56] quod *ABCDEGAsh om. H¹* [57] appetit *ABCDEG Ash* appetet *H¹* [58] appetit *ACDEGH¹Ash* appetat *B* [59] *here ends in A col. 191ᵇ, above it:* De prevaricancia mandatorum decalogi *A²*

bolus enim sic cecavit[60] et induravit has sectas, quod[61] putant se patrare[62] deo obsequium in defendendo illas et in[63] ipsis pro vite termino persistendo. Et cum tunc debent dolere de prevaricancia in hiis sectis et dileccioni dei pure[64] intendere, in mortis articulo necessitati sunt, dolorem istum et amorem dimittere et pro suo errore in suis privatis ordinibus plus zelare.

CAP. VIII.[1]

Restat finaliter colligendum de prevaricancia mandatorum decalogi, cum non solum hee secte quatuor, sed multi de secta Cristi in decalogum peccaverunt,[2] verum tamen[3] non ita regulariter, sicut ypocrite in hiis sectis quatuor, qui ex evagancia[4] a secta domini sunt quodammodo infideles. Et ex fide quidam[5] fideles eliciunt, quod deus disposuit ecclesiam suam in tam debita armonia,[6] sicut disposuit[7] de membris humani corporis, et sive extrinseca sive intrinseca infirmitatem,[8] dislocacionem vel discrasiam aliquam paciantur, ipsa nocent toti corpori.— Proporcionaliter[9] est de corpore ecclesie cogitandum, et hec racio, quare fides edocet, quod Cristus exemplavit apostolis in sua ordinacione primeva, quomodo militans ecclesia debet stare. Et sicut non solum Scarioth, sed ipse Petrus peccavit multipliciter contra decalogum, sic in corpore ecclesie probabile est nunc esse.

Ideo quidam declinant a mandatis domini[10] et sunt tamquam ligna tortuosa in sua malicia indurati. Et omnes tales sunt indubie

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[60] cecavit *ABCDEGAsh* peccavit *H*^{1} [61] quod *DGH*^{1}*Ash* que *ABCE* [62] patrare *ACEGH*^{1}*Ash* prestare *BD* [63] in *DGH*^{1}*Ash* *om. ABE* [64] di. de. pu. *ABCDEGH*^{1} pu. di. de. *Ash*

CAP. VIII. [1] *the number of the chap. not given in GH*^{1}*,A, instead of it:* Tractatus de prevaricancia *A*^{8} octavum *B* cap. 8m *CEAsh* VIII *D* [2] peccaverunt *ABCDEAsh* peccarunt *H*^{1} peccaverint *G* [3] verumtamen *ACDEGAsh* utrum *B,H*^{1} *(not clear)* [4] evagancia *ACDEGH*^{1}*Ash* vagancia *B* [5] quidam *ACDEGH*^{1} quidem *BAsh* [6] *in E is add. with mark of ref. above the col.:* Ecclesia quare bene ordinata in suis membris *E*^{2} [7] disposuit *ABCDEGAsh* disponuit *(?) H*^{1} (dispom̄t) [8] infirmitatem *ACDEGAsh* infirmitate *BH*^{1} [9] propocionaliter *ABCEGH*^{1}*Ash* proporcionabiliter *D* [10] *in E is add. in mar.:* Declinant quidam varie *E*^{2}

maledicti, cum sint ad dampnacionem perpetuam ordinati; alii autem[11] tamquam plante fragiles[12] declinant ad horam et tunc[13] virtute[14] gracie predestinacionis finaliter ad rectitudinem revertuntur.

[a]Unde[15] quidam mussitant de requie animarum, si omnes post mortem immediate vadant ad infernum vel ad beatitudinem, vel C fol. 177b tercio sit || pausacio[16] temporalis in loco, qui dicitur purgatorium, in quo ad tempus quiescunt anime post salvande.[17]

Et videtur[18] quibusdam,[19] quod multa verba terrifica, que dicuntur in ista materia, cum[20] non habeant fundacionem patulam ex scriptura, sunt per anticristum ad spoliandum homines ad has sectas ditandas[21] infundabiliter sompniata.

Et hinc currit forum[22] indulgenciarum, suffragiorum spiritualium sacerdotum et multe alie symoniace mercandie.[23b] Propterea videtur multis fidelibus,[24] quod in ista materia cum prudencia et[25] fundacione probabili est loquendum.

CAP. VIII. [a] *This last part of the Tract is also mentioned as a separate work of W.'s under the title De Purgatorio, see Shirley, Catal. p. 12, No. 31* [b] *W. frequently recurs to this accusation, cp. Trial. 357; also Matthew, E. W. h. u. 81; Sermo de Matth. 24, cap. V (cod. Ashburnh. fol. 60): Sic enim ex sibi dubio concedit has fictas vanas indulgencias pro multis milibus annorum ultra diem iudicii; sed valeant iste prelatis huiusmodi in vacuo infinito, quia in mundo isto non prosunt Christi fidelibus, sed multipliciter magis obsunt.*

[11] autem *ABCDEGAsh* vero *H¹* [12] plante fragiles *ACDEGH¹Ash* fragiles planete *B* *in E in mar.:* Fragiles plante *E²* [13] tunc *ABCDGH¹Ash* tamen *(corr. from* tunc*) E* [14] virtute *ABCDGH¹Ash* virtutem *E* [15] *from this on cod. 1387 of the Vienna Libr. (K), fol. 108ᶜ lin. 55 contains the text of our Tract in D is add. in mar.:* Nota *D³* *in G in mar.:* Purgatorium *G¹* *in A above the col. (191ᵈ):* Nota de Purgatorio et triplici ecclesia, militancium, dormiencium et beatorum [16] pausacio *ACEGH¹KAsh* pausativa *B* pulsacio *D* [17] salvande *ABCDEGH¹Ash* salvende *K* [18] *in E is add. below the col.:* Terrifica sompnia multa de purgatorio *E²* [19] quibusdam *ABCDEGKAsh*, *H¹ in mar.* *om. H¹ in the text* [20] cum *ACDEGH¹KAsh* *om. B (erasure)* [21] ditandas *ABCDEGK Ash* dicendas *H¹* [22] for. *ABCDEGH¹Ash* ad for. *K* [23] *in E is add. above the col.:* Simoniace mercandie indulgenciarum etc. currunt ex purgatorii sompniis *E²* mercandie *ACDEGH¹Ash* mercande *K* mercando *B* [24] fidelibus *BCDGH¹KAsh* *om. AE* [25] et *BDGH¹KAsh* in *ACE*

Videtur autem illis,[26] quod ecclesia sit hodie tripartita,[27] sicut fuit in veteri testamento, sicut ecclesia militancium viatorum superstitum, ecclesia dormiencium, cuiusmodi[28] est ecclesia fidelium mortuorum beatitudinem in purgatorio expectancium, et tercia est ecclesia triumphancium,[29] scilicet sanctorum plene[30] in celestibus beatorum.[31] [c] Sic[32] enim fuit in lege veteri, cum spiritus angelici fuerunt in beatitudine confirmati, et fideles predestinati in via ad patriam[33] meruerunt,[34] mortui vero usque ad ascensionem domini in spe felici in loco, quem deus elegerat, quieverunt. Unde Luc. 16[d] narrat Cristus expresse, quomodo Lazarus post mortem[35] suam in synum Abrahe est delatus. Nec dubium, quin sancti patres de lege veteri non ante ascensionem Cristi in[36] plena beatitudine celestia penetrarunt. Et cum anime salvande sint[37] modo a multis terrenis affeccionibus expurgande,[38] evidens est, quod modo pausant in loco, quem deus elegerit, antequam beatitudinem celestium assequantur. Ymo, ut videtur multis probabile, anime carebunt complemento[39] sue beatitudinis usque ad diem iudicii, quando participantes plene societatis solacii nullum ulterius gaudium expectabunt. Et in ista expectacione sunt gradus multiplices,[40] ut innuit apostolus[41] I Cor. 3:[e] fundamentum, inquit, aliud nemo potest ponere preter id quod

[c] *the same division is found, in nearly the same terms, De Christo et suo Advers. cap. I commencement* [d] *v.* 22 [e] *v. 11—15*

[26] *in G is add. in mar.:* Racio pro purgatorio G^1 [27] *in C is add. in mar.:* Ecclesia triplex C^3 *in D with mark of ref. below the col.:* Ecclesia tripartita D^1 *in E in mar.:* Ecclesia tripartita sicut olym E^2 [28] cuiusmodi *BCDGKAsh* cuius *A*H^1,*E*, *but in mar.:* modi E^1 [29] et tercia e. e. triumph. *BCDG*H^1*KAsh* *om. AE* [30] plene *ABCDEGKAsh* plane H^1 (*the* a *ud.*) [31] *in E is add. to* beatorum *in mar.:* Tercia est ecclesia triumphancium E^1 (*E^1 has carelessly put it in the wrong place, cp. note 29*) beatorum *ABCDEG*H^1*Ash* bonorum *K* [32] sic *ABCÈG*H^1*KAsh* sicut *D* [33] patriam *ABCDEG*H^1*Ash* proximam *K* [34] meruerunt *ABCDG*H^1*KAsh* merunt *E*, *but in mar.* rue E^1 [35] mortem *in K a corr. word* [36] in *ABCDEG*H^1*K* *om. Ash* [37] sint *ABCDEGKAsh* fuerunt H^1 [38] *in E is add. in mar.:* Anime salvande purgande sunt E^2 [39] complemento *ABCDEG*H^1*Ash* complemente *K* [40] *in E is add. below the col.:* Expectacio plene (? p̄le) beatitudinis habet gradus multiplices E^2 [41] *in G is add. without a mark of ref.:* Septima G^1

positum est, quod est[42] Cristus Iesus. Si quis autem superedificat supra fundamentum hoc aurum, argentum, lapides preciosos, ligna,[43] fenum, stipulam, uniuscuiusque opus manifestum erit, dies domini declarabit, quia in igne revelabitur uniuscuiusque opus,[44] quale sit, ignis probabit; si cuiusque[45] opus[46] manserit, quod superedificavit,[47] mercedem accipiet. Si cuius opus arserit,[48] detrimentum pacietur,[49] ipse autem salvus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem.

Videtur autem fidelibus,[50] quod sentencia ista de purgatorio sufficiat ecclesie militanti. Unde verba doctorum sequencium, de quanto se fundant in fide scripture vel racione, et non amplius sunt credenda. Unde stultus foret,[51] qui de loco, quantitate aut qualitate illius pene foret nimis[52] sollicitus, ut quidam fabulantur de purgatorio sancti Patricii,[f] quidam, quod anime quiescunt in die *C fol. 178a* dominica[53] et quidam, quod[54] papa concedit indulgencias ‖ pro spiritibus[55] mortuorum. Et omnes hee fabule sunt a fidelibus[56] deridende.

Hoc[57] autem videtur probabile, quod omnes spiritus salvandi,[58] cum sint de sua beatitudine[59] securi, sunt feliciores post mortem, quam fuerunt sua corpora hic in via.[60] Et sic pene corporales non cruciant talem animam, quin[61] quodammodo sit beata.

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[f] *There was shown in Ireland, according to an old fabulous legend, a cavern, which went by the name of 'Purgatorium S. Patricii': a great many miracles were said to be connected with it, cp. Vita S. Patr., auct. R. Stanihursto, Antwerp 1587, p. 65*

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[42] quod est *ABCEGH¹KAsh* *om. D* [43] ligna *ABCDEGH¹Ash* lignum *K* [44] manifestum erit, d. d. d., q. in i. r. u. opus *ACDEGH¹KAsh* *om. B* *in D in mar.:* De purgatorio *D¹* [45] cuiusque *ABCDE¹GH¹Ash* cuius *K* *om. E* [46] quale s. i. p. si c. opus *ABCDGH¹KAsh,E¹ with mark of ref. above the col.* *om. E* [47] superedificavit *CDEGH¹KAsh* superdificant *B* superdificavit *A (compend. om.)* [48] op. ars. *ABCDEGKAsh* ars. op. *H¹* [49] pacietur *ABCDEGKAsh* paciatur *H¹* [50] fidelibus *BCDGH¹KAsh* multis *AE* [51] *in E is add. above the col.:* Stultus, qui de loco, quantitate qualitateve purgatorii *E²* [52] f. n. *ABCDEGH¹Ash* n. f. *K* [53] die do. *ABCDEGAsh* do. die *H¹* die *K* (do. *therefore is om.)* [54] anime q. in d. d. et q. quod *ACDEGH¹KAsh* *om. B* [55] *in Ash* spiritubus, *likewise in the following lines* [56] *K reads:* sunt a spiritus (spir. *cr. & ud.)* di a fidelibus [57] *in G is add. in mar.:* Prima *G¹* [58] salvandi *ABCDEGH¹K* salvande *Ash* [59] s. b. *ABCDEGH¹Ash* b. s. *K* [60] *in E is add. below the col.:* Spiritus salvandi felicioros sunt quam in via *E²* [61] quin *ABCDGH¹KAsh* quando *E*

Videtur secundo fidelibus,[62] quod licet viatores merere[63] debeant[64] pro spiritibus illis, qui dormiunt, tamen[65] tota vita superstitum debet tendere ad commodum ecclesie militantis. Quod videtur Cristum docere Matth. 8,[9] dum[66] dicit: sequere me et dimitte mortuos sepelire mortuos suos.

Ideo quidquid fuerit utilius edificacioni[67] ecclesie militantis, illud plus proderit talibus spiritibus mortuorum.

Et tercio videtur[68] credibile, cum spiritus tales sunt securi de sua beatitudine et mediis antecedentibus ad eandem,[69] quod perpetuales[70] elemosine et indulgencie impetrate sunt nimis sophistice,[71] ecclesie turbative. Deus enim per se partitur indulgencias et beatitudinem[72] sine aliquo medio alio hic in via vel patria requisito, quia deus est ille, qui dixit et facta sunt et correspondenter[73] ad dignitatem persone sine suo fastidio premium[74] parcietur.[75]

Unde iste videtur[76] locus blaspheme[77] heresis, quo anticristi discipuli seducunt multum populum[78] et spoliant stolidos de virtutibus et meritoriis laboribus et singulariter de bonis temporalibus pro[79] suffragiis false fictis.

Ideo necesse est fidelem in ista materia fidem suam constanter infigere et temptare spiritus loquentes in ista materia,[80] si ex deo

[9] *v.* 22

[62] *in CG is add. in mar.:* Secunda C^3G^1 *in E with mark of ref. below the col.:* Utilius quid purgandum E^2 *(the mark of ref. is at the wrong place; ought to be a few lines further on)* [63] merere *ACDEGH*^{1} mereri *BKAsh* [64] debeant *ABCDEH*^{1}*KAsh* debent *G* [65] tamen *BAsh*,E^1 *in mar.* cum *ACDGK,E (ud.)* tum H^1 [66] dum *ABCDEKAsh* cum *GH*^{1} [67] edificacioni *BCDGH*^{1}*Ash* ad edificacionem *K* *om. AE* [68] *in G is add. in mar.:* Tercio G^1 [69] eandem *BCDEGH*^{1}*KAsh* eandum *(?) A* [70] perpetuales *ACE* perpetue tales *BDGH*^{1}*K Ash* [71] *in E is add. below the col.:* Elemosine perpetue indulgencie sophistice sunt E^2 [72] *in E is add. below the col.:* Deus partitur merita sicut wlt E^2 [73] correspondenter *ABCDEGKAsh* correspondent H^1 [74] premium *KAsh*,C^2 *in m.* primum *ABDEGH*^{1},*C (ud.)* [75] parcietur *ACDEGH*^{1}*KAsh* partitur *B* [76] videtur *ACDGH*^{1}*KAsh,E (ud.)* dicitur *B*,E^1 *in mar.* [77] blaspheme *ABCDEGK Ash* blasphemie H^1 [78] m. p. *ABCEGH*^{1}*KAsh* p. m. *D* [79] pro *BCDGH*^{1}*KAsh* et *AE* [80] fidem suam con. i. et t. sp. l. in i. m. *ABCDEGKAsh* *om.* H^1, *but added by the texthand after* spoliantes *at the close of the Tract*

sunt et se fundaverint[81] in fide scripture vel racione et aliter[82] ipsos dimittere tamquam dyabolos[83] a bonis homines spoliantes.

Exciplit tustaract nodeau vacanaciripre darumtoman ameni.[84]

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[81] fundaverint *CDKAsh* fundaverunt *AEH¹* fundant *B* fundaverit *G* [82] aliter *ABCDEH¹KAsh* alio *G* [83] dyabolos *BCDGKAsh* dyabolas (?) *AEH¹* [84] *i. e.* Explicit tractatus de nova prevaricancia mandatorum, ameni *C* Explicit tractatus de nova prevaricancia mandatorum *AAsh* Explicit de nova prevaricancia mandatorum De condempnacione 19 conclusionum *B* etc. Explicit tractatus de nova precaricancia mandatorum etc. *D* Explicit de nova prevaricancia mandatorum Incipit tractatus de Cristo et suo adversario anticristo *E* et sic est finis huius tractatus de nova prevaricancia mandatorum *G* Explicit tractatus de nova prevaricancia mandatorum *H¹* hoc totum habetur in tractatu de nova prevaricancia mandatorum cap. 8° sive ultimo De clavibus ecclesie *K*

IV.

DE TRIPLICI VINCULO AMORIS.

DE TRIPLICI VINCULO AMORIS.

I. Division.

A. *General Part. The three* vincula amoris *considered in their relation to the Holy Trinity and to Mankind, chap. I—III.*

B. *Special Part. The* vincula *of the Sects, chap. IV—X.*

Attack on the Sects:

(1) they are neither founded by God, nor by Christ, chap. IV—V;

(2) they are, especially the Friars, opposed to theSect of Christ, chap. VI—X;

Their obedience, chap. VII;

The mendicity a) of the friars chap. VIII—XI;

b) of the dotati, *chap. X.*

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. *The three* vincula amoris *(of the blood, of wedlock, and of charity) correspond to the Trinity p. 161, and described according to their nature (natural, conjugal, supernatural bond) p. 162; particular stress is laid on the conjugal bond between Christ, the Church and His believers p. 163—165.*

Chap. II. *The last relationship is particularly disturbed by unworthy men, who falsely call themselves Christ's servants p. 166, and by human laws which put heavy burdens upon believing Christians p. 166, (Polemics against certain Roman marriage laws p. 167—168).*

Chap. III. *But the most powerful of all bonds is the* caritas, *the love to God p. 169, which must permeate all human bonds p. 169—170 (definition and modification of the term* accepcio personarum *p. 171—173).*

Chap. IV. *Of late a twofold diabolical bond is opposed to this*

threefold bond: the four Sects and their traditions, which are contrary to the simple Sect and the Gospel of Christ p. 173. — They are founded neither by God nor by Christ p. 174, nor are they based upon Scripture; neither their founders, nor their so-called miracles give them the right to be in the Church p. 176; they are culpabiliter *introduced p. 176.*

Chap. V. *The arguments advanced in favour of the Sects should be carefully examined p. 176—177; whether their founders and members attain toeternal salvation is uncertain p. 177; some of them may; only in so far however, as they keep aloof from the particular abuses of the Sects p. 178—179.*

Chap. VI. *As no Christian can remain indifferent to the Sects, it is to be proved in how far they are opposed to the law of Christ p. 179: without being founded in Scripture, they introduce, in addition to the Gospel of Christ (the Friars are, in particular, referred to) innovations p. 180, which they strive to hold more strictly and scrupulously than the Gospel p. 181 (proved by Gal. I. and Rev. XXII p. 182—184).*

Chap. VII. *If they glory in their strict and unconditional obedience to their superiors p. 184, it is to be considered, whether the superior be a morally good man, or a child of the devil p. 185, for there were many such amongst them; it is a sin to give up with such lightheartedness the freedom which Christ has won for His Church, and to serve man instead of Christ p. 186—187.*

Chap. VIII. *As to their begging, the correct meaning of the term* mendicacio *ought to be explained (three kinds) p. 187—188; at any rate, the poverty of the Friars is a wrong one p. 189; they falsely appeal to Christ's example; for theirs it not an* infirmitas, *but a* defectus *p. 189—190.*

Chap. IX. *Likewise their poverty is proved neither by reason. nor by Scripture p. 190; neither in the Old Testament (Deut. VII), nor in the New, where the busy and clamorous mendicity of the Friars can in no way be proved from Christ's example p. 191. — While Christ and St. Paul also wished on no account to be burdensome to the congregations, the 4000 Friars cost the English realm the sum of £ 40,000 p. 192, principally on account of their costly buildings p. 193: the temporal Lords should, therefore, put a stop to this spoliation 193—194.*

Chap. X. *This measure should all the more be resorted to because the Possessioners, as well as the Friars lay claim to the wealth*

of the land p. 195; the former are all the more dangerous, as in their case the question is not of minucie, *but of* partes grosse *p. 195. Here the Author attacks the Pope and his temporal dominion p. 195, as well as the common practise of the first Sect, which appropriates large churches for sectarian uses p. 296, on the evidence, not of Scripture, but of diabolical lies, which are too transient that it is superfluous even to mention them p. 196—197. — Thus the disturbing, by the Sects, of the Church will not cease, until to a stop is put to them by those interested in this national matter p. 198.*

III. Date of Composition.

From the passage, chap. II p. 168: quod nobilis regina Anglie, soror cesaris, habeat ewangelium in lingwa triplici exaratum *etc. the Terminus 'a quo' is to be inferred. Anna, the sister of Wenzel, King of Bohemia, German Emperor from 1378, came to England, via Calais, towards the end of 1381, and was married as Queen to King Richard II. on January 14, 1382 (cp. Höfler, Anna v. Lux. 68; Rymer, Foed. VII, 398). — Also a hint of Spenser's Crusade into Flanders (May — October 1383) is found p. 186:* papa potest precipere occidere fratres *etc., unless the expression is a general one and refers to the papal struggles which where the result of the Schism, cp. Th. a Niem, Hist. s. t. lib. I. chap. III ff. Compare also, for dating the Tract, chap. IV notes d; l; also h; k; l. Provided the conjecture which is here expressed be right, the composition of the present work would have to be fixed after 'De Fundacione Sectarum', that is to say, somewhere about the end of the year 1383. See above p. 7. — The assertion, chap. II p. 168, which expresses the desire for the Gospel in the English mother tongue, corresponds very well to this, as one has to think of it in connection with the institution of W.'s itinerant preachers, cp. Lechler, J. v. W. I, 420 ff.*

IV. Genuineness.

External evidence:

(1) cp. cod. B, inner side of the front-cover, see above General Introduction IV, Description of the codd.[1]

[1] *Cp. also cod. E front-cover; cod. α, inner side of the front-cover, where the Tract is to be found between the writings of the* 'Ewangelicus'; *cp. above, General Introduction IV, Description of the codd.*

(2) *Walden, Doctr. Fidei II, chap. 77.*
(3) *Hus, Replica contra J. Stokes in Cod. Bibl. Gersd., Bautzen, MSt. 8. v. 7 fol. 2^a.*
(4) *Wiclif-Catal. of the Vienna codd. (except cod. 7980), see above p. 7.*
(5) *Bale, Illust. Scr. Summ. 156, cp. Lewis, History of Life and Suff. 165, No. 180.*
(6) *Shirley, Catal. 19, No. 49; also Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, where the codd. in question are described.*
(7) *Lechler, J. v. W. II, 564.*

Internal evidence:

(1) *see above, General Introduction V, e.*
(2) *cp. the arguments against the four Sects known from the other polemic treatises and the Trialogus; see for example chap. IX note n.*
(3) *the repeated references to Oxford and England, chap. II, also especially chap. IX, p. 192—193.*
(4) *especially compare the striking and, at the same time, in part verbal uniformity of chap. VIII, p. 187—188, with Trial. 341 ff.; chap. IX, p. 193, with Trial. 369 and 349.*
(5) *cp. also chap. I nn. a; h; chap. II, f; chap. IV, a; b; c; h; k; chap. V a; b; c.*

V. *Not yet printed.*

VI. *Extant in*

cod. 3933 = B fol. 80^d—86^d	B^1 = *only Corrector*
cod. 4527 = C fol. 162^a—169^a	C^1 = *Corrector (pale hand)* C^2 = *Corrector (small hand)* C^3 = *Glosser (red hand)*
cod. 3930 = D fol. 168^d—178^d	D^1 = *Corrector (small black hd.)* D^2 = *Corrector* (addere)
cod. 1337 = E fol. 25^a—33^a	E^1 = *Glosser* E^2 = *Corrector (black hand)* E^3 = *Glosser*

(all in the Imperial Library at Vienna)

cod. X. E 9 = α fol. 138^a—146^a	α^1 = *Corrector (black hand)* α^2 = *Glosser (pale hand)*

(in the University Library at Prague)

VII. The Manuscripts.

A. ***Their relationship.*** *Also here, as formerly, E is of very little value; but any closer connection of E with one of the other codd. cannot be ascertained; it is probably taken from some original not belonging to the Vienna and Prague Codex-series; compare (1) the frequent differences from the other codd., which appear in the — irrelevant — order of words,* inq. fle. *I, note 30;* prep. patr. *etc. VII, 4;* suam sub. *VII, 6;* i. s. *IV, 50; VII, 35;* min. fid. *IX, 50;* ma. mer. *IX, 29 and so on. The number may easily be increased; (2) the passages* nec loquamur *etc. VIII, 4 and 5;* cum fratr. *etc. VIII, 49;* ad resist. in h. vir. *X, 2.* —

(1) Class E—B. On the other hand, the whole of the readings appear to me to show, that

E and B, without having any very close connection with each other, belong to the same family; compare their frequent agreement which varies from the consensus of the rest: et so. *I, 59;* a *(om.) I, 33;* est *(om.) I, 72;* eum *III, 43;* suppos. *III, 77;* sic *III, 79;* int. *III, 71;* ear. *IV, 27;* mult. *IV, 32;* scio. *IV, 74;* cit. *V, 39;* ut *(om.) V, 42;* sint *VI, 45;* proph. *VI, 94;* cont. *VII, 29;* nost. Ie. *VII, 53;* et sp. *VIII, 13;* Matth. *VIII, 38;* san. *VIII, 30;* fundab. *IX, 4;* exp. *IX, 67;* quid *X, 69;* en. *(om.) X, 27; especially* oner. *IX, 28 and many others. This agreement would have been greater, if B and E also had not been copied in a remarkably careless manner. The following readings can scarcely be attributed to orthographical mistakes or to errors of reading; they are therefore of special value for showing the connection of both codices:* stult. *II, 50;* ad *IV, 47;* pruden. *VII, 70;* pleb. *X, 31;* quam *X, 80. The lacuna* Sed cum *etc. IV, 64 proves the matter decisively.*

That B ***is not copied from E,*** *cp.* ideo qu. *V, 56;* quia c. s. *etc. VIII, 48;* et nov. *etc. IV, 6;* leg. et al. *III, 16;* et s. ob *VI, 102;* coll. in c. *X, 4;* eccl. *IX, 81;* ad res. *etc. IX. 94; E* ***not from B:*** *cp.* cum fratr. *etc. VIII, 49;* cl. ces. *etc. X, 19; also* non sol. ad res *IX, 2;* fid. m. *etc. IX, 80. — Their large agreement proves rather that they were derived from the same original in the second or third degree.*[1]

[1] *Perhaps* B^1 *had for his original E, cp.* in pers. pr. *IX, 18; not* α*, cp.* domin. *II, 61;* ad hoc *VI, 86; not D, cp.* ad hoc *VI, 86;* domin. *VII, 61; not C, cp.* in pers. prop. *IX, 18.*

On the contrary, a comparison of the respective readings seems to me to prove, that either C^1, the corrector of C, had E itself before him, or a codex very closely connected with it, for nearly all the corrections of C^1 agree with E; again, from null. ess. I, 36; legitt. IV, 53; per ill. IV, 54; et V, 37; fratr. V, 20; erunt VI, 18; intell. VI, 76; iste VI, 95; induc. VII, 36; dei VI, 42; contrah. III, 3; nec VI, 63; ap. VI, 81; aliq. VI, 97; omn. III, 53; tal. III, 56; ostiat. VIII, 17 and from mult. hodie VIII, 51 which is especially characteristic, their close connection decisively follows, as BDα must be excluded as originals used by the correctors just mentioned. That E itself is not the original, may be proved by (1) ei III, 24, where, on the supposition that E be the original of C^1, it is curious that C^1 did not also correct dic.; cp. also prepos. III, 57; by (2) nec fund. s. alt. IV, 70; where C^1 omits in hoc which is given by E; lastly by (3) the important finis V, 38. If one supposes, however, a close connection, C^1 must have corrected, in any case, from E, after it had been already corrected by E^2, cp. esset III, 49 etc.; but it seems to me more probable that E^2 and C^1 corrected from the same (unknown) original.

(2) Class D–α. D–α belong also of a family of their own. Among the decisive 450 readings, these MSS. agree 375 times; the 75 deviations may all be attributed to carelessness, especially to slight errors in reading. But I have found no passage which proves their close connection decisively. 17 times in the whole of the readings they read the same, against the consensus of the rest: sic I, 12; cum III, 82; domin. VII, 62; gentib. VIII, 40; id VI, 74; non VI, 20; celo I, 31; trah. III, 34; et (om.) IV, 21; sect. VI, 3; qua VI, 107; ad h. VI, 86; pers. X, 22; 4 times: nos VI, 71; causa VIII, 47; hec X, 71; 4 VI, 54 they give independently from the rest the correct reading against the (false) consensus of the other codd.; but there is not sufficient material for exactly determining the degree of their connection.

(3) The cod. C stands next in degree to the last group. Among the decisive 450 passages, the three (D–α–C) agree with each other about 300 times. This number is all the more important, because in at least 48 passages the group D–α–C has an independent reading of its own as compared with the consensus of the rest; 23 times in irrelevant passages: s. p. II, 41; deum III, 43; om. (om.) III, 53; supp. III, 68; dic. IV, 60; Bene. IV, 66; deter. V, 14; circa

V, 39; isto. *V, 40;* contem. *VI, 35;* sunt *VI, 45;* ne *VI, 63;* scr. *VI, 87;* proph. *VI, 93;* do. dei *VI, 98;* abd. *VI, 100;* cont. *VII, 29;* und. *VII, 43;* Ie. *VII, 53;* fr. *etc. IX, 58;* exp. *IX, 67;* en. *X, 27;* temp. *X, 30; 25 times in the number of decisive passages:* a *I, 33;* est *etc. I, 58;* so. *I, 59;* coniung. *III, 9;* int. *III, 71;* cor. *IV, 27;* mult. *IV, 32;* scio. *IV, 74;* ut *V, 42;* ill. *VI, 69;* pac. *VII, 20;* 27° *VII, 24;* omn. *IX, 7;* ple. *X, 31;* sym. *(?) X, 59;* quid. *X, 69;* quod *X, 80; add to this as of particular importance* null. ess. *I, 36;* sup. *II, 50;* ad in i. con. *IV, 47; 48; 49;* obst. *VIII, 17;* salv. *VIII, 30;* funda. *IX, 4; cp. 9;* non sol. *X, 2; as of decisive importance for the common pedigree, cp.* sed cum *IV, 64.*

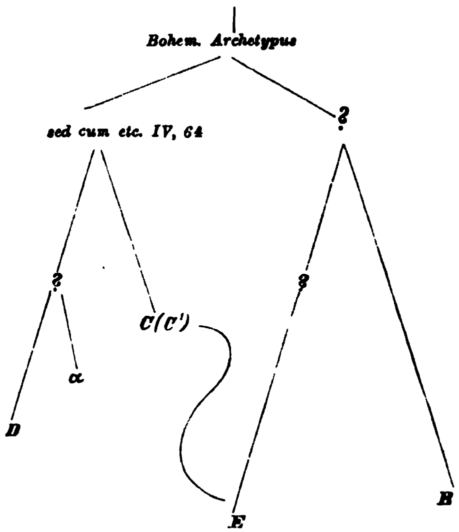
B (not E) stands next in order to this group.

B. ***The best Codex.*** *Carelessness is remarkably shown in E, that it may be at once withdrawn from the competition; it often gives a continuous number of incorrect readings, cp. (for example) chap. I, from* dicitur *(om.) n. 52 on; chap. II, from the beginning; chap. VI, from the beginning, also chap. VI, from note 81 on, chap. IX, from* rogand. *n. 36 on. The copyist often could not read his original, and wrote nonsense, cp.* conveniantur *I, 9;* ext. *II, 3;* cogn. *II, 19;* int. *II, 20;* plen. *II, 33; II, 53; III, 47; IX, 85; IX, 90; IX, 91 &c. &c. Among the 450 readings in question, E gives incorrect readings about 260 times (over 58 %). Notwithstanding this high percentage, I give its readings along with the other, because (1) the greater number of its incorrect readings consist of graphical errors; (2) because its original was by no means a bad one: (3) because of the following passages:* contract. *III, 3;* esset *III, 49;* legitt. *IV, 53;* cr.nec fund. *IV, 70;* fratr. *V, 20;* honor. *VI, 24;* aliq. *VI, 97;* induc. *VII, 36;* dei *VI, 42;* infic. *VI, 44;* ostiat. *VIII, 17;* qued. hum. *VIII, 20;* de eo *VIII, 28;* cum frat. *VIII, 49;* 15 *IX, 6;* in pers. pr. *IX, 18;* quod *IX, 59;* reliq. *IX, 66;* 40 *IX, 72;* ut *X, 17; of which the last eleven seem to me to be decisive, as here E alone gives the correct, or at least a characteristic reading; the passage* cum frater *etc. VIII, 49 alone would suffice for retaining E when the forming of the text comes in question. — Its corrector E^2 is also not without importance. But it is uncertain, from which codex he has corrected:* elic. *IX, 35 (eventually also* sym. *X, 59) excludes B, although I would not consider it of great importance. — Of those codices which remain and which*

almost entirely agree with E^2, *D only comes into question because of* clamorosa *IX, 19. The corrections* patronum *IV, 11;* scripta *VI. 16;* ne argu. *VI, 64;* singul. *VII, 42 appear to me to indicate that* E^2 *had a codex before him which did not belong to the codex-series made use of here.* E^1 *and* E^2 *are correctors of little importance.*

After E, B may also be excluded from the competition, as it gives the lectio falsa 114 times; further, D with 98 false readings, α with 62, and C with only 56 incorrect readings, would come next in competition as a basis of the text. Of these two, I give the preference to cod. C, (1) because of the passages fimant *I, 14;* rebecce *II. 34;* abhorr. *II, 36;* quod *III, 30;* tamen *III, 82;* part. *X, 22;* *(2) because of* in cumul. *X, 4;* cler. res. *X, 19; and because (3)* C^1 *appears as a trustwortly corrector,*[1] *where C does not give the lectio vera.*

From the above, the following diagram may be drawn as a pedigree of the MSS:



[1] *This is the case especially in those passages, where α gives the incorrect reading.*

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE TRIPLICI VINCULO AMORIS.

Plexitic tuscatarc ed temsep
snido Sp̄s s̄c̄i[1]

CAP. I.

|| [2]Tria sunt vincula amoris, quibus fideles viantes ad invicem || *C fol. 162a lin. 14* colligantur, scilicet vinculum consangwineitatis,[3] vinculum affini|tatis et vinculum caritatis.

Primum est inter parentem et prolem, | secundum inter virum et coniugem et tercium inter fidelem et suum[4] proximum. Primum autem[5] habet correspondenciam deo patri, qui necessario[6] ad intra gignit filium sibi[7] naturalem; secundum vero habet correspondenciam verbo dei, qui induens hominem novo modo ecclesiam desponsavit; et tercium habet correspondenciam sancto spiritui,[a] qui

CAP. I. [a] *As to this passage, cp. Trial.* 87

CAP. I. [1] *i. e.* Explicit tractatus de septem donis Spiritus sancti Explicit tractatus de septem donis sp. s. De triplici vinculo amoris Cap. primum *B, in the Index of this cod. (on the innerside of the front-cover) the title runs thus:* De triplici vinculo amoris a domino Cristo Iesu exemplato et de duplici vinculo infami a dyabolo introducto seu adinvento *without Expl. α, also D, the present Tract is preceded by* de solucione sathane, *which ends thus:* fidei lucem veram etc. Et sic est finis huius tractatus De triplici vinculo amoris *E* [2] *B fol. 80d lin. 8 D fol. 168d lin. 25 E fol. 25a lin. 1 α fol. 138a lin. 1* [3] consangwineitatis *BCD* consangwinitatis *Eα* [4] et suum *in E corr. later in mar.* [5] autem *E,C¹ in mar. om. BCDα* [6] necessario *BCEα* necesse *D* [7] fi. si. *CDα* si. fi. *BE*

est caritas vel amor, quo[8] due persone priores originaliter substancialiter connectuntur.[9]

Et sic primum[10] vinculum est naturale, secundum vinculum coniugale et tercium supernaturale. Sicut autem in consangwineitate[11] pater plus diligit filium, quam e contra, sicut[12] humor naturaliter contrahitur a[13] radice et folia defluencia ex ramis fimant[14] radicem et quandoque sibi proficiunt, sic proporcionaliter est de deo. Ipse enim plus amat homines, quos ex gracia sua genuit, quam homines illi possunt patrem illum quomodolibet reamare;[15] folia tamen verborum et fructus operum[16] debent sibi reverenter rependere.

Secundum autem vinculum[17] amoris est satis forte, sicut Cant. *(8)*[18] scribitur:[b] fortis est ut mors dileccio. Et hinc tam Cristus, quam suus apostolus allegant illud[19] Gen. 2,[c] ut patet Matth. 19[20][d] et Eph.[21] 5:[e] propter hoc, inquit,[22] relinquet homo patrem et matrem et adherebit uxori sue et erunt duo in carne una.[23] Ego, inquit apostolus,[f] dico hoc sacramentum magnum[24] in Cristo et[25] ecclesia.

De istis autem tribus vinculis multe sentencie[26] diffusius sunt dicende, sed in hoc loco sunt causa[27] multiplici transcurrende;[28] quoad primum, cum[29] videtur illud apostoli Eph. 3[g] memorandum: flecto, inquit,[30] genua ad patrem domini nostri Iesu Cristi, ex quo

[b] *v. 6* [c] *v. 24* [d] *v. 5* [e] *v. 31* [f] *Eph. 5, 32* [g] *v. 14—15*

[8] quo *BDα (cp. cap. III, note a)* ergo *CE* *here ends in D fol. 168^d. below it:* De 3^ci vinculo *D²* [9] connectuntur *BCDα,E² in mar.* conveniantur *E* [10] *in E is add. in mar.:* 1 *E¹* [11] consangwineitate *BCD* consanguinitate *Eα* [12] sicut *BCE* sic *Dα* [13] a *Cα* ex *BDE* [14] fimant *BC* firmant *D* finiant *Eα* [15] *in E is add. above the col.:* Amat deus plus homines quam reamant *E¹* [16] operum *CDα* operis *B* verborum *(ud.)* operum *E* [17] *in E is add. in mar.:* 2 *E¹* [18] *the codd. read* 6 [19] illud *BCDα* idem *E* [20] *in C there is above the* 9 *in* 19 *a dot, in mar. is add.:* 9 [21] Eph. *BCDα* ad Phi. *(ud.) E, but in mar.* ad ephe *(ud.) E²* [22] inquit *BCα* ergo *D* *om. E* [23] car. un. *are in B add. later below the col. (81^a, the last word of which is* una) *B¹* [24] magn. *Cα* esse magnum *BDE* [25] et *CDEα* Cristo erunt duo in carne una *(ud.)* et *B* [26] mu. se. *BCDα* *om. E* [27] causa *BCα* ex causa *D* d *(ud.)* causa *E, in mar. is add.* duo *E²* [28] transcurrende *BCDα* transcurrendo *E* [29] cum *BCα* tamen *DE* [30] fl. in. *BCDα* inq. fle. *E*

omnis paternitas in celis[31] et in terra nominatur.[32] Non enim dubium fideli, quin a prima persona divina, sicut a[33] natura divina[34] procedit quelibet creatura,[h] et super hoc due persone divine, scilicet filius et spiritus sanctus, procedunt originaliter ab eadem persona. Et sic verum est verbum apostoli,[i] ut dicit Dionysius,[k] quod a prima persona || divina nominatur omnis vera paternitas, sicut et nominatur bonitas cuilibet[35] creature. Verum tamen natura et essencia vel substancia[36] trinitatis est ille pater, quem rogamus in oracione dominica, et ipse pater est ineffabiliter deus pater nec sine vinculo, quod sibi correspondeat.[37] || *C fol. 169b*

Vinculum autem tercium valet[38] nobis, ut nisi homo crearetur a deo et unus[39] ab alio[40] processisset,[41] numquam caritas ecclesie quoad membra sua ex dei sapiencia prodiisset. Ipsa ergo natura[42] divina, que[43] est prima persona, est origo cuiuslibet[44] creature.[45]

Sed de secundo vinculo loqui potest fidelis familiarius, cum Cristus sit gigas gemine substancie, natura divina scilicet et humana.[46] — Secundum hoc, quod[47] est natura divina, volens sibi ecclessiam[48] desponsare, est intra se eterna sponsacio[49] et sponsalia perpetua celebrantur. Et ista desponsacio secundum unum extremum[50] quandoque dicitur eterna[51] et secundum aliud vere dicitur[52] perpetua. — Secundum autem humanitatem Cristi, que processit

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[h] *cp. Trial. 76* [i] *Eph. 3, 14—15* [k] *Dion. Areopagita, De div. Nom. 1, 4 ff.; 2, 1 ff. (ed. by Corderius, Antwerp 1634)*

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[31] celis *BCE* celo *Dα* [32] *in E is add. above the col.:* Paternitas omnis a deo declaratur *E¹* [33] a *CDα om. BE* [34] sic. a na. di. *CDEα om. B* [35] cuilibet *CDEα* cuiuslibet (us *ud.*) *B* [36] natura et essencia vel substancia *E,C¹ above the col.* nulla essencialis substancia *CDα* nulla et essencia substancia *B* [37] corr. *BCDα* contrare *(ud.)* corr. *E* [38] vinc. autem terc. val. *Cα* vinc. secundum aut tercium *ED* vinc. secundum autem tercium *B* *in E in mar.* 2 c. *and* 3 *E¹* [39] unus *CDEα* vivis *B* [40] alio *BCD* altero *Eα* [41] processisset *BCDα* processerit *E* [42] natura *BCDα om. E* [43] que *BCDα* potencia que *E* [44] cuiuslibet *Cα* cuilibet *BDE* [45] *in E is add. in mar.:* Prima persona origo omnium *E³* [46] nat. div. sc. et hu. *CDEα* nat. sc. hu. et div. *B* [47] autem *(ud.)* quod *C* autem quod *BDEα* [48] ecclesiam *BCDα om. E* [49] sponsacio *DE,C¹ in mar.* disposicio *Bα, C (ud.)* [50] extremum *BD* exemplum *CEα* [51] *in E is add. below the col.:* Desponsacio ecclesie quandoque nominatur eterna *E¹* [52] vere dicitur *CDα* dicitur vere *B* d° *(cr. out)* vere *E, but in mar. is add.* dicitur *E²*

in fine temporis, fidelis sibi familiarius potest loqui,[53] cum sit vere frater noster eiusdem nature vel generis cum quolibet fratre suo. Ideo cum tantum fecit ecclesie divinitus atque humanitus, signanter dicit apostolus I Cor. ultimo:[l] si quis non[54] amaverit dominum[55] Iesum Cristum, anathema sit. Omnis autem causa veri amoris in ipso secundo supposito[m] reperitur. Ideo signanter dicitur[56] Matth.[57] 12:[n] quicunque fecerit voluntatem patris mei, qui est in celis,[58] ipse meus frater, soror[59] et mater est.[60] In quibus verbis modo mirabili, tam speculative[61] quam practice, summa theorica est edocta.

Docemur primo[62] contra errores grammatice[63] sub forma masculini generis omnem hominem vere intelligere; docemur secundo speculative cognoscere, quod quelibet persona humani generis, dum tota et completa fuerit,[64] est vere duplex[65] natura, scilicet corpus et anima, sicut secundum naturam alteram,[66] scilicet spiritum, est natura[67] terna[68] ad ymaginem dei facta, scilicet memoria, racio et voluntas. Et ita[69] secundum spiritum est homo frater Cristi,[70] secundum corpus autem,[71] quod est natura fragilior, est[72] soror Cristi, sed[73] secundum naturam totam compositam est eadem persona vere et realiter mater Cristi, cum dicat apostolus I Cor. 4:[o] in Cristo Iesu per ewangelium ego vos genui. Fidelis autem theologus pari evidencia gignit Cristum in cordibus fidelium,[74] quos

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[l] *v.* 22 [m] *viz. the second Person of the Trinity, cp. De 7 Don. Spir. Sanct. cap. I commencement* [n] *v.* 50 [o] *v.* 15

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[53] fid. si. fa. po. lo. *BCα* fid. si. po. fa. lo. *D* fid. po. si. fa. loq. *E, in mar. is add. by E²* familiarius [54] non *BCDα* nisi non *E* [55] dominum *BCDα* deum *E* [56] dicitur *BCE* dicit *Dα* [57] Matth. *BCDα* Marc. *E* [58] est in ce. *CDα* in cel. est *BE* [59] so. *CDα* et so. *BE* [60] *in E is add. above the col.:* Frater soror mater (? matri) Cristi efficitur fidelis *E¹* [61] speculative *BCDα,E² in mar.* speculatem (tem *ud.*) *E* [62] pr. *BCα* autem pr. *DE* [63] *in E is add. in mar.:* Grammatice error spernitur *E³* [64] to. et co. fuerit *CDEα* co. et to. fuit *B* [65] *in E is add. in mar.:* Humana persona quam multiplex *E⁵* [66] na. al. *BCEα* al. na. *D* [67] nat. *BCDα* vera *(cr. out)* nat. *E* [68] terna *Cα* trina *D* terrena *(?* terna) *BE* [69] ita *BCDE,α² in mar. om. α* [70] *in E is add. with mark of ref. above the col. a gloss:* Frater *etc., cp. note 60* [71] c. aut. *BCDα* aut. co. *E* [72] est *CDα om. BE* [73] sed *BCDa* et *E* [74] *in E is add. below the col.:* Fidelis theologus gignit Cristum in cordibus *E¹*

convertit,[75] iuxta illud Gal. 4:[p] filioli mei, quos iterum parturio, donec formetur Cristus in vobis. — Et tercio docemur mixtim, quod tota ista cognacio consistit causaliter in hominis libera voluntate[76] et per consequens debemus omnino agere, quod homo faciat voluntatem dei patris, cum in hoc consistit causacione quasi materiali ista cognacio benedicta. Quicunque, inquit,[q] fecerit voluntatem patris mei, qui in celis est,[77] ipse meus frater, soror[78] et mater est. Eciam[79] nominat matrem tercio, quia toti et[80] complete nature debetur[81] accio. Et sicut[82] Cristus, loquens humanitus cum summa reverencia, prefert[83] matrem[84] et tacendo reservat paternitatem,[85] cum ab ipso sit omnis paternitas ubilibet[86] generata, sic fideles debent evidencius[87] in opinionibus de preeminencia[88] potestatis servare[89] deo singulariter, quod est suum. Non enim reperi in scriptura, quod homo, qui non est deus, tollit peccata mundi, || vel ab- *|| C fol. 163a* solvit a peccato simpliciter,[90] licet remittat quoad suam iniuriam peccatum, quod frater suus fecerit quoad ipsum. Et ista remissio sive dimissio pertinet sub pena dampnacionis cuilibet cristiano, licet principaliter pertinere debeat sacerdoti.[91]

CAP. II.[1]

Ista autem affinitas, que habet correspondenciam verbo dei, dicit magnam fortitudinem amoris inter duos[2] coniuges secundum fidem scripture et experienciam. Sed ille amor in affinitate non

[p] *v. 19* [q] *Matth. 12, 50*

[75] convertit *BCDα, in E* con *is ud., but in mar. the abbreviation for* con *is add.* [76] *in E is add. in mar.:* Libera voluntas causaliter *E*[3] [77] i. c. e. *BCEα* e. i. c. *D* [78] so. *BCDα* et. so. *E* [79] eciam *BCDα* et *E* [80] et *BCDα,E*[2] *in mar.* *om. E* [81] debetur *BCDα* detur *E* [82] sicut *BCDα* sic *E* [83] prefert *BCDα,E*[2] *in mar.* prefret *(?) E* [84] matrem *BCDα* patrem *E* [85] patern. *BCα* sibi patern. *DE* *in E is add. above the col.:* Pater nemo est Cristo quaro *E*[1] [86] ubilibet *BCDα,E*[2] *in mar.* ubique *(ud.) E* [87] evid. *BCDα* in *(cr. out & ud.)* evidenc. *E* [88] preminencia *BCα* preeminencia *D* primencia *E* [89] servare *DE* generare *BCα* [90] simpliciter *CDα,E (?)* similiter *B* *in E is add. below the col.:* Peccata remittere quomodo potest homo *E*[1] [91] deb. sac. *are add. in B below the col. (81[c])*

CAP. II. [1] ca.[m] 2[m] *BC* 2 *E in mar.* *om. Dα* [2] duos *BCα* duas *DE*

tantum extenditur, sicut extenditur[3] in consangwineitate,[4] sicut patri correspondet eternitas immobilis et omnibus[5] mobilibus mobilior est sapiencia verbi[6] dei.

Unde licet in quolibet horum trium[7] funiculorum[a] sit[8] sophisticacio,[9] tamen specialiter in secundo, cum multi fingunt, se esse cristianos et Cristi vicarios, qui tamen sunt ab eius vestigiis maxime elongati. Unde in affinitate subintrarunt[10] statuta hominum, in ewangelio non fundata, ut[11] quidam referunt, quod olym in gradu septimo consangwineitatis[12] non foret affinitas nupciarum et postmodum est cum ista[13] ordinacione hominum dispensatum.[14 b] Sed in illa dispensacione de potentibus intercurrit[15] pecunia[16] vel aliud commodum temporale.[17]

Et videtur, quod ex hac[18] cautela dyaboli fuit ista cognatorum coniugacio[19] interdicta,[20] ut ex hoc pateret sophisticalis[21] pape potencia, et foret pecunia vel sibi equivalens cumulata.[c] Et non solum impeditur cognatorum[22] coniugacio propter confederacionem[23] amoris[24] inter homines dilatandam, cum amor fuit maior in patriarchis tempore legis veteris,[25] quando cognacio fuit religiose et re-

CAP. II. [a] *cp. cap. I commencement p. 161* [b] *by Innocence III. in the year 1215, cp. cap. 8 X de consang. et affin. 4, 14; C. Schmidt, Essay hist. sur la Societé dans le monde Rom., 1853, § 36* [c] *by means of dispensations from the ecclesiastical law*

[3] ext. *BCDα,E² in mar.* extend mundi *(cr. out) E* [4] consanguincitate *BD* consanguinitate *CE* consangwinitate *α* [5] omn. *BCDα* de *(ud.)* omn. *E* [6] verbi *BCDα* pura *E* [7] trium *BCDα* tercium *E* [8] sit *BCα* sic *DE* [9] soph. *BCDα* sapiencia *(cr. out & ud.)* soph. *E* *in E is add. below the col.:* Sophisticacio in funiculis amoris *E¹* [10] *here begins in E fol. 26ᵃ, above it:* De gradibus coniungandorum *E¹* *from here on in E the red dots, commas and other interpunctions are om.* *in D is add. below the col.:* In affinitate subintrarunt statuta hominum in ewangelio non fundata *D¹* [11] ut *E, C (here corrected)* quod *BDα* [12] consanguincitatis *B* consanguinitatis *CDEα* [13] ista *BCDE* illa *α* [14] dispensatum *BCα* desponsatum *DE* [15] intercurrit *BCα* incurrit *DE* [16] pecunia *Cα* pecuniam *BDE* [17] temp. *in E a corr. word* (le *is add. by E²)* [18] hac *BCDα* *om. E* [19] coniugacio *BCDα* cognacio *E* [20] interdicta *BCDα* introducta *E* [21] sophisticalis *BCDE* zophisticalitas *E* [22] cogn. *BCDα* dei *(cr. out & ud.)* cogn. *E* [23] confederacionem *BCDα* confederacioni *E* [24] amoris *CDEα* hominis amoris *B* [25] maior i. p. t. l. v. *BCDα* maior t. l. v. i. p. *E*

gulariter[26] coniugata pocius propter superbiam atque cupidinem prelatorum. Dicitur enim, quod filii Adam de suis sororibus acceperunt[27] sibi coniuges, sicut oportuit, nec deus istud propter peccatum hominum condempnavit, ymo tempore patriarcharum, ut patet de Abraham, Isaac et Iacob, fuit istud cognatorum coniugium tamquam devota religio observatum.[28] Nam Gen. 28[d] de[29] Iacob legitur, quomodo Isaac precepit sibi: noli accipere coniugem de genere Canaan, sed vade et proficiscere in Mesopotamiam[30] Syrie ad domum[31] Betuel, patris matris tue, et accipe tibi inde uxorem de filiabus Laban, awunculi tui, — quod et religiose factum est, sicut[32] Abraham et Isaac cum talibus sororibus fuerant coniugati, ut patet Gen. 20[e] de Abraham et Sara, quam rex Abimelech voluit propter sui pulcritudinem[33][f] desponsasse, et de Isaac patet Gen. 24[g] et infra de coniugio Isaac et Rebecce.[34] Striccius tamen loquitur lex mosaica de tali coniugio cognatorum, ut patet Levit. 20.[35][h] Semper autem lex nature abhorruit,[36] quod pater et sua filia aut mater et[37] suus filius sint ad invicem coniugati, quia coniugati debent esse consocii, ut patet Gen. 2,[38][i] sed inter patrem et filiam et matrem et filium debet esse subieccio naturalis.

Hoc tamen videtur probabile, quod si desponsacio[39] cognatorum sit licita, est prius licita, antequam a papa ipsa licencia sit concessa. Et conformis est consideracio de affinibus coniugandis[40] et aliter confederatis, ut levantibus baptizatum de fonte.

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[d] *v. 1—2* [e] *v. 12* [f] *as to this use of* sui, *peculiar to W., cp. De Christo et s. Adv. cap. IX:* alteram sui partem; *cap. VII:* post ascensionem sui; *XIII:* sui cum illis societas *and frequently so* [g] *v. 4; 67* [h] *v. 10 ff.* [i] *v. 24*

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[26] regulariter *BCDα* respondenter *(?) E* [27] acceperunt *BCEα* acciperent *D* [28] *in E is add. below the col.:* Coniugium cognatorum quando licitum supra *E¹* [29] de *BCDα* dicitur *(cr. out & ud.)* de *E* [30] *α reads* mesapomiam, *above* po *the copier has corr.* ta [31] ad domum *BCDα* ad domum ad domum *E* [32] sicut *BCDα,E² in mar.* sub *(cr. out) E* [33] pulcritudinem *BCDα,E² in mar.* plenitudinem *(ud.) E* [34] rebecce *BCDE* relicte *α* [35] 20 *α* 26 *BCDE* [36] abhorruit *CE,B¹ in mar., α² in mar. om. BDα* [37] et *BCD,E² in mar.* aut *(cr. out) E* [38] 2⁰ *D* 3⁰ *BCEα* [39] desponsacio *BCDα* dispensacio *E* *in E is add. in mar.:* Licitum ex se *E³* [40] coniugandis *CDEα* coniugandum *B*

Ex istis colligitur,[41] quam periculosum[42] et stultum est imponere hominibus et specialiter mundi principibus, quod non sunt || C fol. 163b ||heredes legittimi propter causas tales humanitus adinventas. Si enim sunt legittimi quoad deum[43] secundum legem suam, scilicet legem gracie, tunc sunt vere legittimi, quomodocunque lex hominum contradicat, et ex eodem patet eorum stulticia, qui volunt dampnare scripta tamquam heretica propter hoc, quod scribuntur in anglico et acute tangunt peccata,[44] que conturbant illam provinciam.[k] Nam possibile est, quod nobilis[45] regina[46] Anglie, soror cesaris,[l] habeat ewangelium in lingwa triplici exaratum, scilicet in lingwa boemica, in lingwa teutonica[47] et latina, et hereticare ipsam[48] propterea implicite[49] foret luciferina superbia.[50] Et sicut[51] Teutonici[52] volunt in isto racionabiliter[53] defendere lingwam propriam,[54] sic et Anglici debent de racione[55] in isto defendere[56] lingwam suam.

[k] *W.'s itinerant preachers and their sermons in English, as well as W.'s own literary activity are here, I believe, alluded to. The itinerant preachers had made Oxfordshire and Leicestershire the centre of their pastoral work, cp. Wilkins, Conc. M. Brit. III, 158 ff.; Fasc. Ziz. 275; Knighton, X Scr. col. 2658 ff.; Walsingham, Hist. Angl. I, 324 ff.; they were at work at Bristol also, cp. Chron. A. de Usk (ed. H. M. Thompson 1876) 3* [l] *Anna, the daughter of Wenzel, King of Bohemia, who was elected Roman King in 1376, Emperor in 1378, came to England at the end of 1381. Shortly after Epiphany 1382 she was married to King Richard II., cp. Walsingham, Hist. Angl. II, 46; 47 ff. On January 14th, the royal rings were exchanged, on the 22d she was coronated as Queen of England (and probably also of France), and on Febr. 8th, the marriage ceremonies and festivals had come to an end, cp. Wright, Pol. Poems, 458; Rymer, Foedera VII, 398 and 343; Höfler, Anna von Luxemburg, 68 ff.*

[41] *in D is add. in mar.:* Nota bene *D*[1] [42] periculosum *BCEα* periculum *D* [43] *in E is add. in mar.:* Legittimi secundum deum *E*[3] [44] *in E is add. below the col.:* Wlgaria scripta confundentes punguntur *E*[1] [45] nobilis *BCDα* nobis *E* [46] regina *CDEα,B*[1] *in mar. om. B* [47] Theutonica *C* teutunica *B* theotunica *DEα* [48] ipsam *BCDα* eam *E* [49] im. *BCDα* eciam im. *E* [50] superbia *CDα* stulticia *BE* [51] sicut *BCDα* sic in isto *E* [52] Theutonici *C* teutunici *B* theotunici *DE* theotonici *α* [53] racionabiliter *BCDα,E*[2] *in mar.* robir *(cr. out) E* [54] li. pro. *BCEα* li. pro. lingwam *D* [55] de racione *BCDα* racionabiliter *E* [56] in i. def. *BCDα* def. in i. *E*

CAP. III.[1]

Tercium autem vinculum caritatis debet esse fortissimum, licet tres[2] persone divine sint pares, quia in isto vinculo contrahitur[3] racio duplicis prioris vinculi.[a]

Omnes enim homines[4] debent esse filii Cristi et sue ecclesie, et hoc est plus quam cognacio naturalis.[5] Cristiani eciam secundum fidem ewangelii Matth. 12[b] faciendo voluntatem divinam sunt fratres, sorores et matres domini[6] Iesu Cristi, ut supra[c] exponitur. Et propter istud vinculum caritatis et non per se[7] propter duo[8] vincula priora sunt homines deo in patria coniugandi.[9] Ideo signanter dicit Cristus Matth. 10:[d] qui amat patrem[10] aut matrem, fratrem vel[11] sororem plus, quam me, non est me dignus.

Et[12] ex ista sentencia colligitur ista benedicta conclusio, quod in quocunque contractu vel causa humana lex dei et causa sua est plus quam lex vel racio alia ponderanda.[13] Nam sicut Cristus est veritas Ioh. 14,[e] sic est[14] et caritas I Ioh. 4.[f] Et utinam legiste[15] [g] intromittentes se de humanis legibus et alii ponentes intromittentes se de humanis[16] contractibus debite crederent et practi·

CAP. III. [a] *cp. above cap. I p. 162 l. 1 ff.* [b] *c. 50* [c] *cp. cap. I p. 164 l. 6 ff.* [d] *v. 37* [e] *v. 6* [f] *v. 7 ff.* [g] *According the terms used in the Middle Ages, the Legists were the teachers of the roman, the Decretalists the teachers of the canonical law, cp. with ref. to this below De Christo et suo Adv. cap. IV*

CAP. III. [1] cap. 3m *BC* 3 *E in mar.* *om. α, D, here the text* tercium autem *etc. runs on without being interrupted* [2] tres *CDEα* triplices *B (the abbreviation is* 3es) [3] contrahitur *E,C¹ in mar.* contrariatur *BCDα* [4] hom. *BCDα* filii *(cr. out & ad.)* hom. *E* [5] *in E is add. above the col.:* Cognacio fraternalis caritativa antecellit naturalem *E¹* [6] domini *CDEα,B¹ in mar.* *om. B* [7] per se *BC* persone *EDα* [8] duo *BCDα* *om. E, but in mar.* 2do *(therefore* secundo) *E²* [9] coniugandi *BE,C¹ in mar.* coniungendi *CDα* [10] patrem *BDE,C¹α¹ in mar.* *om. Cα* [11] fratrem vel *BCDα* et *E* [12] Et *CDEα* *om. B* [13] *in E is add. in mar.:* Lex dei preponderanda in omnibus *E³* [14] est *in α corr. into the text* [15] *in E is add. with mark of ref. below the col.:* Legiste videntur acceptores personarum *E¹* [16] legibus et a. p. i. de hum. *BCDα* *om. E*

zarent[17] hanc fidem ewangelii[18] in suis operibus. Tunc enim non foret tanta accepcio personarum. Scribit enim[19] Iacobus 2° cap.:[h] fratres[20] mei, nolite in personarum accepcione habere fidem domini nostri Iesu Cristi glorie, etenim[21] si introierit in conventum vestrum vir, annulum aureum[22] habens in veste candida, introierit autem[23] et pauper in sordido habitu et intendatis in eum, qui indutus est veste preclara et si ei[24] dixeritis:[25] tu sede hic bene,[26] pauperi autem dicatis: tu sta illic aut sede sub scabello pedum nostrorum,[27] nonne iudicatis apud vosmet ipsos et[28] facti estis iudices cogitacionum iniquarum? Audite, fratres mei dilectissimi, nonne deus[29] elegit pauperes in hoc mundo divites in fide et heredes regni, quod[30] repromisit deus diligentibus se. Vos autem exhonorastis[31] pauperem. Nonne divites per potenciam opprimunt[32] vos[33] et ipsi trahunt[34] vos ad iudicia? Nonne ipsi blasphemant bonum nomen, quod invocatum est super vos?

Ex ista fide scripture colligitur cum facto[35] hominum, quod personarum accepcio est peccatum absconditum,[36] licet publicum nimis perturbans ecclesiam militantem. Que, rogo, racio apud fideles,
|| *C fol. 164a* quod plus ponderant aureum[37] annulum vel aliud || sensibile ornamentum, quam ponderant fidem vel aliam virtutem anime, que infinitum preciosior est[38] quam illud? Aut que cecitas, quod homo preponderet in amore sepe filium dyboli et heredem regni ac dei filium

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[h] *v. 1—7*

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[17] practizarent *BCDα* baptizarent *(cr. out & ud.) E, but in mar.* practicarent *(sic) E²* [18] ewangelii *BCDα* ewangelicam *E* [19] enim *BCDα* autem *E* [20] fr. *BCDα* Ego *(cr. out & ud.)* fr. *E* [21] etenim *BCDα* item *E* [22] ann. aur. *BCDα* aur. ann. *E* [23] int. au. *BCDα* et *(annihilated by erasure)* intr. *E, in mar. is add.* autem *E²* [24] ei *C¹ in mar. om. BCDEα* [25] dixeritis *BCDα* dicatis *E* [26] bene *BCα* bone *D om. E* [27] nostrorum *CE* meorum *BDα* [28] et *BCEα* eciam *D* [29] deus *BCDα,E² in mar.* deuus *(cr. out) E* [30] quod *CE* quibus *BDα* [31] exhonorastis *CE* exhonoratis *BDα* [32] opp. *CDEα* suam opp. *B* [33] vos *BDEα,C¹ in mar. om. C* [34] trahunt *BCE* trahent *Dα* [35] facto *CDE,B¹ in mar., α (add. by the copier above the line) om. Bα* [36] *in D is add. with mark of ref. above the col.:* Accepcio personarum est peccatum absconditum *D¹ in E:* Personarum accepcio peccatum occultum *E¹* [37] aureum *BCE* aurum *α* aure *D* [38] pr. est *BCEα* est pr. *D*

inhonorat?[39] — Non dubium, quin istud[40] sit peccatum[41] abhominabile apud deum. Ideo dicit Petrus Act. 10[i]: in veritate comperi, quoniam non est personarum acceptor deus, sed in omni gente, qui timet deum[42] et operatur iusticiam, acceptus est illi.

Cum ergo omnes cristiani debent sequi Cristum in moribus et non potest esse personarum accepcio apud deum,[43] omnes homines debent illud[44] peccatum, quod est personarum accepcio, precavere.

Unde quidam dubitant, quid est personarum accepcio ad mentem scripture. Et dicitur communiter, quod personarum accepcio[45] est preponderancia unius persone in amore[46] supra aliam, contraria legi dei, et sumitur 'amor' in proposito non solum pro affeccione mentis abscondita, sed pro beneficencia in signo sensibili, sicut est honor, munere vel[47] dignitate impensa homini. Et istarum[48] personarum accepcio est in humanis tradicionibus nimium usitata.

Unde si nullum aliud est[49] periculum, concernens statum pape[50] instituendo provisiones beneficiorum in ecclesia et alia, que papa sibi vendicat tamquam specialis Cristi vicarius, status iste cum suo nomine expiraret. Nam si alicubi sit personarum accepcio, ipsa est originaliter in[51] hoc statu.

Modicum autem est[52] preponere personas in honore mundano, cum omnes[53] tales honores[54] sacerdotes auffugerent, sed preponere ypocritas in dignitate prepositure est nimis realis preponderancia, inficiens ecclesiam militantem.

Sed duo sunt, que moverent[55] moderate talem[56] preposicio-

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[i] *v. 34—35*

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[39] inhonorat *BC,α (corr. from* inhonoret *by the texthand)* inhonoret *E* inhonoraret *D* [40] istud *CDEα* illud *B* [41] sit peccatum *CDα* peccatum sit *B* precium sit *E* [42] deum *BCDα* eum *E* [43] deum *CDα* eum *BE* [44] illud *BCDα* istud *E* [45] quid est p. a. ad m. sc. et d. c. q. p. a. *CDEα,B¹ with mark of ref. above the col.* *om. B* *in C is add. in mar.:* Accepcio personarum *C³* [46] in amore *BCDα* *om. E* [47] honor munere vel *BCDα* horarum in numero vel *E* [48] istarum *Cα* ista *BDE* [49] est *BDα* esset *E² in mar.* *om. E* est et (et *is corr. later into the text by C², therefore* esset) *C* [50] *in E is add. below the col.:* Accepcio personarum demonstratur prelatis in quo *E¹* [51] in *BCDα* in in *E* [52] au. est *BCDα* est au. *E* [53] omnes *E,C¹ in mar.* *om. CDα* [54] hon. *BCDα* homines *(ud.)* hon. *E* [55] moverent *BCDα,E² in mar.* moverunt (runt *cr. out) E* [56] talem *E,C¹ in mar.* *om. BCDα*

nem,[57] scilicet iusticia operis[58] in vivendo et dignitas hominis in ecclesiam[59] regulando. Sicut enim Cristus dicit Ioh. 10:[k] operibus credite, sic prudens qualitas iustorum operum moneret[60] ad hominem honorandum, sed honor talis debet esse cum moderamine non mundanus et semper condicionatus cum supposicione probabili citra fidem. Reges autem et maiores in seculo debet[61] eciam homo cum prudencia honorare,[62] cum deus instituit[63] ipsos deitatis vicarios ad subditos ecclesie cum austeritate et cum moderata potencia mundana[64] regulandum. Et sic[65] David honoravit Saulem[66] racione dignitatis regalis,[67] licet supposuerit[68] hunc[69] dampnandum. Electus est enim in regem[70] ex ordinacione divina ultra papas ex humanis institucionibus introductos[71] et regnavit[72] in gracia secundum presentem iusticiam per biennium,[73] ut dicitur ex scriptura, et postmodum ex simulacione[74] sui officii, licet male fecerit fidelibus multa bona, patet historia I Reg. 15 et 23.

Unde sacerdotes fideles domini reges[75] honorificant prudenter ex doctrina Petri et a statu nimium necessitante ad illam honorificenciam propter periculum[76] se excludunt, cum habeant probabilem suspicionem[77] ad dignificandum sic[78] homines citra fidem. Et sic[79] Iacobus[l] prohibet honores faciendos proporcionaliter homini, ut splendide est ornatus, quia sepe sic ornantur reprobi[80] et in

[k] *v. 38* [l] *Iac. 2, 2 ff.*

[57] preposicionem *BCDα* prepositum *E* [58] op. *BCDα* hominis *(cr. out & ud.)* op. *E* *in C is add. in mar.:* Nota duo moderancia accepcionem personarum C^4 [59] in ecclesiam *BCDα* *om. E* [60] moneret *BCEα* moveret *D* [61] debet *BCEα* debent *D* [62] *in E is add. above the col.:* Reges superiores honorandi prudenter E^1 [63] instituit *BCDE* constituit C^1 (con *is corr. above* in) constituit *α*, *but above* con *the copier has add.* in [64] mundana *E*,C^1 *in mar.* *om. BCDα* [65] sic *BCEα* sicut *D* *in D is add. in mar.:* Nota D^2 [66] Saulem *BCDα* samuelem *(the last stroke of the* m *and the* u *ud., therefore* sauelem) *E* [67] *in E is add. in mar.:* David honoravit Saul E^3 regalis *BCDα* regularis (gularis *ud.)* galis *(therefore* regalis) *E* [68] supp. *D,C, but in mar.* enim C^1 enim supp. *BEα* [69] hunc *CDEα*,B^1 *in mar.* hoc *B* [70] reg. *BCDα* d *(ud.)* regem *E* [71] introductos *CDα* introductas *BE* [72] regnavit *BCDα* regnat *E, but in mar.* uit E^2 [73] biennium *BCDα* vigennium *E* [74] ex simulacione *E*,$C^1$$B^1$ *in mar.* *om. BCDα* [75] reges *CDEα*,B^1 *in mar.* *om. B* [76] *in E is add. in mar.:* Periculum E^2 [77] suspicionem *Cα* supposicionem *BE* suspicacionem *D* sumpcionem B^1 *in mar.* [78] sic *BCDα* *om. E* [79] si *CDα* sic *BE* [80] repr. *CDEα* sic repr. *B*

operibus iniusti, ideo ista non est bona regula ad homines honorandum, quia pocius tunc honoraret homo[81] huiusmodi ornamenta, quam vitam vel opera, que a iusto statu hominis secundum legem domini producuntur. Et tamen[82] debemus ut fidem accipere, quod in omnibus talibus honoribus vicariis debemus deum principaliter honorare.

CAP. IV.[1]

‖ Post istud triplex amoris vinculum a domino exemplatum restat *C fol. 164b*
tangere duplex[2] infame[3] vinculum, a patre mendacii adinventum, scilicet novitatem sectarum quatuor super sectam domini Iesu[4] Cristi, et novitatem suarum tradicionum super legem domini Iesu[5] Cristi.[6]

Quantum ad has sectas quatuor[7] suppono, ipsas esse descriptas alibi[a] et distinctas, scilicet clerum cesareum, monachos, canonicos atque fratres.[b]

Clerus autem cesareus habet papam patronum et legem suam pro regula; monachi dicuntur[8] habere beatum[9] Benedictum et regulam, quam beatus[10] Gregorius compilavit; canonici dicuntur habere beatum[11] Augustinum et regulam, quam ipse fratribus suis et sociis suis compilavit; fratres autem dicúntur habere varios[12] patronos et regulas, cum ipsi[13] ab unitate fidei domini magis distant.[c]

CAP. IV. [a] *in De quatuor Sectis novellis* [b] *cp. De quat. Sect. nov. cap. I commencement* [c] *as to this, cp. De quat. Sect. nov. cap. I commencement; cap. III commencement*

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[81] pocius tunc honoraret homo *C* tunc poc. hon. hom. *B* pocius tunc homo honor. *D* peius honoraret tunc homo *E* pocius hon. homo *α* [82] tamen *CE* cum *Dα,B (?)*.

CAP. IV. [1] cam 4m sequitur *C* quartum *B* 4 *E in mar.* *om. α,D, (here no mark of a new chapter is given, cp. cap. V n. 1)* [2] duplex *BCDα* *om. E* [3] in fame *BCEα* infamie *D* *in D is add. in mar.:* Duplex infamie vinculum a patre infamie adinventum *D¹* [4] Ie. *CD* nostri Ie. *BEα* [5] Iesu *BCα* nostri Ie. *D* *om. E* [6] et novit. s. t. s. l. d. I. C. *BCDα* *om. E* [7] *in E is add. above the col.:* Quatuor secte cum suis patronis describuntur *E¹* [8] dicuntur *CDEα* dicunt *B* [9] beatum *BCDα* *om. E* [10] beatus *BCDα* *om. E* [11] beat. *BCDα,E, but here in mar.* patronum *E²* [12] varios *BCα,E² in mar.* vicarios *D,E (ed.)* [13] ipsi *E,C¹ in mar.* *om. BCDα*

Dictum est insuper,[d] quod omnes hee[14] secte non a deo fulciuntur, sicut[15] secta phariseorum,[16] quam dominus destruxerat[17] paulative.[18] Et multas personas illius secte dilexit ad beatitudinem, quamvis[19] sectam dilexit[20] ad perdicionem. Paulus enim fuit de illa secta, ut patet Phil. 3[e] et[21] Nicodemus fuit de eadem secta, ut patet[22] Ioh. 3,[f] et ambas istas personas, sicut supponitur de multis reliquis, Cristus ad beatitudinem predilexit. Et patet obscuracio cecitatis quorundam, qui arguunt, quod secta fratrum et tres alie precedentes[g] sunt omnino laudabiles, licet quedam persone earum[23] sint religioni[24] sue graviter adversantes. Non, inquiunt, est verisimile, quod iste[25] secte per annos totidem perdurarent,[26] et non foret percepta eorum[27] nequicia per sapientes aliquos[28] ecclesie militantis et claret,[29] inquiunt, ex eorum vita et operibus, quod[30] in sectis istis[31] sunt multe[32] persone graves ad honorem et ornacionem[33] ecclesie militantis.

Sed dictum est diffuse alibi,[h] quod argucie iste non faciunt fidem prudentibus ad[34] ista sectarum genera probandum,[35] quia notum est, quod errores isti potuerunt[36] per tantum temporis[37] et longe amplius per ypocrisim et alias cautelas dyaboli colarari, ut

[d] *in De Fundatione Sect., where not the foundation of the Sects in its first sense, but their foundation in Scri*,*ture is spoken of* [e] *v.* 5 [f] *v. 1* [g] *the clerus cesareus, the monachi and canonici* [h] *in De quat. Sect. novellis cap. IV commencement and conclusion, and in De Fund. Sect., cp. above p. 75*

[14] hee *BCDα* iste *E* [15] sicut *CDEα* scilicet *B* [16] phariseorum *BDEα* philosophorum *C, cp.* phariseorum *as given in cod. C a few lines on (p. 175 l. 2)* [17] *in E is add. below the col.:* Sectam phariseorum Cristus destruxit, personas eius dilexit *E¹* [18] paulative *BCDα* paulate *E* [19] quamvis *CE* quam *BD.α, but here* vis *is add. above it by α²* [20] dilexit *CE,α² corr. into the text om. BDα* [21] et *BCE om. Dα* [22] patet *BCDα om. E* [23] earum *CDEα* eorum *B* [24] religioni *BCEα* religionis *D* [25] iste *BCDα* ille *E* [26] perdurarent *BDα,C here the last* e *is erased* perdurarunt *E* [27] eorum *CDα* earum *BE* [28] aliquos *BDE* alios *Cα* [29] claret *BCα* clare *ED* [30] quod *BCDα* qui *E* [31] istis *BCDα om. E* [32] multe *CDα* multo *BE* [33] ornacionem *BCEα* oneracionem *D* [34] ad *BCDα,E illegibly written, repeated by E² in mar.* [35] probandum *BCDα* apropandum *E* [36] potuerunt *CDE* poterunt *Bα* [37] temporis *BCα* tempus *E,D (corr. from* temporis*)*

notet homo longitudinem temporis secte fratrum[38] et notet celacionem secte phariseorum in lege veteri et celacionem maledicte dotacionis cleri[39] cesarei in lege gracie cum multis aliis erroribus in sectis paganicis ex cautela dyaboli conservatis, et inveniet, quod longe diuturnior error subiacet potestati dyaboli, quam est error, quem quidam vocant novissimum secte fratrum. Ideo ista evidencia non moveret aliquem circumspectum[40] nec est ista persona vel ista persona remurmurans contra errores hos quatuor[i] cum erroribus eis[41] similibus, sed deus[42] excitavit multas personas priores longe plures quam nos cognoscimus,[43] ad invehendum acucius contra[44] illas.[45] [k] Et hec una evidencia moveret[46] fideles ad[47] in ista[48] contrariacione[49] viriliter persistendum: nulla sectarum istarum[50] habet fundacionem[l] ex lege domini Iesu Cristi,[51] ergo nulla earum[52] in corpus ecclesie legittime[53] subintravit. Patet consequencia per illud[54] Ioh. 10:[m] qui[55] non intrat per ostium in ovile ovium, sed ascendit aliunde, ille est fur et latro.

Si ergo aliqua persona[56] istarum sectarum[57] vel eciam[58] quivis dyabolus[59] posset dicere,[60] quod intravit aliqua istarum sectarum per auctoritatem Cristi, qui est ostium domus dei, foret evidencia,[61] quod genus talis secte non foret ad mentem[62] domini

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[i] *viz. the Four Sects* [k] *cp. above De Ordin. Fratrum p. 9[1] ff.*
[l] *in proof of this, W. wrote his De Fundatione Sect.* [m] *v. 1*

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[38] *in E is add. above the col.:* Sectarum vetustas non arguit bonitatem *E[1]*
[39] dotacionis cleri *BDα* dotacio cleri *C* secte tali *(?) E* [40] circ. *BCDα* profectum *(ud.)* circ. *E* [41] eis *CDEα* eius *B* [42] deus *BCDα* *om. E* [43] cognoscimus *CDEα* agnoscimus *B* [44] contra *BCDα* citra *E* [45] illas *CE* illos *BDα* [46] moveret *CDEα* movet *B* [47] ad *DE,C[1]α[2]* *corr. into the text above* in in *B, add. above* ad [48] in ista *Dα* ista *BC* infra *E* [49] contrariacione *CDα* contrariacionem *B* contra racionem *E* [50] s. i. *BCDα* i. s. *E* [51] *in E is add. above the col.:* Secte quatuor non habent fundamentum ex lege Cristi *E[1]*
[52] earum *BCDα,E[2]* *in mar.* eorum *E* [53] legittime *E,C[1]* *in mar.* *om. BCDα*
[54] per illud *E,C[1]* *in mar.* *om. BCDα* [55] qui *BCDα* Et *(cr. out & ud.)* qui *E*
[56] persona *BCDα* *om. E* [57] *D reads as a rule* sect. ist. [58] eciam *BCEα* *om. D* [59] dyabolus *BCDα* istarum sectarum *(ud.)* dyab. *E* [60] docere *BE,C[1]* *(the* o *add. above the* i*)* dicere *CDα* [61] evidencia *BCDα* evidenter *(!) E*
[62] mentem *CD* invicem *BEα*

‖ C fol. 165a fur et latro. Sed cum non potest, evidens ‖ debet esse fideli, quod ista secta[63] remanet fur et latro.[64]

Et sanctitas istorum patronorum scilicet pape Silvestris,[65 n] Benedicti,[66] Augustini, Dominici et Francisci non moveret sciolum ad credendum, quod iste secte fuerunt per dominum[67] introducte, quia certum est ex fide, quod multi sancti ut Petrus, Paulus, filii Zebedei, Magdalene[68] et multi sancciores istis patronis graviter peccaverunt. Si ergo nullus fidelis debet illis in hoc[69] credere, nec fundacioni sue attendere,[70] nisi de quanto ipsi decreverint[71] se secutos fuisse dominum Iesum Cristum, manifestum videtur, quod non debet fuisse evidencia eciam neophito ad credendum, quod iste secte sunt propterea licite sive[72] bone. Et multo evidencius vocata eorum miracula non facerent ad hoc fidem, cum dyabolus habet potestatem facere plura mirabilia, quam eorum aliqui usque hodie perfecerunt.

Iste ergo evidencie topice debent resolvi[73] ad primum principium sive fidem, sed cum non possunt, patet, quod ex illis deficiunt sciolo[74] evidencie concludere, quod iste secte sunt[75] licite, non culpabiliter introducte.

CAP. V.[1]

Sed pro solucione obiectuum[2] laicorum[3] notanda est distinccio istorum quinque conceptuum, scilicet scire, ex fide credere, communiter credere, supponere et dubitare.[4]

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n *Silvester is here also mentioned, because the dotation of the Church is generally connected with his name. W. takes him for this reason as the patron of the clerus cesareus, cp. Suppl. Trial. 407; 413*

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63 secta *CD,α² in mar. om. BEα* 64 Sed cum non p. e. d. e. f. q. i. s. r. f. et latro *CDα om. BE* 65 Silvestris *BCDE* Silvestri *α* 66 Bene. *CDα* et Bene. *BE* 67 dominum *BCDα* deum *E* 68 Magdaleno *CDEα* Magdalena *B* 69 illis in hoc *CD* in hoc illis *Eα* eis in hoc *B* 70 nec fundacioni sue attendere *C¹ in mar.* nec fund. sue in hoc att. *E om. BCDα* 71 ipsi decreverint *BCDα* docuerit *E* 72 sive *in α a corr. word* 73 *in E is add. in mar.:* Evidencie opice rense *(!)* solverentur *E³* 74 sciolo *Cα* sciole *BE,C¹ (*e *corr. above* o) sciolo *(?* a) D 75 i. se. su. *CDEα* i. su. se. *B*

CAP. V. 1 cap. 5m *C* Quintum *B* 5 *in mar. E* II *in mar. D¹ (in D the single chapters are not marked out, instead of it the main parts of the Tract are indicated by roman figures, cp. cap. IX) om. α* 2 obiectuum *BCDα* obiectorum *E* 3 laicorum *CDE* laycorum *α* laiicorum *Bα* 4 scire, ex fide cr., co. cr., sup.,

Ex fide autem credimus[5] illas veritates generi humano quantum ad raciones[6] absconditas, que in fide scripture patule ostenduntur. Credulitate autem simplici[7] tali[8] sentencie adheretur,[9] que non habet demonstracionem sensualem, noticiam vel fidem catholicam, qua probetur. Et tali sentencie consentit unus et dissentit reliquus, et ille[10] vocantur sentencie[11] citra fidem, et error magnus est homines circa sentencias illas contendere tamquam fidem,[12] ut de illis patronis predictis non est fides, quod in celestibus sunt beati, cum non sequitur: papa ipsos canonizat[13] vel determinat,[14] quod est ita,[15] ergo verum.[16] De Augustino autem evidenter suppono, quod sit beatus in patria propter evidencias, quas[17] ex scripturis suis elicui. De Benedicto autem hoc idem suppono plus leviter. Et hoc idem qui volunt possunt supponere de Dominico et Francisco. Et evidencius est istud de sectis[18] patronos istos sequentibus,[19] ut multis hominibus non est fides, quod de tota secta fratrum[20] aliquis est beatus. Alii tamen[21] supponunt hoc tamquam eis probabile, aliqui dubitant, et aliqui supponunt contrarium tamquam verum. Circa tales autem[22] sentencias non est fidelis[23] contendere, sed relictis heresibus in fide vivere domini Iesu Cristi.

Unde videtur magna prudencia evacuare tales contenciones[24] ab hominibus et monere, quod tales evidencie non ipsos[25] stabiliant in data sentencia tamquam fide, ut multis non est evidens, quod

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et dub. *Cα* scire. ex f. cr. cr. ca. sup. et dub. *BD* scire ex fide, cred. com., credere. supponere. dubitare *E* *in E is add. with mark of ref. below the col.:* Differunt scire ex fide credere, credere. supponere. dubitare *(sic) E*[1] *likewise in D below col. 172*[a]*:* scire, ex fide credere, communiter credere supponere et dubitare *D*[1] [5] *in D is add. in mar.:* Ex fide credimus *D*[1] [6] raciones *CDEα* racionem *B* [7] *in E is add. in mar.:* Credulitas simplex que *E*[3] *in D in mar.:* Credulitate adheretur simplicitali sentencie *D*[1] [8] tali *BCDα* taliter *E* [9] adheretur *BCDα* adhereretur *E* [10] ille *BCDα* iste *E* [11] v. s. *BCEα* s. v. *D* [12] *in α is add. in mar.:* Nota *α*[2] [13] canonizat *BCDα* canonizavit *E* *in E is add. in mar.:* Canonizacio *E*[3] [14] determinat *CDα* determinavit *E* declarat *B* [15] ita *BCDE* ista *α* [16] verum *BCDE* est verum *α* [17] quas *BCDα,E*[2] *in mar.* has *(cr. out) E* [18] de sectis *BCEα* *om. D* [19] *to this place refers probably the gloss in E below the col.:* Patroni sectarum si sancti *E*[1] [20] fratrum *E,C*[1] *in mar.* trium *BDα, C ad.* [21] tamen *BCDα* autem *E* [22] tales autem *CDα* autem tales *E* tales *B* [23] fidelis *CDEα* fideli *B* [24] contenciones *BCDα,E*[2] *in mar.* condiciones *(cr. out) E* [25] ipsos *CDEα* ipsas *B*

aliquis de istis[26] sectis quatuor sit beatus, sed est illis evidens citra fidem, quod omnes illi et singuli ex ypocrisi et ingratitudine, qua deserunt[27] sectam Cristi pro suo tempore[28] sunt[29] dampnati. Nolunt[30] tamen circa istud contendere tamquam fidem. De multis tamen,[31] qui olym fuerunt in istis sectis, possunt fideles supponere, quod ipsas in fine[32] relinquerant[33] et propter bona opera de genere, que fecerunt,[a] habebant finalem graciam, ut in patria sint beati. Et credi potest evidencius multis hominibus, quod multi simplices, qui non in aliquam[34] istarum sectarum intraverant,[35] ex sanctitate vite modo in patria sunt beati.

Sed relictis istis evidenciis citra fidem potest fidelis in isto || *C fol. 165b* tamquam in fide quiescere, || quod semper manet[36] militans ecclesia et[37] quod semper aliqua persona, licet ipsam ignoraverit, est salvanda. Et sic est fides[38] circa[39] genus militancium et de partibus istorum[40] militancium est opinio citra fidem, nec debet prudens ecclesia graviter ferre istam sentenciam fideliter declaratam, quia certum est, quod inter alios errores cecantes ecclesiam[41] hic est unus, quod sepe capitur probabile, ymo impossibile ex multitudine sibi adherencium tamquam fides, ut multi ut[42] fidem capiunt,[43] quod quilibet papa pro tempore suo[44] sit beatissimus et quod peccare non poterit a fide devians,[b] sed si aliquid[45] diffinierit,[46] illud est tamquam fides a cunctis catholicis defendendum.[c] Et in istum

CAP. V. [a] *see Trial.* 362 [b] *cp. the same idea expressed in nearly the same terms De Christo et suo Adv. cap. X* [c] *cp. the same assertion ibid.*

[26] istis *BCEα* hiis *D* [27] deserunt *BCDα,E² in mar.* de secta *(cr. out) E* [28] tempore *BCDα, E² in mar.* opere *(cr. out) E* [29] sunt *CEα* sint *BD* [30] nolunt *BDα* volunt *EC(?)* [31] tamen *BCDα,E² in mar.* *om. E* [32] fine *ED,C¹ in mar.* fide *Bα,C (ud.)* [33] relinquerant *CDE (the Perfect. frequently occurs in this form in the codd.)* reliquerant *Bα* [34] aliquam *BCα* aliqua *DE* [35] intraverant *BCEα* intraverunt *D* *in E is add. above the col.:* Simplices qui nullam sectam intrarunt beati in patria *E¹* [36] manet *CDα* maneat *E* *om. B* [37] et *E,C¹ corr. into the text* *om. BCDα* [38] fides *BDEα, C ud.* finis *C¹ in mar.* [39] circa *CDα* citra *BE* [40] istorum *CDα* illorum *BE* [41] *in E is add. with mark of ref. below the col.:* Error ecclesiasticus cum creditur multitudini adherencium sibi *E¹* [42] ut *CDα,B¹ (? corr. into the text)* *om. BE* [43] *in E is add. with mark of ref. above the col.:* Error de prelatis *E¹* [44] t. s. *CE* s. t. *BDα* [45] aliquid *BCEα* aliquis *D* [46] diff. *BCDE* diffinient *(cr. out)* diffinierit *α*

errorem lapsi sunt multi de istis duobus papis[d] in devium, quia cautela dyaboli est ex[47] minore errore profundare militantes in heresim ampliorem. Ideo salubre foret fidelibus,[48] se tenere[49] de istis papis et militantibus aliis ac mortuis citra fidem, ut viator non acceptat[50] istud, quod ipse salvabitur,[51] tamquam fidem nec[52] appetit prudenter,[53] quod aliquis illud[54] credat ut fidem, sed contentatur, quod ipsemet illud speret et credat probabiliter citra fidem et quod alii, ut habent evidenciam de sua vita, supponant hoc vel eius contrarium aut dubitent de eodem.[55] Et stultus foret, qui emungeret ultra istam sentenciam credulitatem vel supposicionem fidelium tamquam fidem.

Ideo quidam prudenter tacent in istis sentenciis instar Cristi, quia apparet illis, quod infidele est multas ventilatas sentencias asserere tamquam fidem.[56]

CAP. VI.[1]

Sed cum conversantes, quorum opera et gesta sunt eis cognita, non debent ipsa[2] accipere tamquam neutra, videtur considerandum sollicite, quod iste quatuor[a] sunt[3] contrarie secte Cristi.[4] Qui[5] autem ex gracia habent[6] in fine dierum suorum resipiscenciam, quod tam ingrate deserunt[7] sectam Cristi et quod fuerunt involuti tot erroribus, nullus debet temere diffinire.[8] Sed licet arguere, quod una pars sit magis probabilis[9] propter maiora pericula pre-

[d] *Urban VI. and Clement VII.; the Great Schism has taken place* *CAP. VI.* [a] *viz.* secte

[47] ex *BCDα* *om. E* [48] fid. *BCDα* consilium *(cr. out)* fid. *E* [49] se tenere *BCDα* secenere *E* [50] acceptat *BCEα* acceptet *D* [51] sal. *in B an ambiguous abbreviation* [52] nec *BCDα* *om. E* [53] prud. *BCDα* vero prud. *E* [54] illud *BCDα* istud *E* [55] de eodem *CDEα* *om. B* [56] Ideo quidam — tamquam fidem *BCDα* *om. E*

CAP. VI. [1] 6m *C* cap. sextum *B* 6 *E (in mar.)* *om. Dα* [2] ipsa *BCDα* ipsam *E* [3] sunt *BCE* secte sunt *Dα* [4] secte Cristi *BCDα* Cristo *E* [5] qui *BCDα* quod *E* [6] ex gr. h. *BCDα* h. ex gr. *E* [7] deserunt *CDEα* deseruerunt *B* [8] *in E is add. with mark of ref. below the col.:* Temere diffinire periculosum de sectis *E*[1] [9] probabilis *BCDα* probabiliter *E*

cavenda semper tenendo fidem scripture ut[10] basim et veritates condicionatas, quod si tales sic[11] vel sic discesserint,[12] tunc sunt salvati in beatitudine[13] vel dampnati.

Videtur ergo, quod iste quatuor secte et specialiter secta[14] fratrum de dampnacionis periculo[15] sunt suspecte, quia iuxta dicta[16] superius[b] non in toto corpore sacre scripture[17] vel topice sunt fundate et tunc erunt[18] fures et latrones, tamquam aborigines in ecclesia condempnande et ille, cui evidet,[19] quod in[20] fine ab istis erroribus resipiscunt,[21] habet evidenciam, quod iste secte et persone earum sunt infallibiliter condempnande et sic nullum aut paucum[22] honorem facit[23] hiis sectis vel principibus eorundem, licet multum honorarent[24] illos, dum sectas illas novellas desererent et caperent fideliter sectam Cristi. Et genus perfeccionis[25] laudabilis,[26] latens in istis personis, quas reputamus reprobas, honoramus[27] ut naturam humanam et subtilitatem ingenii, laudamus supra bestias in dampnatis.

Et sic intelligunt[28] quidam illud I Pet. 2:[c] omnes honorate, sed equivocum valde est hoc individuum secundum racionem sibi propriam[29] honorare[30] et genus vel racionem consequentem in ipso absconditam honorare.[31] Ideo dicunt periti logici, quod non repugnat eandem personam secundum racionem[32] unam contempnere et secundum aliam honorare,[33] cum secundum peritos[34] philosophos honor

[b] *cp. above cap. IV p. 175; 174; with ref. to the whole passage De Fund. Sect.* [c] *v. 17*

[10] ut *BCDα* et *E* [11] sic *BCDα* sit *E* [12] discesserint *CDEα* decesserunt *B* [13] in beat. *BCDα,E² in mar.* multitudine *(cr. out & ud.) E* [14] secta *BCDα* secte *E* [15] peric. *BCEα om. D* [16] dicta *BCDα* scripta *E²* *om. E* [17] quia iuxta d. s. n. in t. c. s. sc. *BCDα,E² with mark of ref. above the col.* *om. E* [18] erunt *E,C¹ in mar.* sunt *D* *om. BCα* [19] et ille c. e. *BCDα,E² in mar.* *om. E* [20] in *BCE* non in *Dα* [21] resipiscunt *BCDα* resipiscent *E* [22] n. a. p. *BCDα* p. a. n. *E* [23] facit *BCDα,E² in mar.* faciunt *(cr. out) E* [24] honorarent *BCDα* honoraret *E* [25] perfeccionis *BCDα* perfeccicionis *E* [26] laudabilis *BCEα* laudantes *D* [27] honoramus *CDEα* honoravimus *B* [28] intelligunt *BCα* intelligit *E* intelligut *D (compend. om.)* [29] propriam *BCEα* impropriam *D* [30] honorare *BCDα* honoare *E (sic)* [31] hon. *CDEα* in ipso hon. *B* [32] racionem *BCDα* racioni *E* [33] *in D is add. above the col.:* Honor quid sit *D¹* *in E is add. below the col.:* Honorare licet secundum unam racionem et secundum aliam non *E¹* [34] per. *CDEα* *om. B*

sit premium virtutis et secundum theologos omnis prescitus est contemptibilis[35] || secundum quod est proditor dei sui. || *C fol. 166a*

Sed dimissis istis aliis[36] addenda videtur alia racio, que dat fidem fidelibus, ut despiciant[37] istas sectas et specialiter quartam sectam fratrum, que videtur cum fundacione maiori[38] et subtiliori[39] cautela[40] dyaboli introducta.[41 d] Nam non licet aliquid legi dei[42] superaddere vel subtrahere,[43] quo inficiat[44] vel diminuat illam legem. Sed sic faciunt omnes iste secte, et fratrum specialiter, ergo de tanto sunt odibiles legi dei.

Ex quo sequitur, si in isto sunt[45] pertinaces, quod sunt[46] manifesti heretici.[47] Omnes enim observant et defendunt suas regulas,[48] ac si forent lex dei, sed manifestum est, quod ab hac lege deficiunt, cum aliter non forent a superioribus, ut papis, taliter[49] confirmande.

Ideo videtur, quod superaddunt tamquam[50] sibi[51] equivalens legi dei[52] nec aliter specialiter observarent suam regulam, sed indifferenter foret a cristiano quolibet observanda. Cui sentencie secte iste contradicunt reciproce, et contradicit[53] patule fides Cristi. Unde pro assumpto scribitur Deut. 4:[54 e] non addetis[55] ad verbum, quod ego[56] vobis loquor, nec auferetis ex[57] eo, et idem 12 in fine,[f] ubi manifestum est, quod hee secte addunt ad verbum domini tam-

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[d] *With ref. to this passage, cp. above p. 57 l. 17 ff. and Arnold I, 274.* [e] *v. 2* [f] *v. 32*

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[35] contemptibilis *BEC*^{1} contempnibilis *Dα,C, but here* ni *ud., above it* ti *by C*^{1} [36] d. i. a. *BCDα* i. a. d. *E* [37] despiciant *BCEα* despiciat *D* [38] maiori *CEα* maior *BD* [39] subtiliori *CEα* subtilior *BD* [40] caut. *CDEα* et sub *(cr. out)* caut. *B* [41] *in E is add. in mar.:* Fratrum secta infundabilior *E*^{3} [42] dei *EC*^{1} communi *BDα,C (ud.)* [43] *in D is add. below the col.:* Non licet aliquid legi communi superaddere vel subtrahere *D*^{1} [44] inficiat *E,C (?)* imperficiat *BDα,C* (per *ud.)* [45] sunt *CDα* sint *BE* [46] sunt *BCDα* sint *E* [47] m. h. *BCDα* h. m. *E* [48] *in E is add. in mar.:* Regule defenduntur scilicet*(?) E*^{3} [49] taliter *CDEα,B*^{1} *in mar.* *om. B* [50] tamq. *in E corr. into the text with a new ink* [51] sibi *in α inserted later by the texthand* [52] *in E is add. in mar.:* Superaddicio mala *E*^{3} [53] contradicit *BCEα* contradicet *D* [54] 4 *Dα* 6 *BCE* [55] *in D is add. in mar.:* Addere *D*^{2} [56] ego *BCDα* *om. E* [57] ex *BCDα* ab *E*

quam fidem,[g] nec dubium, quin[58] a verbis suis aufferunt effectualiter observanda,[59] cum ex fide scripture[60] sit tota capacitas hominis occupanda. Ipsi autem superaddunt novas regulas, quas diligencius quam fidem ewangelicam se asserunt servaturos[61] et Prov. 30[62][h] sic scribitur: omnis sermo domini ignitus clipeus est omnibus sperantibus in se, nec[63] addas quidquam verbis illius, ne arguaris[64] inveniarisque[65] mendax.[66]

Quamvis autem glosa consona posset[67] addi verbis domini[68] et alie veritates extranee a lege domini possunt dici, tamen blasphemum est asserere quidquam contrarium illis[69] addi[70] vel pacificari illis in auctoritate aliam extraneam veritatem. Et ad idem vadit Pauli sentencia Gal. 1:[i] sed licet nos[71] aut angelus de celo ewangelizet vobis preter quam quod[72] ewangelizavimus vobis, anathema sit, et sequitur: si quis vobis[73] ewangelizaverit preter illud,[74] quod accepistis, anathema sit, ubi patet, apostolum intendere, quod integram fidem catholicam[75] illis sicut aliis gentibus predicarunt; intelligit[76] eciam per 'aliud quam ewangelizaverit[77] illi populo'[78] contrarium sentencie vel[79] ab illa extraneum, quam illi populo predicavit.

Et cum patet, quod fratrum regula et regule alie in illis sectis

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[g] *viz. their traditions and rules, cp. below p. 183 l. 8 ff.; 182 l. 3 and above cap. IV p. 173* [h] *v. 5—6* [i] *v. 8—9*

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[58] quin *BCDα* *om. E* [59] observanda *BCEα* observandi *(?* e) *D* [60] scripture *BCDα,E*[2] *in mar.* *om. E* [61] servaturos *BDEα* servaturas *C* [62] 30 *BCDα* 3 *E* [63] nec *E,C*[1] *(corr. from* ne) non *B* ne *CDα* [64] ne arguaris *E*[2] *in mar., C*[1] *corr. from* et arguaris et arguatis *(?) B* et arguaris *Dα* armiens *(? cr. out) E* et *(ud.)* arguaris *C* [65] inveniarisque *D* invenierisque *Cα* et inveniaris *E* invenieris *B* [66] me. *CDEα* quod me. *B* [67] posset *BCDα* possit *E* [68] *in E is add. above the col.:* Gloza consona, veritates non contrarie possunt addi legi *E*[1] [69] illis *CDα* illi *B (the end-*s *has been erased)* illis v (v *cr. out) E* [70] *in E is add. in mar.:* Blasphemum contrarium addere *E*[3] [71] nos *Dα* *om. BCE* [72] quod *BCD,E*[2] *in mar., in α inserted later by the texthand* *om. Eα* [73] vobis *BCDα,E*[2] *in mar.* *om. E* [74] illud *BCE* id *Dα* [75] *in E is add. in mar.:* Integram fidem docuit *(?* docet) apostolus *E*[3] [76] intelligit *E,C*[1] *in mar.* intendit *BCDα* [77] ewangelizaverit *BCDα* ewangelizat *E* [78] populo *BCDα,E*[2] *in mar.* *om. E* [79] vel *BCDα* ut *E*

noviter introducte sunt ad illum[80] sensum alie, quam ewangelizacio ab apostolo[81] predicata, ymo presumpta[82] parificari[83] ewangeliis apostolicis[84] et sub tanta pena[85] illis hominibus observanda, videtur, quod sunt contrarie fidei scripture apostoli in hac parte. Et Apoc. ultimo[k] fides scripture sic loquitur: si quis apposuerit ad hoc,[86] apponet deus super illum plagas scriptas[87] in libro isto, si[88] quis diminuerit[89] de verbis libri prophecie huius, auferet deus partem eius de libro vite. Sed creditur[90] ex facto[91] patente, quod secte iste addunt fabulas mendaces[92] tamquam propheticas,[93] ut Apokalipsim domini observandas.[94] Sed quis dubitat, quin tunc sunt secte iste,[95] ut hic dicitur, puniende et[96] pari evidencia, qua sic addunt vel minuunt a parte aliqua[97] legis domini dei?[98]

Cum ergo regule[99] sue sunt ‖ tam enormiter addite[100] legi dei ‖ C fol. 166b
et sue observancie innuunt alia subtrahenda, manifeste videtur, quod sunt effectualiter contrarie legi dei,[101] et sic secte iste videntur esse[102] manifeste heretice, cum effectualiter parificant, sed blaspheme, patronorum[103] suorum regulas regulis salvatoris.

Et idem[104] videtur de presumptis suis eleccionibus, quibus postposito mandato domini preferunt minus bonum.

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[k] *v. 18—19*

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[80] ad illum *CDEα, B^1 in mar. om. B* [81] apostolo *E,C^1 (above* is *an* o *is corr.)* apostolis *BDα,C* (is *ud.)* [82] predicata ymo presumpta *BCα* predicanda *(cr. out & ud.)* predicata presumpta *D* predicata Immo *(the first* m *ud.)* pre assumpta *E* [83] parificari *BCDα* parificavi *E* [84] *in E is add. below the col.:* Parificari ewangeliis nulla regula fratrum potest *E^1* [85] pena *CDEα,B^1 in mar. om. B* [86] ad hoc *CE,B^1 in mar.* ad hec *Dα om. B* [87] scr. *CDα* suas scr. *BE* [88] si *BCDα* Et si *E* [89] diminuerit *BCEα* diminuet *D* [90] creditur *BCDα* credunt *E* [91] facto *BCDα* sco *(cr. out) E* [92] fabulas mendaces *BCDα* fabulas et mendacia *E* [93] *in E is add. above the col.:* Addunt secte fabulas, mendacia *E^1* propheticas *CDα* prophecias *BE* [94] obs. *BCDα* dicitur *(ud.)* obs. *E* [95] iste *E,C^1 (corr. into the text) om. BCDα* [96] et *BCDα* vel *E* [97] aliqua *E,C^1 (corr. into the text) om. BCDα* [98] domini dei *CDα* dei *BE* [99] regula *BCDα,E^2 in mar.* regule *(cr. out) E* [100] addite *BE* abdite *CDα* [101] et sue obs. — contr. legi dei *BCDα om. E* [102] esse *BCDα,E^2 in mar. om. E* [103] patronorum *BCDα,E^2 in mar.* paternorum *(cr. out) E, the writer evidently either did not understand the abbreviation, or read his original carelessly* [104] idem *BCDα* illud *E*

Tales sunt[105] multe evidencie fideles, que[106] racionabiliter despicerent istas sectas.

CAP. VII.[1]

Restat videre de precipua excellencia istarum sectarum quatuor, qua extollunt[2] se immerito super quoscunque cristianos de simplici secta Cristi.[3]

Dicunt enim, quod habent unum patronum prepositum aut patrem,[4] cui vovent obedienciam et simpliciter[5] subiciunt suam[6] voluntatem.[7] Et in isto gradu[8] humilitatis[9] non potest aliquis equiparari de secta simplici cristiana. Et sicut Caiphas ignorans[10] vocem propriam verum dixit, sic iste secte in aliquo verum dicunt. Nam Cristus non potuit sic homini obligari nec[11] apostolis suis licuit, cum Cristus ordinavit contrarium; quomodo possunt[12] aliqui equiparari immerito[13] stultis ex hoc, quod taliter hominibus obligantur?

Similiter tales prepositi, si[14] quandoque ad tempus[15] sint boni; verum tamen sepe contingit[16] ex innaturali[17] statu gignente superbiam, quod statim postmodum sunt[18] perversi, vel si unus per totam suam[19] periodum sit humilitate et paciencia[20] decoratus, communiter succedit alius,[21] qui est dyabolus incarnatus. Que ergo[22] prudencia est tali dyabolo[23] obligari? Videtur, quod nulla nisi incurrendo

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[105] sunt *BCDα* aut *E* [106] que *BCE* qūa *Dα*

CAP. VII. [1] cam 7um *C,E (? auc num)* Septimum *B om. Da* [2] extollunt *CDEα* excellunt *(corr. from* extollunt) *B* [3] Cristi *BCDα* Iesu Cristi *E* [4] patronum prep. aut patrem *BCDα* prepositum patrem aut patronum *E* [5] simpliciter *BCDα,E² in mar. om. E* [6] subi. suam *BCDα* suam subi. *E* [7] *in E is add. below the col.:* Obligacio patrono errabili non bona E[1] [8] gradu *CDEα* genere *B* [9] humilitatis *BCDα,E² in mar. om. E* [10] ignorans *BCEα* ignarius *D* [11] nec *BCDEα* nam *C¹ (corr. above* nec*)* [12] po. *BCDα* ergo po. *E* [13] in merito *BCDα* in mente *E* [14] si *BCDα* et si *E* [15] tempus *BCDα,E² in mar.* te *(cr. out) E* [16] contingit *CD* contigit *BEα* [17] in naturali *CDEα* naturali *B, but* in *is add. at the head* [18] sunt *CE* sint *BDα* [19] totam suam *BCDα* totum suum *E* [20] paciencia *CDα* prudencia *EB* [21] *in E the end-*s *of* alius *is add. by E²* [22] ergo *in E is add. in mar. after* est *which is cr. out* [23] dyabolo *BDEα* dyaboli *C*

malediccionem, quam Ieremias prophetat 17[24] cap.:[a] maledictus vir, qui confidit[25] in homine et ponit carnem brachium suum, ut a deo recedat cor eius. — Similiter peccatum notabile est perdere libertatem,[26] quam Cristus concesserat, et irracionabiliter hominibus obligari,[27] cum hoc excedit alias servitutes,[28] sed hoc contingit[29] in obligacione ista per dyabolum introducta, igitur[30] est periculosa et stulta. Nam integra obligacio Cristo[31] foret securior, melior et in sua sinceritate[32] sufficiencior. Securior quidem, quia, cum ille patronus non potest obligato suo deficere, cum necessaria sit ubique, nec in mandato[33] potest peccare, videtur stulticia sic[34] ipsum[35] deserere vel saltem obligacionem inducere,[36] que tam faciliter diminueret legem suam. Faciliter potest quidem contingere, quod Cristus unum[37] precipiat et ipse mandet contrarium, ut contingit de papa, episcopo et abbate et quocunque minori preposito.

Ex eodem patet obligacionis illius[38] stulticia,[39] cum obligatus deserit tantum bonum et tam gratis et infructuose elegit[40] tantum malum. Et[41] quoad sufficienciam patet ex obediencia apostolica et Cristi sufficiencia, quomodo obligacio sincere[42] facta Cristo sit undiquaque[43] sufficiencior, cum omne opus meritorium sub illa obligacione potest fieri. Et contingit faciliter obedienciarios sub obligacione alia condempnari.

Pro declaracione autem assumptorum in ista materia suppono,

CAP. VII. [a] *v.* 5

[24] 17° *BE,C*[1] *(the* 1 *inserted above* 2), *α*[1] 27° *CDα* [25] confidit *CDEα* inconfidit *B* [26] *in D is add. below the col.:* Peccatum similiter notabile perdere libertatem quam Cristus concesserat *D*[1] [27] *in E is add. above the col.:* Stultum est obligari patrono *E*[1] [28] serv. *BCDα* virtutes *(ud.)* serv. *E* [29] contingit *CDα* contigit *BE* [30] igitur *BCDα* ergo *E* [31] Cristo *BCDα* deo *E* [32] sinc. su. *BCDA* sufficiencia *(ud.)* sinc. su. *E* *in E is add. above the col.:* Obligacio facta deo securior melior sufficiencior *E*[1] *in D:* Obligacio Cristo foret securior melior *D*[1] [33] mandato *CDEα* mandata *B* [34] sic *BCDα*, *E*[2] *in mar.* *om. E* [35] s. i. *BCDα* i. s. *E* [36] inducere *E,C*[1] *in mar.* *om. BCDα* *in E is add. below the col.:* Stultum est obligari patrono *E*[1], *cp. above n.* 27 [37] unum *in B repeated* [38] illius *BCDα* istius *E* [39] *in E is add. in mar.:* Stulticia obligacionis *E*[3] [40] elegit *BCDE* eligit *α* [41] Et *CDEα* Ex *B* [42] sincere *BCDα,E (cr. out)* singulare *E*[2] *in mar.* [43] undiquaque *CDα* undique *E* umquam *B*

quod quilibet talis prepositus prescitus sit unus dyabolus,[44] sicut Cristus dicit de Scarioth Ioh. 6,[b] et apud Cristum non potest esse accepcio personarum. Similiter I Reg. 25[c] de Nabal[45] Carmelo legitur,[46] quod erat vir durus et pessimus et maliciosus et consequenter,[47] quod erat filius[48] Belial, et[49] III Reg. 21[d] legitur, quo- || *C fol. 167a* modo duo viri, filii Belial, adducti sunt || in falsum testimonium contra Naboth, et Act. 13[e] Paulus vocat Bar Iehu[50] magum, plenum omni dolo et omni fallacia, filium dyaboli et inimicum omnis iusticie.

Et tales sunt hodie multi[51] prepositi, quibus religiosi novi privati gracia[52] obligantur. Si ergo Belial interpretatur apostata,[53] patet, quod multi tales prepositi Belial sunt apostate, quoad ordinem domini Iesu[54] Cristi. Nam papa potest precipere filiis suis fideles fratres suos occidere sine causa, et ad[55] istud fingere[56] blasphemum mendacium de indulgenciis Iesu Cristi. Et abbas vel prior privatus potest contra Cristi regulam obligare suum subditum,[57] ut emat symoniace ecclesiam vel temporalem redditum. Et sic de impedimentis plurimis[58] sequele[59] domini Iesu Cristi.

Ideo dicunt quidam, quod nimis infidele est obligari tali dyabolo, cum idem sit istud et verbum sancti spiritus deserere, dictum Psal. 30:[60][f] in manus tuas, domine, commendo spiritum meum, redemisti me, domine deus veritatis, et implicando dicere: in manus tuas, princeps huius seculi, commendo spiritum meum, seduxisti me, pater mendacii et origo magne falsitatis.

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[b] *v. 70* [c] *I Sam. 25, 3* [d] *I Kön. 21, 13* [e] *v. 10* [f] *Ps. 31, 6*

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[44] *in E is add. below the col.:* Prepositus prescitus est dyabolus belial etc. E^1 *in D is add. below the col.:* Prepositus prescitus est dyabolus D^1 [45] nabal *CDα* nabel *BE* [46] legitur *in E in mar. by the texthand* [47] consequenter *CDEα* per consequens *B, but* per *is erased, and traces of erasure are still to be seen in* ens [48] erat fil. *BCDα* fil. fuit *E* [49] et *BCDα* *om. E* [50] *in α reads* barien *(not* barieu) [51] h. m. *BCDα* m. h. *E,*C^1 *here transposed by marks* [52] gracia *BCDα,*E^2 *in mar.* ga *(cr. out & ud.) E* [53] *in E is add. in mar.:* Belial apostata E^3 [54] Iesu *CDα* nostri Iesu *BE* [55] ad *BCEα* *om. D* [56] fingere *BCDα* fingi *E* [57] *in E is add. with mark of ref. above the col.:* Obligacio preposito claustrali reprehenditur E^1 [58] plurimis *CDEα* pluribus *B* [59] sequele *BCEα* sequale *D* [60] 30° *CD* 3° *EBα*

Ideo rogant quidam fideles a tali[61] obligacione et obediencia per deum[62] liberari.

Ideo dicunt quidam, quod tales religiones[63] private habent[64] proprium,[65] religionem Cristi tollere[66] sive minuere, et religionem anticristi cum suis proprietatibus dilatare,[67] sed Iac. 1[g] dicitur: huius vana est religio. Et sicut[68] dicit apostolus,[h] tales prepositi sunt pleni communiter[69] omni dolo nec excusantur, qui[70] adorant falsos deos, cum sic deserendo legem Cristi implicant se tradicionibus[71] anticristi.

CAP. VIII.[1]

Superest[2] videre de mendicacione, quam introduxerat novissima secta fratrum. Et ne laboremus in equivocis,[a] suppono, quod non loquamur de mendicacione facta deo specialiter, modo, quo Augustinus declarat,[b] quod omnis viator est mendicus dei,[3] dum necessitatur dicere: panem nostrum cottidianum da nobis hodie; nec de[4] mendicacione innuitiva, facta[5] homini pro se vel alio, modo, quo

[g] *v. 26* [h] *cp. Act. 13, 10*

CAP. VIII. [a] *cp. the same idea* Trial. *341* [b] *cp. Augustini Opp. (Ed. of the Benedict.) Tom. V, Serm. LXXXIII de verb. Matth 18, p. 448 D: Petit te mendicus, et tu es Dei mendicus. Omnes enim, quando oramus, mendici Dei sumus; cp. ibid. Sermo LIII p. 312 D: Mendicum hominem audis, mendicus ipse Dei es; ibid. Sermo LIV p. 326: Quando dicis: panem nostr. quot. da nob. hod. profiteris te mendicum Dei; also ibid. Serm. LXI p. 353, C and Serm. CXXIII p. 602, G: Quantumvis habeas, quicunque dives es, Dei mendicus es. See also* Trial. *341*

[61] a tali *BCDα,E*[2] *in mar.* *om. E* [62] per deum *CE,B*[1] *in mar.* per dominum *Dα* *om. B* [63] relig. *in B add. by B*[1] *below* obligaciones *(cr. out)* [64] habent *BCDα,E*[2] *in mar.* faciunt *(cr. out) E* [65] proprium *BCDα* propriam *E* [66] tollere *CDEα* colere *B* [67] dilatare *CDEα* dilacerare *B* [68] sicut *BCDα* sic *E* [69] pl. co. *CDα* co. pl. *BE* [70] qui *BCDα* quando *E* [71] trad. *BCDα* sic trad. *E*

CAP. VIII. [1] Ca[m].8 *C* Octavum capitulum *B* 8 *in mar. E* *om. Dα* [2] *in α is written* Supe (upe *cr. out)* uperest [3] *in E is add. in mar.:* Mendicus omnis viator *E*[2] *in D in mar.:* De mendicacione *D*[2] [4] de *CDα* loquamur de *E* est de *B* [5] mend. innui. fac. *BCDα* mend. insinuativa vel mendicacione innuitiva facta *E* *in E is add. above the col.:* Mendicatio insinuativa (innuitiva, inimi-

quidam dicunt, alios insinuare suas egencias implicite vel egencias[6] aliorum, sicut beata Maria insinuavit suo filio egenciam convivarum Ioh. 2,[c] dum[7] dixit: vinum non habent. Et mendicacione innuitiva[8] dicitur Cristum mendicassse sepe ab homine, dum in facto dixit suam egenciam populo ad ipsum elemosinarie[9] relevandum.[d]

Et isto modo dicunt quidam Cristum vocatum fuisse mendicum sepe in psalmis[10] non solum in suis membris, sed eciam[11] in persona propria, cum pro nobis egenus factus est, ut dicit[12] apostolus II Cor. 8[e] et de sanctis mulieribus ac aliis accepit elemosinas, ut dicitur Luc. 8.[f]

Sed loquamur specialiter[13] de mendicacione declamativa,[14] [g] facta homini pro se ipso.[15] Et ipsa dicitur directa vocalis peticio facta homini pro[16] subsidio temporali ad suam vocatam egenciam relevandum, modo, quo fratres mendicant ab hominibus ostiatim;[17] et suppono ex dictis alibi,[h] quod fratres non possunt fundare ex ewangelio, quod Cristus taliter mendicavit, cum fuit dominus universorum,[18] non habens racionem, unde taliter mendicaret.

Dicitur autem fratrem quendam publice in congregacione Oxo-
|| *C fol. 167b* niensi[19] taliter arguisse: Cristus || cepit omnes infirmitates humanas, sed sic mendicare est quedam[20] infirmitas, ergo Cristus taliter mendicavit. — Sed in ista racione frater innuit, quod sunt

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[c] *v. 3* [d] *cp. the very same ideas Trial. 341* [e] *v. 9* [f] *v. 3* [g] *cp. the same division Trial. 341* [h] *for instance in Trial. 345 ff.; cp. also above De Fund. Sect. p. 45 and below De quatt. Sect. nov. p. 252*

tiva?) non reprehenditur *E*[1] [6] impl. vel eg. *BCDα,E² in mar. om. E* [7] dum *BCDα,E² in mar. om. E* [8] innuitiva *CDαB* in inimitiva *E, cp. above n. 5 and the gloss of E¹* [9] elemosinarie *BCDα* elemosinare *E* [10] psalmis *BCEα* primis *D* [11] eciam *BCDα om. E* [12] dicit *BCDα,E² in mar. om. E* [13] spec. *CDα* et spec. *BE* [14] *in E is add. below the col.:* Mendicacio declamativa infundabilis *E¹* [15] ipso *CEα* ipsa *B om. D* [16] se ipso et i. d. d. v. p. f. h. pro *BCEα om. D* [17] hostiatim *E,C¹α² (corr. above* obstinati*)* obscurati *B* obstinàti *CDα* [18] un. *in E a corr. word* [19] Oxoniense (Oxon) *BCα* Uxolem*(?) E* Monac*(? Mon̆) D E and D could not read, I believe, their original, hence their wrong readings* [20] quedam *C* quedam humana *E om. BDα*

universalia[21] ex parte rei, cum Cristus multas febres individuatas ex improporcione humanorum et discrasia[22] corporalis regiminis non suscipit[23] sicut[24] nec fracturam[25] ossium ex insolencia collisorum, cum[26] Ioh. 19[i] allegat ewangelista, quod ministri phariseorum non fregerunt[27] Cristi crura, cum Exod. 12[28 k] scribitur: os non comminuetis[29] ex[30] eo. — Cristus ergo multas infirmitates individuas hominum[31] non suscepit, sed quando frater mendicat, quod suscepit[32] omnes infirmitates humanas,[33] forte intelligit, quod suscepit[34] in genere omnes infirmitates, que in[35] humano genere sunt sanande,[36] modo, quo Cristus precipit[37] Marc.[38] ultimo:[l] predicate ewangelium omni creature, hoc est,[39] sine personarum accepcione, Iudeis et Gentibus,[40] qui cum corpus sunt et[41] spiritus, sunt generaliter 'omnis creatura'.[42] — Et sic forte frater innuit, quod Cristus suscepit omnia genera infirmitatis hominum, quia tam spiritualia quam corporalia genera eorundem.[43]

Sed mussitaret fidelis posterius,[44] utrum mendicacio, de qua loquitur, sit spiritualis infirmitas vel infirmitas corporalis. Non quidem[45] spiritualis infirmitas,[46] quia cum sit causa[47] caritativa, ut false asserit, non potest esse spiritualis infirmitas,[48] que est culpa, nec potest esse spiritualis infirmitas, que est dolor, cum fratres sunt gaudentes et volentes, sic mendicare a pauperibus et egenis

[i] *v. 33* [k] *v. 46* [l] *v. 15*

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[21] frater in. q. s. univ. *BCDα* frater *(cr. out)* innuit quot (quot *cr. out, above it* quod) sunt *(this in mar. with mark of ref.)* univers. *E* [22] discrasia *BCDE* discrahia *α* [23] suscipit *BCDα* suscepit *E* [24] sicut *BCEα* sed *D* [25] fract. *in α a corr. word* [26] cum *BCDα* ut *E* [27] *in E* fegerunt [28] 12 *BCDα* de eo *E* [29] comminuetis *BCDα* convivetis *(? vinotis) E* [30] ex *BCDα* de *E* [31] hominum *in B in mar. (B¹ ?)* [32] sed quando f. m. q. susc. *BCDα,E² with mark of ref. above the col. om. E* [33] humanas *CDEα,B¹ in mar. om. B.* [34] suscepit *BCEα* suscipit *D* [35] in *BCDα* non *(cr. out & ud.)* in *E* [36] sanande *B,E (a corr. word)* salvande *CDα* [37] precipit *BCDα* praecepit *(?) E* [38] Mr *CDα* Mat *BE* [39] est *BCDα,E² in mar. om. E* [40] gentibus *Dα,C¹ corr. from* gentilibus gentilibus *BCE* [41] et *BDEα* corpus et *C* [42] creatura *BCα* creature *DE* [43] eorundem *BCDα* earundem *E* [44] post. *BCDα* cristianus *(cr. out and ud.)* post. *E* [45] quidem *CDα,B¹ (cp. n. 46) om. EB* [46] vel infirm. corp. n. q. sp. infir. *CDEα,B¹ with mark of ref. below the col. om. B* [47] causa *Dα om. E* tam *BC* [48] quia cum s. c. c. ut f. a. n. p. e. sp. infirm. *BCDα om. E*

unitim. Ideo sua mendicacio non est dolor[49] propter inconveniencia alia que secuntur. Nec[50] est ista[51] fratrum mendicacio infirmitas corporalis,[52] cum sunt tam[53] multi fratres sani et validi mendicantes.

Ideo videtur multis, quod ista fratrum mendicacio non sit infirmitas nisi forte ad hunc sensum, quod est defectus, quo presumunt sine causa laudabili sic pauperes spoliare. Fratri ergo est necessarium fundare hoc assumptum principium et declarare fundamentaliter sensum suum.

CAP. IX.[1]

Sed superest per raciones[2] vivaces fundare, quod mendicacio non[3] sit fundabilis[4] in racionibus vel scriptura.[5]

In scriptura quidem non, quia Deut. 15[6][a] scribitur: omnino[7] indigens et mendicus non erit inter vos. Cum ergo in deo non sunt est et non, patet, quod deus non precipit[8] sic voluntarie mendicare. Et eadem consideracio est de Cristo. Si enim mendicacio sua, cum ipse sit deus et homo, fuerit fundabilis[9] in scriptura, spiritus sanctus, cum non potest esse negligens, ipsam ostenderet suis fidelibus regulandis.[10] Cum ergo nusquam ipsam[11] ostendit in approbacione hominum vel scriptis,[12] videtur, quod spiritus sanctus ipsam non approbat tamquam regulam, partem sue ecclesie defendentem.

CAP. IX. [a] *v. 4*

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[49] cum fratres sunt — est dolor *E* *om. BCDα* [50] nec *BCEα* arguitur sic *D* [51] ista *BCDα* *om. E* [52] *in E is in mar. above the col.:* Mendicacio fratrum si infirmitas sit, que autem *E*[1] [53] tam *BCDα*,*E*[2] *in mar.* *om. E*

CAP. IX. [1] Cap. nonum *B* 9 *E (here in mar. repeated in red ink)* Ca[m] 9[m] *C III D*[1] *(in mar.), cp. above cap. V n. 1* *om. α* [2] per raciones *CDEα* patronos *B* [3] non *BCDα* ista non *E* [4] fundabilis *BE* fundamentalis *CDα* [5] *in E is add. with mark of ref. below the col.:* Mendicacio clamorosa fratrum redarguitur *E*[1] [6] 15 *E* 3 *BCDα* [7] omnino *CDα* omnis *BE* [8] precipit *BCDα* precepit *E* [9] fundabilis *BCα* fundamentalis *D* dampnabilis *E* [10] regulandis *CDEα* regulando *B* [11] ipsam *BCDα* illam *E* [12] vel scriptis *Cα* vel in scriptis *B* vel in scripturis *ED (!)*

Similiter Cristus, quidquid[13] fecit, fecit summe indefectibiliter[14] et secundum nullam racionem hominis[15] corrigendum. Sed talis Cristi mendicacio[16] non potest racioni isti[17] competere, ergo non est securum, sine magna evidencia ponere Cristum in persona propria[18] taliter mendicare. Si enim Cristus sine voce tali clamosa[19] movisset[20] homines ad elemosinas suas liberius conferendum, fuisset utrobique magis congruum[21] ac meritorium, sed hoc potuit Cristus fecisse summe faciliter, ergo inconsonum est, sine magna evidencia ponere Cristum in persona propria pro[22] se ipso taliter[23] mendicasse.[b] Nam conferens elemosinam sine tali clamore egencie plus confert voluntarie,[24] ‖ quia ex magis libera voluntate,[25] et hinc men- *C fol. 165a*
dicacio pauperis ewangelici, de quo Luc. 18,[26 c] avaricie et culpe populi est adscripta. Debuerunt enim ceci egenciam prevenisse, et hinc apostolus in epist. ad Philem.[d] edocet, quod elemosinaria libertas, quam retribueret[27] Onesimo,[28] sit voluntaria, ut ea racione sit meritoria magis,[29] qualiter[30] ergo non moveret[31] Cristus suos mundo divites sibi[32] elemosinas taliter elargiri, et hinc Prov. 30[33] rogat sapiens,[34] spiritu sancto motus: mendicitatem et divicias ne dederis michi, tribue tantum victui meo necessaria, ne forte sacia-

[b] *As to this, cp. Trial. 342* [c] *v. 35 ff.* [d] *v. 14: sine concilio autem tuo nihil volui facere, uti ne velut ex necessitate bonum tuum esset sed voluntarium* [e] *v. 8—9*

[13] quidquid *BCDα* quodquod *E* [14] *in D is add. below the col.:* Argumentum optimum *D¹* [15] *in E is written* hoomnisminis (omnis *cr. out and ud.)* [16] mendicacio *BCDα* mendicacione *E* [17] isti *in α inserted later above the line by the texthand* [18] in persona propria *E,B¹ in mar. om. BCDα* [19] clamosa *BCα* clamorosa *D,E² in mar.* elemosina *(cr. out) E* [20] movisset *BDEα* novisset *C* [21] congruum *BCDα,E² in mar.* cognitum *(cr. out) E* [22] pro *BCα* ut pro *D* per *E* [23] taliter *BCEα* totaliter *D* [24] voluntarie *BCDα* ultimarie *E* [25] *in E is add. above the col.:* Elemosina foret libera, sed fratres extorquent *E¹* *above this without any mark of ref:* Apostolus noluit mendicare sed laborare ne sit onerosus *E¹* [26] 18 *BCDE* 18 *(cr. out) α, in mar. is add.* 6 *α²* [27] retribueret *BCα* retribuere *ED* [28] onerosimo *BE* onosime (? onosinie) *D* onesime *α* *in C a blank space* [29] mer. mag. *CDα* mag. me. *E* meritoria *B, but in mar.* magis *B¹* [30] qualiter *BCDα* quam *(cr. out)* quare *E* [31] moveret *BCDα* movet *E* [32] sibi *BCDE* *om. α, but add. in mar. later by the texthand* [33] 30 *BCDα,E² in mar.* tercio *(cr. out) E* [34] *in E is add. in mar.:* Salomon *E¹*

tus illiciar[35] ad negandum[36] et dicam: quis est deus,[37] et egestate compulsus furer et periurem[38] nomen domini mei.[39] Et non dubium, quin ista sentencia[40] tam racionabilis[41] foret valde competens Iesu nostro. Imponere ergo sibi mendicacionem[42] contrariam sine forti[43] evidencia foret blasphemia nimis gravis.

Similiter blasphemum est Cristo tribuere oneracionem sue ecclesie per sectas superfluas, noviter introductas. Sed hoc contingeret, si Cristus necessitaret[44] has sectas fratrum ad taliter mendicandum. Ergo hoc non est deo catholice tribuendum.[45] Cristus enim docuit tam in se ipso quam Paulo,[46] quod noluit spirituales prepositos esse ecclesie[47] onerosos;[48] racione quidem huius fecit duo miraculosa convivia, de quibus patet Marc. 6[f] et 8.[g] Ex hoc eciam[49] movit[50] apostolum[51] pro sua egencia et suorum sociorum manibus propriis laborare, ut patet Act. 20;[52h] unde apostolus II Cor. 11[i] ita scribit:[53] alias ecclesias exspoliavi,[54] accipiens stipendium vestrum. Et cum essem apud vos et egerem, nulli onerosus fui.[55] Nam quod michi deerat, suppleverunt fratres, qui venerunt[56] de[57] Macedonia, et in omnibus sine onere me vobis servavi et servabo.

Numquid credimus, fratres gravare istam regulam apostolicam,[58] cum multis videtur, plus[59] quam 40[60] milia librarum[61] acci-

[f] *v. 32 ff.* [g] *v. 1 ff.* [h] *v. 33—34* [i] *v. 8—9*

[35] illiciar *Bα* eliciar *CD,E² in mar.* eiciatur *(cr. out) E* [36] negandum *BCDα* rogandum *E* [37] deus *BCDα* dominus *E* [38] periurem *BDα* periurer *EC* [39] domini *BCDα* dei *E* [40] ista sentencia *BCDα* istam sentenciam *(here the* m *is cr. out) E* [41] racionabilis *BCEα* racionalis *D* [42] mendicacionem *BCEα* mendicitatem *D* [43] forti *BCEα* forte *D* [44] necessitaret *BCDα* necessitaretur *E* [45] tribuendum *BCDα* tribuere*(?)*deum *E* [46] Pa. *CDEα* in Pa. *B* [47] ecclesie *BCDα om. E* [48] *in D is add. in mar.:* Cristus noluit prepositos spirituales esse ecclesie onerosos *D¹* [49] eciam *BCDα* autem *E* [50] movit *BCDα* venit *E* [51] apostolum *BCDα* paulum *E* [52] 20 *BCDα* 2° *E* [53] scribit *BCEα* scribitur *D* [54] *in E an* n *(?* non) *in mar., which possibly refers to this place* [55] *to this passage, very probably, the gloss is to be referred which stands above col. 31ᶜ, cp. n. 25* [56] venerunt *CEα* venerant *B* fuerunt *D* [57] de *C* a *BDEα* [58] fratres gr. ist. re. ap. *CDα* fr. ist. gr. re. ap. *B* fr. servare et gloriam istam acceperunt (perunt *ud.)* apostolicam *E* [59] plus *BCDα* quod plus *E* [60] 40 *BCDα* 4 *E, but E² has added a* 0 [61] librarum *BCEα* librorum *D*

piunt[62] de Anglia annuatim,[k] supposito, quod sunt[63] in Anglia correspondenter[64] istis quatuor ordinibus plures quam quatuor milia mendicancium,[l] et quod quelibet persona eorum, una iuvante[65] reliquam,[66] expendit[67] de bonis regni in propria persona[68] centum solidos[m] et in expensis extraordinariis, ut sumptuosis edificiis et aliis lauticiis[69] ac expensis superfluis, expendant[70] iterum[71] tantum de bonis ecclesie, quibus collectis constat bene calculantibus, quomodo fratres capiunt de bonis Anglie ultra quadraginta[72] milia librarum pecunie annuatim.[73 n]

Et cum debent[74] gratis tribuere bona spiritualia,[75] que secularibus rependerent,[76] videtur, quod non in hoc imitantur Cristum aut suos apostolos, sed sunt pocius anticristi, cum apostolus I Timoth. 6[o] dat regulam episcopis sui temporis: habentes, inquit, alimenta et quibus tegamur, hiis contenti simus.[77] — Nec dubium quin secte fratrum non obstante tam[78] sumptuosa et monstruosa[79] mendicacione fuerunt subdole introducte, quia assistente fideli ministerio aliorum sacerdotum[80] longe melius serviretur ecclesie,[81] quam modo cum tot || mixtis fraudibus ministratur. Tunc || *C fol. 168b* enim non seducerentur sic pauperes, vidue et pupilli, nec regnarent litere fraternitatum[p] nec fratrum usurpata[82] solaria,[83] ut[84] nunc regnant.

[k] *according to* Trial. *369 60,000 Marks* [l] *cp. the same number* Trial. *369* [m] *cp. ibid. 369* [n] *W. has, perhaps, in mind the 60,000 M. of the* Trial. *369. With reference to the passage above, cp. p. 98 l. 14 ff. and 103 n. e and n* [o] *v. 8* [p] *cp.* Trial. *349: non dant tales literas*

[62] accipiunt *BCDα* acceperunt *E* [63] sunt *BCDα* sint *E* [64] correspondenter *BCDα* correspondenter (ter *cr. out*) *E, but* ter *added in margin* [65] iuvante *BCEα* iuvare *D* [66] reliquam *E* reliqua *BCDα* [67] expendit *CDα* expendat *BE* [68] pr. pe. *CDα* pe. pr. *BE* [69] lauticiis *BCDα* lauaciis *E* [70] expendant *BCα* expendat *DE* [71] iterum *BCDα* circa *E* [72] 40ta *CE, added above* 4 *by* α[2] IIIIor *B* quatuor *D* 4 α [73] *in E is added above the col. (32a):* Monachi quantum consumunt per annum *E*[1] [74] deb. *BCDE* g debent α *(sic)* [75] spirit. *BCDE* temporalia *(cr. out)* spirit. α [76] rependerent *BCDα* rependerunt *E* [77] simus α sumus *BCDE* [78] tam *CDEα* causa *B* [79] et monstruosa *E* *om. BCDα* [80] fid. m. aliorum sac. *CDα* fi. mi. sac. *B* min. fid. al. sacramentum *(!)* *E* [81] ecclesie *BCDα* *om. E* [82] usurpata *BCDα* usurpare *E* [83] solaria *BCDE* salaria α [84] ut *half erased in B*

Ymo cum singulis[85] sint omnia bona communia, ut elicitur[86] debere esse[87] ex Act. 4 cap.,[88 q] patet, quomodo fratres magis divites sepe spoliant multa temporalia a plus[89] pauperibus et egenis. Nec dubium, quin prudenciores et potenciores regni[90] debent spoliacionibus istis resistere et anticristum[91] in hoc suis famulis ypocritis[92] impedire.[93]

Multas tales evidencias audivi multiplicatas a fidelibus, que monerent partem domini ad resistendum in hoc viriliter anticristo.[94]

CAP. X.[1]

Non solum autem perturbat[2] ecclesiam ista irregularis mendicacio fratrum per minucias[3] collecta in cumulum monstruosum, sed

nisi sub spe et intentione probabili, quod ex eis lucrum temporalium et confoederationem illicitam reportabunt ... Nec dubium quin implicite sit in isto fraudulenta emptio et venditio, nec dubium quin tale hypocritarum commercium Deus odit etc.; vgl. ibidem 367: tertius abusus est in blasphemia literarum fraternitatis, in quibus innuunt se velle implicare proximos confoederari tamquam fratres suos et filias diaboli cum patrono sui ordinis, qui videtur esse princeps seculi et seductor pessimus antichristus. These Letters of Fraternity were sold to the benefactors of the Convents, and entitled those who bought them to spiritual advantages guaranteed by the prayers of the Friars, or by the privileges of the monasteries. They were frequently made the subject of popular satire, cp. Wright, Polit. Poems II, 21:

Why aske ye no letters of bretherheads
of other mens praiers,
as ye desire that other men
should aske letters of you?

[q] *v. 32; 34—35*

[85] singulis *BCDα* similis *E* [86] elicitur *BCDα* elicitari *E* [87] esse *BCDα* *om. E* [88] cap. *BCDα* quomodo *(ud.)* cap. *E* [89] plus *BCDα* *om. E* [90] regni *BCDα,E² in mar.* et egeni *(cr. out) E* [91] anticristum *BCDα* auxilium *E* [92] ypocritis *BCα* ypocriticis *DE* [93] impedire *BCEα* impendere *D* [94] ad res. in h. v. ant. *BCDα* *om. E*

CAP. X. [1] cap. decimum *B* 10 *in mar. E* IIII *in mar. D²*, *cp. cap. V n. 1, cap. IX n. 1* *om. CDα* [2] Non so. au. pert. *CDα* non au. pert. *B* non sol. ad resistendum in hoc autem viriliter anticristo pert. *E* [3] minucias *BCEα* inimicicias *D*

mendicacio trium parcium[a] cleri dotati collecta[4] in castra caynitica[5] per ypocrisim secundum particulas ampliores.

Non enim differt[6] genus mendicacionis huiusmodi[7] nisi secundum magis[8] et minus,[9] ut posito, quod religiosus privati ordinis accipiat a domino seculari vel per procuracionem[10] ypocrisis vel ex stulticia offerentis magna predia vel mundana[11] dominia.

Non dubium, quin ista sit mendicacio detestanda, quia dicit fingendo[12] suum defectum contrarie legi dei. Et sic est multis[13] verisimile, quod papa acceptando[14] dominium tantum a cesare culpabiliter mendicavit.

Nec sunt tales secte dotate omnino[15] immunes ab heresi, antequam restitucione facta secundum legem domini ab ista[16] mentis macula sint purgate, et sic vere[17] senciunt, quod[18] fratres, clerus cesareus, monachi et canonici non differunt a mendicis aliis nisi in hoc, quod alii mendicant partes grossas magis sensibiles,[19] fratres autem[20] mendicant minucias secundum sollicitudinem plus attentam.[21] Sed qui excusant has partes[22] alterutras, ipsas decipiunt eo, quod non fundatur in lege domini talis mendicacio vel possessio in clero, qui[23] debet ad tempus breve recipere elemosinas hominum moderate.

Et eadem est consideracio de appropriacionibus[24] ecclesiarum,[25]

CAP. X. [a] *viz. of the clerus cesareus, the monachi, and of the canonici*

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[4] in cumulum m. s. m. t. p. c. d. collecta *BCDα* *om. E* [5] caynitica *BDE*, $C^1\alpha^2$ *corr. from* caymitica *Cα* [6] differt *BCDα* differunt *E* [7] huiusmodi *CEα* huius *BD* [8] magis *BCDα* maius *E* [9] *in E is add. above the col.:* Mendicant omnes secte quatuor quomodo E^1 [10] per procuracionem *BCDα* procuracioni *E* [11] mund. *BDEα* humana *(cr. out)* mund. *C* [12] fingendo *BCDα*, E^2 *in mar.* fugiendo *(cr. out & ud.) E* [13] mu. *BCDα* de mu. *E* [14] acceptando *BCα* accipiendo *E* acceptanda *D* [15] omnino *BCDα* *om. E* [16] ab ista *BCDα*,E^2 *in mar.* ob ceca *(cr. out) E* [17] vere *BCDα* ut vere *E* [18] quod *BCDα* *om. E* [19] clerus ces. m. et c. n. d. a. m. a. n. in h. q. a. m. p. gr. m. s. *CE*,α^2 *with mark of ref. below the col.* *om. BDα* [20] autem *α* aut *BD* enim *CE* [21] attentam *BCα*,E^2 *in mar.* attenta est *D* contentam *(cr. out.) E* [22] partes *BCE* personas *Dα* [23] qui *BCDα* *om. E* [24] appropriacionibus *BCDα* approbacionibus *(?) E* [25] ecclesiarum *BCDα*,E^2 *in mar.* ecclesiis *(cr. out & ud.) E* *in E is add. in mar.:* Appropriacio ecclesiarum E^3

que[26] ex ypocrisi prime secte sunt multipliciter introducte.[b] Omnes enim[27] sic appropriantes ecclesias suggerunt[28] implicite, quod sunt valde egentes, et sic expetunt tales ecclesias, ut secundum divinum[29] suffragium releventur.

Et utrobique in tali mendicacione est mendosa duplicitas fundamentum, et sic in omnibus istis sectis quatuor est pater mendacii principalis et dampnum temporale[30] plebeis[31] incurritur,[32] dampnum autem spirituale ecclesie Cristi, sed dampnum extensius ecclesie anticristi; et patet[33] discrete[34] consideranti, quomodo omnes iste secte quatuor ex mendacio[35] sunt fundate.

Et quantum ad argucias anticristi suam practicam colorantes patet fideli, quod non sunt digne memoria. Arguit enim, quod mendicacio[36] est in ewangelio commendata,[c] cum Lazarus mendicus acceptus est in synum Abrahe cum beatis, ut patet Luc.[37] 16[38] [d] et cecus mendicus[39] innuitur a Cristo multipliciter commendatus, ut patet Luc. 18.[40] [e]

Ad illud[41] quidem facile[42] respondetur, quod isti duo mendici
C fol. 169a supponi possunt[43] esse beati, || sed non propter mendicacionem, sed propter iustam sufferenciam avarorum, qui ipsos debuerant sustentasse. Unde si[44] ista evidencia moveret[45] fratres validos mendicare, evidencius moveret eos[46] carnaliter[47] procreare, cum carnalis procreacio[48] sit evidencius in ewangelio commendata.[49]

[b] *as to this, cp. above p. 131 n. a* [c] *cp. Trial. 341* [d] *v. 22* [e] *v. 35, cp. Matth. 20, 39; Marc. 10, 46*

[26] que *BCDα* *om. E* [27] enim *CDα,B¹ (corr. into the text), E² in mar. om. BE* [28] suggerunt *BCDα* finxerunt *(? fixerunt) E, in mar. is add.* finxerunt *E³* [29] divinum *BCDα* dominicum *(!) E* [30] temporale *CDα* corporale *BE* [31] plebeis *CDα* plebis *B,E* is *is here add. later by E²* [32] incurritur *BCDα. E² in mar.* inciditur *(cr. out) E* [33] et patet *BCDα,E² in mar.* *om. E* [34] discrete *BCEα* districte *D* [35] mendacio *BCDα* mundano *E* [36] men. *BCDα* mendacia *(ud.)* men. *E* [37] Luc. *BCα* Luc. in *DE* [38] 16 *BCα* in 6 *(cr. out)* 16 *E* 10 *(cr. out)* 6 *D* [39] et ce. mend. *BCα* et ce. *E* *om. D* [40] 18 *BCDα* 8 *E* [41] illud *BCDα* istud *E* [42] facile *BCDα* faciliter *E* [43] supp. possunt *BCDα* supponunt *E* [44] si *BCDE* fi *(cr. out)* si *α* [45] moveret *CDEα* movet *B* *in C is added in mar.:* Nota [46] eos *BCEα* ipsos *D* [47] carnaliter *BCDα,E² in mar.* corporaliter *(cr. out) E* [48] procreacio *BCEα* procuracio *D* [49] commendata *BCDα* procreata *E*

Sed secunda argucia infami arguitur, quod Paulus pro sanctis[50] in[51] Ierusalem[52] mendicavit, qui non[53] laboraverunt[54] propriis manibus. Quare ergo non licet[55] sanctis collegiis taliter mendicare?

Sed responsio[56] patula stat in isto, quod simea communicat[57] paritatem in mediis utrobique, et concedi debet conclusio. Constituat ergo sic arguens ista conventicula in pari evidencia cum sanctis Ierusalem et in pari impotencia ad propriis manibus laborandum, et non excedat mensuram mendicacionis bonorum pauperum, et tunc potest rectificare racionem per locum a simili. Sed tunc in materia deficiet[58] argumentum, et sic gulosus et simea[59] solvunt argucias singulas anticristi, ut[60] si anticristus replicat, quod qui ewangelizat, de ewangelio debet vivere, sed iste secte parcialiter ewangelizant, ideo de ewangelio debent vivere. — Et cum populus non semper est paratus ad conferendum illis temporale subsidium, licet illis[61] iuste aurum[62] pro suis fratribus mendicare.

Sed purget anticristus conventiculam suam[63] a superfluitate et ociositate ministerii,[64] et tunc concedi potest secundum legem Cristi, quod tales laborantes in ewangelio debent secundum moderamen[65] ewangelicum ministrare,[66] sed longe hoc[67] ad inferendum talia conventicula monstruosa.[68]

Unde quidam[69] grammaticus dicit, quod mendicare dicitur a 'mene',[70] [f] quod est defectus, et 'dicare', quod est equivocum ad tria

[f] *New Engl. mean (meen), A.Sax. mæne, O.Sax. mên, L.Ger. mêne, gemên (gemein), allied to Lat. communis. Cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 31 l. 12*

[50] pro sanctis *CDE, corr. into the text by* α^2 profectus *B* sectis *α* [51] in *BCDα* *om. E* [52] ierusalem *BCDα,E here, in mar. repeat. by* E^2 [53] non *BCEα* nam *D* [54] laboraverunt *CE,*α^2 *in mar.* laboraret *BDα* [55] licet *BCDα,*E^2 *in mar.* debet *(cr. out) E* [56] responsio *CE* racio *BDα* [57] communicat *BCD* communicet *α (the* e *corr. from* a *by* α^1*)* quod *(ud.)* comnutat *(!) E* [58] deficiet *BCDα,*E^2 *in mar.* edificet *(cr. out.) E* [59] simea *CDα,*E^2 *in mar.* simeo *(!) B* summa *(cr. out) E* [60] ut *BCDα* et *E* [61] illis *BCDα* eis *E* [62] iuste aurum *C,*α^2 *has* iuste *corr. into the text* *om. BDα* instaurum *E* [63] conventiculam suam *BCα* conventicula sua *DE* [64] *in E is added above the col.:* Superfluitas ociositas quomodo purgaretur in fratribus E^1 [65] moderamen *in E has been altered into* moderamine *by* E^2*, who added an* e [66] ministrare *BCDα* ministrari *E* [67] hoc *in E cr. out & ud.* [68] monstruosa *BCDα* monstruose *E* [69] quidam *CDα* quidem *BE* [70] *in Cα is added in margin:* Nota $C^3\alpha^2$

hec:[71] 'dico', significat 'confirmo', 'copulo', 'sacro';[72] et cum dicatur per antifrasim, producit[73] 'di' ultra hoc, quod in aliis composicionibus est servatum. Quidam autem confirmant[74] per ypocrisim perpetuitatem sui defectus, quod oportet ipsos perpetuo[75] dotari dominio[76] talis elemosine, sed nomine pretermisso. Alii autem copulant suis cenobiis per ypocrisim tales defectus sive[77] egencias,[78] quia sine illis non possunt ut patroni eorum seculariter relevari, et ipsi mendicant sibi perpetuitatem elemosine cum aliis multis blasphemiis de suffragiis meritoriis defunctorum.

Tercii vero mendicantes sacrant per sua conventicula elemosinas tam superstitum quam defunctorum, et dicunt, quod sua religio, eciam[79] habitus est tam sacer, quod[80] quicunque in illo[81] mortuus fuerit, non erit ad tartarum condempnatus.[g]

Et sic isti quatuor funiculi prevaricantes in legem[82] domini conturbant ecclesiam militantem. Sed illud[83] debet fidelis menti imprimere, quod oportet ad pacificandum ecclesiam temporalia esse distributa in seculo secundum[84] regulam legis dei.[85]

Pexlitci Sutattrac ed plitrici cuvinlo Siramo.[86]

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[g] *with reference to this passage, cp. above p. 35 n. h and 143 n. b*

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[71] hec *Dα* hic *BC* *om. E* [72] hic d. s. c. c. s. *BCDα* *om. E* [73] prod. *CDEα* perpetuitatem sui defectus *(cr. out & ud.)* prod. *B* [74] *in E is added below the col.:* Mendicancium varietas *E*[1] [75] perpetuo *BCDα* perpetue *E* [76] dominio *BCDα* donis *E* [77] sive *BCDα* sine *E (not* sive) [78] egencias *BCEα* egencie *D* [79] ec. *in E added by E*[2] *(?) below* et ecclesia *which is cr. out* [80] quod *CDα* quam *BE* [81] illo *BCDα* isto *E* [82] legem *BCDα* lege *E* [83] illud *BCDα* istud *E* [84] secundum *CDEα*,*B*[1] *in mar.* *om. B* [85] dei *CDE* dei etc. *Bα* [86] *i. e.* Explicit tractatus de triplici vinculo amoris Explicit tractatus de triplici vinculo amoris secundum doctorem ewangelicum Sequitur exhortacio cuiusdam doctoris *B* Et sic est finis tractatus de triplici vinculo amoris *D* Explicit tractatus de triplici vinculo amoris Et incipit de novis ordinibus *E* Explicit tractatus de triplici vinculo amoris *(enclosed with lines in red ink) α*

V.

DE SEPTEM DONIS SPIRITUS SANCTI.

DE SEPTEM DONIS SPIRITUS SANCTI.

I. Division.

Introduction: The seven gifts of the Holy Ghost (according to Isai. XI, 2) are proved to be necessary to the leading of a Christian life: chap. I.

Argument: Definition of the individual gifts, their place and value in the Christian life: the Four Sects contrasted with this: chap. II—VIII.

Conclusion: Answer to an objection raised by the Sects. These ought to be done away with, unless their foundation be proved from Scripture: chap. VIII.

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. *To lead a pious Christian life, the Holy Trinity has imparted to mankind a spirit which is manifested (according to Isai. XI, 2) in seven gifts, p. 208. In Jesus Christ, the Son of Man, these gifts manifest themselves in their full power, p. 209. The Author, therefore, proposes to speak of them, p. 209.*

Chap. II. *He gives a definition of the first gift, Wisdom, p. 210, and says that it is depised by many, who put their trust in human and papal traditions, while a spark of the divine gift is better than all human knowledge (Jerem. II, 13), p. 210. The only means to get a knowledge of God, is this Wisdom; and if we want to love God, we must first know Him, p. 211.*

Chap. III. *Akin to the first gift, is the second, Understanding, the definition of which is given, p. 211. It is the spiritual principle of man by means of which he is enabled to apprehend everything necessary for his salvation, p. 212. This assertion is proved*

in seven theses by the Author, p. 212. — Now, in strong contrast to this, stand the privati ordines, *which in life, as well as in doctrine, set aside these first two gifts, p. 213.*

Chap. IV. *After the first two, which are of a mental kind, the practical ones follow, p. 213. First comes* Counsel, *of which the definition is given. It must be said, however, that many follow the counsel of the Evil one rather than the counsel of God, p. 214, although they thus are more and more allured into worldiness, and forget that the (double) peace of God is given only to those who follow the counsel of God, which at first may appear burdensome, and by some may not be understood, but will in the end prove most salutary, p. 215. — As to this, the Sects glory in the assertion that they alone follow the counsels* (concilia) *of Christ, while other men observe only His precepts* (precepta), *p. 215. But their works and aspirations do not prove this; they merely confound the correct notions of* consilium *and* preceptum, *if they hold to their assertion, p. 216.*

Chap. V. *By the fourth gift,* Might *(Definition), which is one of the four Cardinal Virtues, not bodily strength, but spiritual power, is to be understood, p. 216. Not by the perils of war and of Rome-journeys, true might is proved, but by a Christian life, p. 217. From this standpoint, all the worldy exertions of the Sects are to be looked upon as* vana religio, *p. 218—220.*

Chap. VI. *As to the fifth gift,* Knowledge *(Definition), p. 220, by which all the doctrines necessary for salvation are to be acquired, the Sects must also be reproved, p. 220—221; they are wanting in it, p. 221: their knowledge is specially shown by the manner in which they exercise their intelligence in Christian life, p. 221; for they are not moved by love to God and the brethren, but by their inordinate desire for wordly possessions, p. 221. If they did work, for instance, at the* ius civile *and* canonicum, *they knew full well, that many advantages would arise to them from these researches, p. 222. The more, however, they acquire of worldy goods, the more they aspire to, p. 222, in particular the Friars, who make the greatest possible exertions to get (either lawfully, or unlawfully), as many members as they can, and sell sermons, letters of Fraternity etc., p. 222, merely to make money, p. 222—223.*

Chap. VII. Piety *(Definition and division of* pietas *into* ϑεοσέβεια *and* εὐσέβεια*), p. 223, refers to God and to men, p. 223.*

As it is principally love to men, the Sects ought to be moved to return to the true Sect of Christ, p. 223. For, by their manifold lies, a wrong notion of pietas *has crept in, p. 223, viz. the idea of the 'opus operatum' of alms bestowed on the orders, of the outlay made for the Church and many other ecclesiastical tithes, p. 224. In like manner, their bad habit of giving the good deeds of their individual members the greatest possible publicity, and of attributing to the whole order the credit of these, p. 224, while they are totally deficient in true piety, must also be reproved. Here the Author speaks severely against this custom, p. 225. It would, therefore, be in the interest of the individual Christian as well as of the Church, if the Sects were done away with, not by the sword, or by any other force, but in a charitable manner, p. 225. And for this end, every Christian should labour, p. 225.*

Chap. VIII. *The ground of the gifts already mentioned, is the Fear of the Lord (Definition), p. 225, which is not natural fear in man, but the grief of the Christian at his sin, and his love to God, p. 226. This grief with love is not to be found in the Sects, p. 226. Many sins are done by them, p. 227 (here the Author refers to the assassination of the Emperor through the poisoned Eucharist, and to the conspiracy of the Friars against the Duke of Lancaster, p. 227). It is a fallacy on their part to assert that on behalf of their order all things were allowed to them at the expense of their brethren, p. 228. And this fallacy involves their main danger to the country, p. 228, for they are capable of any thing, if the welfare of their order comes in question, p. 229.*

Chap. IX. *With reference to an objection raised against the preceding statements, that, in the case of the Author being right, the Trades, Gilds, Communities and States must also be abolished, on the ground that from them, as from every creature (even from God, as some contend, p. 229) many evils arise, p. 229, the Author answers: Certainly not, p. 229, for the believing Christian takes as his authority the Holy Scripture, p. 229, and Iesus Christ, who has given his Church a most perfect and complete law, p. 229, and has not even hinted in the Scriptures that Sects ought to exist, or were necessary for His Church, p. 229. Likewise from the idea of the unity of the Church it follows, that they are useless and superfluous, p. 230. — Conclusion: only if the Biblical proof of the necessity for their existence be given, they may be suffered, p. 230; but to give this proof is simply impossible, p. 230.*

III. Date of Composition.

Written after De Fundacione Sectarum, cp. cap. IX, conclusion; the latter was composed between the end of July and the beginning of October 1383, cp. above, p. 7; our present Tract, therefore, takes as its date the end of 1383 or beginning of 1384. There is one passage which might eventually be of value for dating the Tract, the conspiracy of the Friars against John of Gaunt, cp. chap. VIII, p. 227; but I am sorry to say, I have not been able to fix this fact chronologically.

IV. Genuineness.

(a) External evidence:

(1) Wiclif-Catalogues of the Vienna codd., cp. above p. 7.
(2) Bale, Illustr. script. Summ. fol. 157[b].
(3) cod. B, Explicit, cp. p. 230.
(4) cod. A, cp. notice on the front cover.
(5) cod. B, cp. inner side of the front cover.
(6) cod. E, cp. front cover (Index).
(7) cod. α, Index of the fly-leaf.
(8) cod. β, Index of the fly-leaf. With reference to (4), (5), (6), (7) and (8), cp. above General Introduction IV, Description of the codices.
(9) Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, 1437; 1453; 1470; 1473; 1497; 1505
(10) Shirley, Catal. Nro. 27, p. 11.
(11) Lechler, J. v. W. II, 564.

(b) Internal evidence:

(1) cp. above, General Introduction V, e.
(2) the reference to the earlier work of the Author De Fund. Sect. cap. IX, p. 230 l. 18.
(3) cp. the definitions of the seven dona *with those given in the Trial., chap. II, note a; III, a; V, a; VI, a; VII, a.*
(4) as to particulars, cp. e. g. V, c; e; VI, d; VIII, c; e; IX, c.

V. *Not yet printed.*

VI. *Extant in*

cod. 3929 = A fol. 208[d]—212[a] A¹ = Glosser

cod. 3933 = B fol. 76[d]—80[d] {B¹ = Corrector; B² = Glosser (perhaps identical with [B¹])

cod. 4527 = C fol. 157[a]—162[a] {C¹ = Corrector (pale ink); C² = Glosser (red ink)

cod. 3930	= *D fol.* 300^a—303^d	D^1 = *Corrector (red ink)*
cod. 1337	= *E fol.* 104^d—110^b	E^1 = *Glosser (with this one, cp.* α^1*)*
		E^2 = *Corrector (pale ink)*
		E^3 = „ *(dark ink)*
		E^4 = „ *(red ink)*
cod. 4515	= *H fol.* 204^b—212^a	H^1 = *Corrector (pale hand)*

(all in the Imperial Library at Vienna)

cod. X. E. 9.	= α *fol.* 133^a—138^b	α^1 = *Corrector (very black ink)*
		α^2 = „ *(pale ink)*
		α^3 = *Glosser (red ink; has given only one gloss)*
cod. III. G. 11.	= β *fol.* 154^a—159^b	β^1 = *Corrector (small clear hand in pale ink)*
		β^2 = „ *(red ink, has given only very few glosses.)*

(these two in the University Library at Prague.)

VII. The Manuscripts.

A. **Their relationship.** *The MSS. disagree in about 340 passages. Of these, in about 110 cases in an irrelevant, in 230 cases in a decisive manner.*

(1) Class A–E. That these are of the same family, may be inferred conclusively from the following: (1) In the 230 decisive passages, both codd. concur in no less than 210 cases; in only 20, they give different readings. This evidence alone, I believe, would suffice to show their close connection; the more so, as their differences, mostly insignificant in themselves, may easily be traced to the carelessness of E (cp. for instance aut co. *IV, 7;* conseq. *VI, 12 etc. etc. etc.), or of A (cp. e. g.* non *V, 10 etc. etc.), or to errors of reading from the same original, cp. for instance* perpetrati *VII, 31;* wlt-venit *I, 8;* pug.-ping. *V, 7. — (2) In 29 cases, A–E give, against the consensus of the remaining codd., the same* ***wrong*** *reading. No other combination approaches this number. Once, indeed, they give the correct word:* humil. *V, 55. (3) Again if you look at the inner value of the readings, passages like* finis *III, 4;* conclus. *III, 27;* sc. di. *III, 28;* alia *IV, 3;* vest. *V, 11;* dic. *V, 19;* hum. *V, 55;* dev. *VI, 17;* app. *VI, 25;* per. *VI, 41;* non *VI, 58;* dic. *VII, 25;* dom. *(om.) IV, 19; especially* prima *IV, 21;* mitici. *V, 42;* acqu. *VI, 24;* ad qu. *VII, 38;* cum *VIII, 9;* med. *VIII, 30 prove the close connection of the MSS. (4) cp. below the mariginal glosses. E has*

been subject to the correction of four hands; now, all the glosses of E^1, *so far as they refer to the contents of the text, are to be found in A, while none of the other codd. gives a single gloss of this kind (only β has, in common with A–E, the three first). (5) Of decisive value appear to me the following two passages:* septem dona *I, 22 and* Cristus indefectibiter *III, 17, where the careless E carried the glosses of A into the text.*

From these two passages it appears to me very probable that A was not copied from E, but that E was taken from A, (after the latter had been glossed by the glossator, cp. ve. in *V, 11).*

For this reason, and because E, on account of its many shortcomings, cannot enter into competition as a basis of the text, the readings of E (except those which are characteristic of its relationship to the other codd.) are not given in my list.

As to E^2, *the main corrector, he is certainly of more value. But he corrected from B; cp. especially* perfect. *IV, 29;* foret *VIII, 14;* quod *VIII, 40; again, from* ut *IX, 24 it is evident, that the corrector* E^2 *had before him as his original, B, after it had been corrected by* B^1: *for these reasons I omit also the readings of* E^2. *Likewise of* E^3 *and* E^4, *as being of no value.*

(2) As to the relationship of the other codd. to one another, I have not much to say. All the codices made use of here can be traced to an old archetypus which read the very characteristic terratura *V, 31 (or* creatura*) for* figura, *which is the only correct reading, as is evident from the sense of the passage, and from the text that follows* (deficit secunda figura; in figuram a dyabolo *etc.;* figurale dogma filiis *etc.). In like manner the characteristic lacuna* vaticinium . . . . . aqua *III, 30, which is peculiar to BHβ, is proof of the existence of a younger archetypus common to ACDEα.*

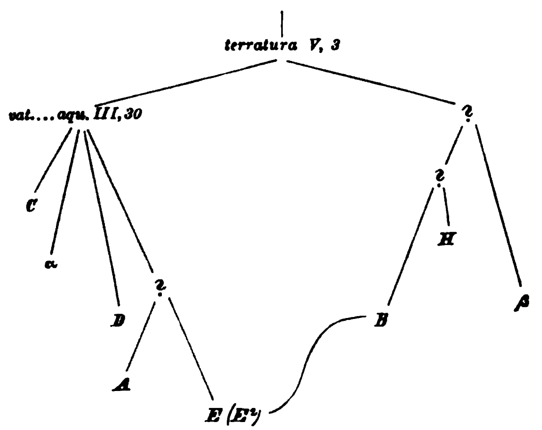
I cannot go more closely into this critical matter, as no one will expect it from the editor of an editio princeps; but I will add, with reference to the other codd., the following few particulars. From que *V, 47 and* terratura *V, 31 it appears, that* α^2 *corrected from C; again, from* convinc. *VII, 16;* omnes *etc. II, 14 and* ext. *etc. I, 22, it is plain that* β^1 *corrected from A, or another codex belonging to the family of A–E. I mention, however their corrections, as they are of value for characterising the codex α and β.*

(3) I believe that also B–H are related to each other; but the material is too slight to prove this. I will not, however, omit to

draw attention to their common peculiarities, especially in the first four chapters, for instance coniugitur *IV, 2; 5; 30 and mang others.*

B. **The best Codex.** *In the decisive 230 passages, C has 25 wrong readings (205 right ones); H 35 wr. (195 r.) α 38 wr. (192 r.), β 41 wr. (189 r.), D 47 wr. (183 r.), B 49 wr. (181 r.), A 55 wr. (177 r.), and E 71 wrong (159 right) readings. — In the forefront of the competition stand, therefore, the codices C and H. — Against the preference of C, passages as* quid *IV, 12;* amittunt *IV, 35;* vehentis *V, 33;* mordeni *VI, 51;* perdior. *VI, 61 may be adduced, where C alone gives a wrong reading against the consensus of the rest; but all these variants are very small graphical errors. On the other hand, H is guilty of not less than 17 similar corruptions:* fit. *III, 8;* apost. *(om.) IV, 17;* una *V, 26;* tri. *V, 30;* fortit. *V, 35;* omn. *etc. V, 37;* in mund. *V, 52;* igit. *VI, 4;* est *VI, 11;* plus *VI, 14;* cum *VI, 22;* reduc. *VII, 15;* trib. *VII, 21;* propos. *VII, 27;* sue *(om.) VIII, 12;* intr. *(om.) VIII, 27;* qua ad *VIII, 36 and* per *IX, 25; of these, at least* cum *and* per *are of importance, as they cannot be explained as mere oversights. — B also commends itself by some fine readings:* perf. *IV, 29;* auf. *V, 36;* for. *VIII, 14; especially* solo *VI, 26; on the other hand, very bad corruptions are not wanting:* 5 *I, 10;* qu. con. *VII, 40;* in sa. *VIII,7;* tr. do. *VIII, 11;* de. *IX, 12. — The claims of C, therefore, remain still the most favourable, even as compared with those of B and H. For these — I admit, not conclusive — reasons, I am inclined to give C the preference as the best suited from which to form the text.*

From the above, the following diagram may be drawn as a pedigree:



JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE SEPTEM DONIS SPIRITUS SANCTI.

CAP. I.[1]

C fol. 157a lin. 1 || [2]Cum spiritus sit[3] tercia persona trinitatis et opera trinitatis indivisa[4] ad extra, patet, quod tota trinitas imprimit in mentes humani generis noticiam, qua se regeret et in finem | ultimum terminaret. Sicut[5] ergo anima est melior quam noticia mundanorum, et quia clemencia trinitatis in hoc ostenditur, quod wlt docere taliter viatores, ideo ista septuplex[6] noticia vocatur septem dona spiritus sancti ex[7] clemencia deitatis, qua wlt[8] non solum genus hominum[9] creare et regere, sed tam salubriter edocere.

Nam Ies. 11[10] sic habetur: requiescet super eum spiritus domini, spiritus sapiencie et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus sciencie et pietatis, et replebit eum spiritus timoris.

CAP. I. [a] *v. 2*

CAP. I. [1] *Title and number of the chap. not given in ACDHα* Explicit tractatus de Cristo et suo adversario anticristo De septem donis spiritus sancti *B* Tractatus de septem donis spiritus sancti *β* [2] *A fol. 208[d] lin. 13 B fol. 76[c] lin. 32 D fol. 300[a] lin. 1, here not the whole preceding page (fol. 299[d]) is written upon, the text comes down only to the half of the page, Expl.:* per meos fines et aperta rura lenis incedas, ffinit octavus *H fol. 204[b] lin. 1 α fol. 133[a] lin. 1 β fol. 154[a] lin. 1* [3] sit *ABDHαβ* sanctus *(ud.)* sit *C* sanctus *by A[1]D[1]α[1] between* spir. *and* sit *corr. into the text* [4] indiv. *ABCDHα* sunt ind. *β* saucte *by A[1] corr. into the text* [5] sicut *ACDαβ* sic *BH* [6] sept. *in H not clear, therefore repeated in mar.:* 7[x] *H[1]* [7] ex *ABCDHα om. β* [8] wlt *ABCDHαβ* venit *E* [9] hominum *ABCDHα* humanum *β* [10] 11 *ACDHαβ* 5 *B* VI *E*

Sicut enim Cristus fuit plenus humanitus isto dono septuplici,[11] sic[12] decrevit[13] tota trinitas, quod per humanitatem suam tamquam immediatum organum foret istud donum septuplex[14] humano generi divinatum; et ut magister iste optimus[b] sit nobis similior ac[15] familiarior[16] et per consequens proporcionalior[17] ad istam noticiam humano generi imprimendum, ordinavit tota trinitas secundum suum suppositum[c] incarnari et cum hominibus tempore gravissimo conversari.[18]

Aliquid ergo de istis septem donis est dicendum fidelibus proporcionaliter, ut hec benedicta trinitas dignatur[19] suis fidelibus noticiam impertiri.

Imprimis ergo ut fides capitur,[20] quod hec septem dona tamquam quedam universitates sufficiunt replere totam capacitatem anime ad finem congruum viatori, et sic quidquid extra ista septem homo[21] didicerit, nedum est superfluum, sed nocivum.[22]

Et sic patet error humani generis in discendo sollicite tradiciones humanas, artes mechanicas[23] curiosas et alias artes practicas ad homines preter divinam influenciam regulandum.

CAP. II[1].

Primum[2] ergo istorum septem donorum dicitur sapiencia,[3] quam impositores nominum dicunt esse quasi sapidam scienciam et

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[b] *i. e. Christ* [c] *i. e. the second Person of the Trinity, the Son*

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[11] septuplici *ACDαβ* septemplici *BH* [12] sic *ABCHαβ* et sic *D* [13] decrevit *ABCDαβ* decrvit *H*, *but* e *corr. above it by* H^1 [14] septuplex *Dβ* septiplex *ABCH,α*, *but* u *corr. above it by* α^1 [15] ac *CDHβ* et *ABα* [16] fam. *in α a corr. word* [17] proporcionalior *ABCDαβ* proporcionabilior *H* [18] et cum h. t. gr. con. *ACDHαβ* *om. B, but with mark of ref. above the col. by* B^1 [19] dignatur *ABDHαβ* dignetur *C* [20] capitur *ABCDHα* accipitur *β* [21] ex. i. s. h. *ABCHαβ* h. ex. i. s. *D* [22] *in AEβ is add. above (below) the col. (respect. in mar.)*: Extra septem dona spiritus sancti quidquid homo didicerit est nocivum $A^1E^1\beta^1$ sept. ho.—nociv. *ABCDHαβ* sept. dona spir. sa. quidq. h. d. e. noc. nedum (ned. *ud.*) e. sup. s. noc. *E* [23] mechanicas *ABCDHβ*,α^2 *in mar.* mecanicas *(ud.) α*

CAP. II. [1] *the number of the chap. not given in ACDHβ* Secundum *B* Sequitur de primo dono spiritus sancti α^3 [2] *in A is add. in mar.*: Non est, *the remainder blotted out, and illegible, perhaps:* hic capitulum [3] *in Dβ is add. in mar.*: Sapiencia $D^1\beta^2$

philosophi dicunt ipsam esse noticiam, quam homo[4] acquisiverit[5] hic de deo.[a] Ipsam ergo noticiam oportet esse basim ad quamlibet aliam noticiam imprimendum.

Et ex istis[6] elicitur, quante secte humani generis in disciplina degenerant, que dimittentes ordinem documenti trinitatis, quod disposuit[7] homini,[8] intendunt[9] dogmati tradicionis humane et aliarum scienciarum inutilium propter superbiam sive lucrum, ut quidam eciam dicti autonoma(s)tice[10] religiosi[b] intendunt tradicionibus papalibus, licet multis erroribus sint commixte, et dimittunt[11] noticiam salubrem clare sciencie[12] trinitatis.

Licet autem de ipsa habuerimus in via[13] paucam et obscuram
| C fol. 157b noticiam, tamen scintilla sue noticie prestat omnes noticias,[14] | quas de humanis tradicionibus[15] possumus[16] possidere. De isto peccato conqueritur dominus per Ieremiam secundo cap.:[c] duo, inquit, mala fecit populus meus, me dereliquerunt,[17] fontem aque vive, et foderunt sibi cisternas dissipatas, que continere aquas non valent.

Cum autem ex fide precipua debemus deum diligere super[18] omnia et ex communi principio nichil amatur nisi cognitum, patet, quam[19] necessarium est nobis, deum cognoscere et tradiciones frivolas, que noticiam istam impediunt, precavere. Unde sic[20] degenerantes in dogmate blasphemant in deum implicite et primum mandatum decalogi, ac si subiectum artis sue frivole facerent deum

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[a] *for another definition of sapiencia, see Trial. 129* [b] *viz. the Monks and, in a wider sense, the Four Sects* [c] *v. 13*

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[4] homo *BCDaβ* *fe. A* homines *H* [5] acquisiverit *ACa* acquisivit *BDβH (last part is corr.)* [6] istis *BCDHaβ* isto *A* [7] disposuit *CDβ(?)* disponit *ABHa* [8] homini *A (a corr. word) BCH* hominem *Da* hominum *β* [9] intendunt *ACDHaβ* intendit *B* [10] autonomastice *CH* autonomaste *Bβ* automatice *AD* automastice *a* [11] tradicionibus p. l. m. e. s. c. et dim. *ABCDaβ* *om. H, but add. above the col. (205a) H¹* [12] cl. sc. *ABCHaβ* sc. cl. *D* [13] in via *ABCHaβ* inviti *D* [14] *in A (E) and β is add. below (above) the col.:* Omnes noticias prestat scintilla noticie trinitatis *A¹ (E¹) β¹* [15] trad. *ACDHaβ* *om. B* [16] possumus *BCDHa* possimus *Aβ* [17] dereliquerunt *ACa* derelinquerunt *BDH* delinquerunt *β* [18] super *ABCHaβ* supra *D* [19] quam *ACaβ* quantum *BH* quod *D* [20] sic *ABCHaβ* sicut *D*

suum, cum noticiam et amorem oportet esse se invicem consequentes.[2]

Et quantum ad verba Ieremie patet fidelibus, quomodo deus est[22] ad sensum misticum fons aque vive, et cisterne dissipate sunt tradiciones humane, ex quibus propter inconstanciam suam in falsitate non possunt fundari sapienciales noticie. Et hec causa, quare genus humanum tantum[23] amori temporalium inclinatur. Oportet enim supremam potenciam[24] intellectus inclinare amorem et consequenter movere corpus ad subiectum, de quo magis.[25 d]

Multa autem sunt scripture testimonia et raciones fideles, que movent[26] homines ad amandum[27] et testificandum excellenciam huius doni.

CAP. III.[1]

Secundum autem donum dicitur spiritus intellectus.[2] Nam secundum philosophos intellectus dicitur principium immediate procedens a sapiencia,[3] et secundum veritatem est conclusio a veritate demonstrata. Et iste due noticie debent primo replere supremam et primam potenciam intellectivam hominis, cum sine illis habitibus non est fides.[4 a]

Ideo dicit apostolus Heb. 11:[5 b] accedentem ad deum oportet credere, quia[6] est et[7] remunerator bonorum fit.[8] Sicut enim per do-

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[d] *cp. cap. III.*

CAP. III. [a] *for a similar definition of intellectus, cp. Trial. 129*
[b] *v. 6*

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[21] consequentes *ACDHαβ* convertentes *B* [22] est *is in C inserted later between* deus *and* ad [23] tantum *BCDHαβ* tamen *A* [24] potenciam *ABCHαβ* noticiam *D* [25] *in β* impendit *is corr. into the text by β¹* [26] que movent *ABCDαβ,H¹ in mar. om. H* [27] amandum *ABCDHα* mandum *β, above it* a *is add. by the texthand*

CAP. III. [1] *the number of the chap. not given in ACDHαβ* Cap. tercium *B* [2] *in Dβ is add. in mar.:* Intellectus *D¹β²* [3] *in A(E) is add. in mar.:* Intellectus procedit a sapiencia immediate *A¹(E¹)* [4] fides *BCDHαβ* finis *A (E ud., in mar.:* fides *E²)* [5] 11 *Hαβ* 2 *BD,C (ud.), above it* XI, *likewise in mar.* Heb. XI XI undecimo *A* [6] quia *ACDHαβ* quod *B* [7] et *BCDαβ om. AH* [8] fit *C,H (ud. by H¹)* sit *BDβ* sic *Aα*

num sapiencie credimus deum, sic ex eius bonitate credimus creaturas singulas processisse et per consequens bonitatem illam necessario inferre finem bonum, creature cuilibet congruentem, et per consequens, cum homo sit creatura incorruptibilis ad ymaginem dei facta, credimus, quod remunerat hominem,[9] sibi fideliter servientem, beatitudine sempiterna.

Et cum constat ex signo infallibili cottidiani defectus, quod homo peccaverat, et ex[10] humano desiderio et ex servitute non frustrabili, quod superest[11] beatitudo homini inferenda ac immensitas peccati facti in deum ex divina iusticia requirit satisfaccionem ex spiritu eiusdem intellectus, secure concludimus, quod necesse[12] est[13] divinam sapienciam[14] pro satisfaccione dicti criminis incarnari.

Et ex isto concludimus eodem spiritu edocente, quod quidquid[15] Cristus operatus fuit humanitus, cum sit deus et homo, indefectibiliter fuerat[16] operatus.[17] Et ex isto sexto docet idem spiritus, quod secta Cristi est in sua integritate a cunctis fidelibus observanda. Et ex istis septimo docet[18] idem spiritus, quod grave

C fol. 158a peccatum est contra aliquod donum intellectus[19] talis || delinquere.

Omnia autem talia dona procedunt suo ordine ex sapiencia dei nostri.

Et patet, quante peccant vocati[c] ordines, qui monstruose addunt legi dei conclusiones hominum[20] ad ipsas[21] per viam ad patriam redeundum,[22] ac si dei sapiencia[23] et intellectus non sufficeret in hac parte. Et sic blasphemant in deum implicite vel expresse.

[c] *cp. above cap. II p. 210 l. 8.*

[9] hominem *BCDH* homo*(?)Aα* homine *β* [10] ex *ACDHαβ,B¹ in mar. om. B* [11] superest *BCDHαβ* supest *A* [12] necesse *ABCDHβ* necessarie *α* [13] est *ABCDHαβ* fuit *α²* *(above* est*)* [14] sapienciam *ABCHβ* essenciam *D* sap. *is α corr. into the text by α²* [15] quidquid *ABCDHα* quidque *β* [16] fuerat *BCDHαβ* erat *A* [17] op. *ABCDHαβ* op. Çr. ind. om. est op. hu. *E (cp. the gloss) in A (E) is add. below the col.:* Cristus indefectibiliter omnia est operatus humanitus *A¹ (E¹)* [18] sep. doc. *C* d. s. *ABDHαβ* [19] intellectus *ABCDHα,β¹ in mar. om. β* [20] hominum *BHβ* homini *ACDα* [21] ipsas *ACDαβ* ipsos *BH* [22] redeundum *BCDα* reeundum *β* eundum *H (a letter which came before the* e *is erased)* [23] d. s. *CDHα* s. d. *AB* s. *β, but* d. *is corr. into the text later by β¹*

ideo non mirum, si peccatum[24] istorum novorum ordinum ex minera peccati absconditi invalescit.

Ideo dicit Augustinus epist. ad Cives Hipponenses,[d] quod, ex quo deo servire inceperat, non invenit peiores homines quam qui claustraliter[25] militarunt.[26]

Debemus itaque dimittere studere conclusiones[27] hominum doctrinales, sed debemus studere talem intellectum datum a spiritu, cum sit fides. Multo magis debemus dimittere conclusiones practicas secundum tradiciones hominum lucrativas, quia in illis sunt ficciones falsitatis plurime. Et Sap. 1[e] scribitur: spiritus sanctus discipline[28] effugiet fictum. Et error in isto devio intellectus,[29] licet in mundanis videatur modicus, est tamen medium, per quod dyabolus demergit homines in terrestria et per consequens in infernum. Nam secundum vaticinium[f] aqua[30] sapiencie divine[31] est limpida, et aqua tradicionis humane est turbida.

Ideo peccant non mediocriter contra bonitatem divinam qui dimittunt hanc sapienciam claram atque promptissimam et bibunt aquam insalubrem, turbidam et terrenam.

CAP. IV.[1]

Tercium vero donum dei dicitur spiritus consilii. Et coniungitur[2] spiritus istis donis ad denotandum, quod necesse est, ipsa a spiritu divino procedere. Et copulantur ista duo[3] dona donis spe-

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[d] *see Augustini Opp. (ed. Venet. 1729) II, 186, Ep. LXXVIII*
[e] *v. 5* [f] *supp'y: Jer. 2, 13; cp. above cap. II p. 210 l. 14 ff.*

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[24] peccatum *ABCHαβ* peccata *D* [25] claustraliter *BCDHα* claustra *Aβ* [26] *in A (E) is add. in mar. (respect. with mark of ref. above the col.):* Augustinus non invenit peiores homines quam in claustris *A[1] (E[1]) in H in mar.:* Augustinus de claustralibus *H[1]* [27] conclusiones *BCDHαβ* conclusione *AE* [28] sanctus discipline *BCHαβ* discipline *D* scilicet sapiencie *AE* [29] intellectus *ABCDHα* intellectum *β* [30] vaticinium aqua *BHβ* vaticinium aqua *(sic) ACDEα* [31] divine *ABCHαβ* domini non *(?) D*

CAP. IV. [1] *the number of the chap. not given in ACDHαβ* Quartum *B* [2] coniungitur *ACDαβ* coniugitur *BH (compend. om.)* [3] duo *ABCDEHαβ* alia *A[1] in mar. in E corr. into the text by E[1]*

culativis prioribus ad denotandum, quod viator non debet hic solum in speculacione quiescere,[4] sed praxi prudenter intendere.

Sed ad variacionem talis actus vel operis requiritur divinum consilium, quia iuxta apostolum Rom. 8 quicunque spiritu[5] dei aguntur, hii filii dei sunt. Si enim dat homini thezaurum sapiencie et intellectus, ut operando prosit ecclesie militanti, dimittendo hoc opus, quantum in ipso est, cassat propositum dei sui. Et cum magna sit clemencia sancti spiritus, sic seminare in terrigenis verbum dei, patet, quod tales ociantes in opere contrariantur clemencie dei sui. Et causa huius non potest fingi nisi curiositas vel superbia dyaboli aut ociositas, qua homo wlt sicut dyabolus in se ipso quiescere tamquam deus. Et propter ista dicit Iac. secundo cap.:[6 a] sicut corpus sine spiritu mortuum est, ita et fides sine operibus mortua est.

Et patet, quante viantes spiritum sanctum in isto deserunt et spiritus maligni consilium consecuntur. Nam multi filii dyaboli faciunt secundum consilium spiritus ad curiositatem sciencie consulentis || aut secundum consilium mundi ad prosperitates seculi excitantis,[7] aut secundum consilium carnis ad voluptates carneas instigantis. Et non dubium, quin illi spiritus sunt maligni.

C fol. 155b

Sed quomodo remanet talis fidelis domino, qui consilium spiritus sancti sic deserit et prosequitur[8] consilium spiritus tenebrarum? Dicit[9] autem donum sancti[10] spiritus, quod licet consilium suum in opere[11] imprimis sit arduum atque difficile, in fine tamen est utile atque dulce. E contra autem est de opere, ad quod[12] dyabolus[b] sic instigat. Durum quidem est stare pro veritate catholica, cum multi sunt filii dyaboli tales catholicos persequentes. Illi tamen, qui spiritu sancto ducuntur, propter persecucionem huiusmodi non omittunt,[13] sed pocius propter difficultatem ad opera talia animan-

[a] *v. 14* [b] *v. 26*

[4] *here ends in D fol. 300d, above it:* Consilium *D*[1] [5] spir. *ACDαβ* inquit spir. *BH* [6] d. Iac. 2. c. *ABCHαβ* Iac. 2. c. d. *D* [7] excitantis *BCDHαβ* excitantes *A* *in E is* aut co. spir. ad cur. sc. cons. *repeated after* consul. *(see above l. 17—18)* [8] pros. *ABCDHβ* pro pros. *α* [9] dicit *ABCDHβ* dicitur *α* [10] sancti *ABCDαβ* *om. H* [11] opere *ACDHαβ* tempore *B* [12] quod *ABDHαβ* quid *C* [13] omittunt *ABCDαβ* amittunt (a *ud., above it* b, *therefore* bmittunt *or* obmitt.) *H*

tur, iuxta illud Act. 5:[c] ibant apostoli gaudentes a conspectu consilii, quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Iesu Cristi contumeliam pati. Et talem pacem, que est mentis constans tranquillitas,[14] dedit Cristus suis discipulis iuxta illud[15] Ioh. 14:[d] pacem meam do vobis.[16]

Unde super isto verbo mussitat anticristus: cum apostoli[17] Cristi[18] atque disciputi fuerunt in hoc mundo multipliciter persecuti, quomodo ergo habuerunt pacem domini[19] eis datam? Sed cognoscant, quomodo correspondenter ad duplicem naturam in homine est pax duplex, scilicet pax corporalis et pax spiritualis.[20]

Pax corporis est quieta possessio bóni corporis, modo, quo regna dicuntur pacem habere, que a proximis debellantibus sunt quieta. Et ista pax, licet sit bona, est tamen longe abieccior quam secunda,[21] quia, sicut anima melior est corpore, sic pax anime melior quam[22] pax corpori[23] limitata. Istam ergo secundam pacem, que est constans[24] mentis tranquillitas, dono virtutis paciencie et fidei decorata, habuerunt[25] apostoli excellenter.

Et hinc erubescerent[26] religiosi moderni,[e] qui dicunt, quod in hoc a nobis differunt, quod observant omnia Cristi consilia, sed nos nude precepta. — Sed revera, si consilia Cristi perfecte servarent, conventus monstruosos[27] relinquerent et prelatos dyabolicos, quibus ex humanis tradicionibus obligantur, et perfecte legi dei atque facili prudenter se submitterent. Consilium autem tale ex sancto spiritu[28]

[c] *v. 41* [d] *v. 27* [e] *cp. above cap. II note b*

[14] *in A (E) is add. above the col. (respect. in mar.):* Quid sit pax *A[1] (E[1])* [15] iuxta illud *ACDHαβ om. B* [16] *in β is add. in mar.:* Pax que data per Cristum discipulis *(texthand) in C:* Pax *C[1]* [17] apostoli *ABCDαβ om. H, but corr. into the text by H[1]* [18] Cristi *ABCDHα om. β, but corr. into the text by β[1] (?)* [19] domini *BCDHαβ om. AE* [20] *in A (E) is add. above (respect. below) the col.:* Duplex pax corporalis et spiritualis *A[1](E[1]) in D in mar.:* Pax duplex *D[1] in β in mar.:* Pax duplex est *by the texthand in red ink* [21] secunda *BCDHαβ* prima *E,A corr. from* secunda [22] quam *ACDα* est quam *BHβ* [23] cor. *in β has undergone a correction at its last part by β[1]* [24] constans *ABCHαβ om. D, but supplied by the texthand in mar.* [25] dec. habuerunt *ABCDHα* servunt *β, in mar. is add.:* habuerunt *β[1]* [26] erubescerent *BCDHαβ* erubescunt *A* [27] monstruosos *ABDHαβ* monstrosos *C* [28] *B reads as as rule* spir. sa., *while the other codd. have* sa. spir.

non processit, cum ipse consuluit Cristi apostolis terram habitabilem sine talibus tradicionibus infamibus procedendo bini et bini, sicut fecerunt apostoli perfecti,[29] ad edificacionem ecclesie peragrare.

Et ex eodem spiritu[30] patet confutacio[31] ficticie anticristi. Dicit enim, quod ista precepta domini non sunt nisi consilia, ad que pauci vel nulli homines obligantur. Si enim istud sit tibi dei consilium, peccas graviter, contrarians spiritus sancti voluntati[32]. Si enim potens et sapiens proximus quidquam consuleris, profecto illud libenter faceres, sed infideliter dei consilium saluberrimum parvi pendis.

Et sic patet scrutanti sedule, quod consilium sancti spiritus *C fol. 159a* est preceptum,[33] nec caret contemptus illius con|silii pena gravedinis peccati, cum illud contempnens necessario[34] peccat graviter et amittit[35] profectum, qui ex complecione talis consilii sequeretur.

CAP. V.[1]

Sed cum spiritus sanctus non consulit ad prosperitates mundanas vel applausus hominum terrenorum, sed omnino contrarium, patet, quod sequens hoc[2] quartum sancti spiritus consilium exponit se periculosis persecucionibus quoad corpus. Ideo necessarium est quartum donum spiritus sancti, scilicet animi fortitudo.[3]

Licet autem deus dederit omnem fortitudinem hominis corporalem,[a] tamen pertinens est isti proposito, hic loqui de fortitudine animi,[4] que stat in perseverancia legis dei. Et de illa fortitudine

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CAP. V. [a] *for another definition of fortitudo, see Trial.* 132

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[29] perfecti *B,E² in mar.* interfecti *ACDEαβ* inperfecti *H, but* ter *corr. above* per *H¹* [30] spiritu *ACDαβ* dono spiritus *BH* [31] confutatio *ABDH,α (the* u *corr. from* ic) confitatio *C* confictacio *β* [32] voluntati *ABCHαβ* voluptati *D* [33] *in A (E) is add. above (respect. below) the col. with mark of ref.:* Consilium sancti spiritus est preceptum *A¹ (E¹)* [34] *in β is carelessly copied:* necc^io *(compend. om.)* [35] amittit *ABHαβ* amittunt *C* āmittit *D*

CAP. V. [1] *the number of the chap. not given in ACDHαβ* quintum *B* [2] sequens hoc *ACDHαβ* sapiens habet *B* [3] *in D is add. in mar.:* Fortitudo *D¹* [3] *in A (E) is add. with mark of ref. above the col.:* Fortitudo animi quid sit *A¹ (E¹)*

locuti sunt philosophi ponentes, ipsam esse unam de virtutibus cardinalibus, quas dicunt esse iusticiam, fortitudinem, prudenciam[5] et temperanciam. Et isto modo[6] intelligimus apostolos fuisse fortes in bello et alios pugiles pugnantes[7] cum serpente antiquo. Et sic intelligimus Cristum innuisse baptistam[8] esse fortem, Matth. 11[9] [b] quando dicit, quod baptista non[10] sit arundo, vento agitata, vel homo mollibus vestitus,[11] sed propheta remote dicens fortitudinis constanciam post[12] posteris fidelibus assumendam. Nam defectus fidei facit istam fortitudinem vacillare, sicut arundo infimo fundata vacillat faciliter ad quemlibet motum venti.

Et per ista possunt discerni filii dyaboli a filiis dei per fortitudinis constanciam in causa istorum principum. Nam milites mundani non[13] sunt fortes tam corpore,[14] quam anima, exponendo se magno periculo propter lucrum seculi vel famam hominis perquirendam, sed in causa dei vecorditer retrocedunt. Clerici eciam exponunt se periculis[15] terre et maris propter beneficium in romana[16] curia[17] acquirendum[c] et tamen[18] domi non audent fidem Cristi

[b] *v. 7—9* [c] *As to these „rome-renneris", cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 23. Rome-runners were called those individuals who gained a livelihood by acting as agents at the Papal Court. A vast amount of private business was continually going on there, such as appeals in ecclesiastical causes, specially the obtaining of dispensations. Cp. in Paston Letters (edit. Gairdner) III, 101 a letter by Sir John Paston: I have answer ageyn fro Roome that there is the welle of grace and salve sufficiaunt for suche a soore, and that I may be dyspencyd with: nevertheless my proctore there axeth a mj docatys, as he demythe. But Master Lacy, another Rome renner heer, etc. — In Piers Plowman (IV, 128) these men are also alluded to: And alle Rome-renneris for robberis of byȝonde, Bere no silver over see.*

[5] i. f. p. *ABCHα* f. i. p. *D* i. p. f. *β* [6] isto modo *ABCDHα* in isto *β* [7] pugi. pugnantes *ABCDHα*, pugn. *by β¹*, pugi. *by E¹ in mar.* *om. β* pingwes *(ud.)* pugn. *E* [8] i. b. *ABCHαβ* b. i. *D* [9] 11 *Bα* 2 *ACDH,β, below it* XI *by the texthand* [10] non *in mar. in AC, in α corr. into the text by α¹* [11] vestitus *BCDαβ,A, in mar. is add.* indutus vestibus *H* vestitus indutus *E* [12] post *ACα* *om. BDHβ* [13] non *(cr. out) A* non *BCαβ (in E inserted later into the text by E¹) in H ud. (by H¹)* *om. D* [14] corp. *ABCDHα* in corp. *β* [15] periculis *ACDHαβ* periculo *B* [16] romana *ABCHαβ* roma *D* [17] curia *ABCHβ,α² in mar.* *om. Dα* [18] tamen *ABH* cum *CDα* tum *β*

insultantibus adversariis dicere[19] vel viris Belial publicare. Et sic fratres audent pro observancia[20] ordinis sui putridi duces et principes usque ad mortis periculum[21] defamare,[22 d] sed in causa dei, quod secundum ordinacionem suam in paupertate Cristi ecclesia regeretur,[23] non audent dicere unum verbum, quia timent perdere favorem mundanum et munuscula[24] satraparum.[e]

Et ut breviter dicam, vecordia sacerdotum in causa dei et constans fortitudo eorum in causa dyaboli testatur, quomodo religio eorum[25] est vana,[26] et quomodo sunt manifesti dei proditores et pugiles dyaboli, in causa sua[27] fortissimi pugnatores.[28]

Et cum spiritus sanctus armat suos pugiles armis paciencie et[29] fidei futuri meriti, et non ferro vel fortitudine corporali, et cum de triplici[30] figura,[31] in qua spiritus sanctus apparuit, Act. 2.[32 f] legitur, quod factus est repente de celo sonus tamquam advenientis spiritus vehementis[33] et replevit totam domum, ubi erant sedentes, — ubi non dubium, quin vehemencia[34] spiritus sic replentis figurat fortitudinem[35] spiritalem, omnem vecordiam

[d] *for an instance of such calumny, cp. Walsingham, Hist. Angl. II, 112 ff., where a Carmelite, of Ireland, accused the Duke of Lancaster of high treason, but lost afterwards his life in a cruel and outrageous manner; cp. also Ypod. Neustr. 339. There is no evidence in the text, whether W. alludes to this disgraceful affair* [e] *a favorite name of W.'s for the Pope and his followers* [f] *v.* 2

[19] dicere *BCDHαβ* *om. AE* [20] observancia *ABCDHα* servancia *β, but* β^1 *has add.* ob [21] per. *ABCDHβ* des *(cr. out)* per. *α* [22] defamare *ABCHαβ* diffamare *D* [23] regeretur *ABCHαβ* regere *D* [24] munusc. *is α corr. by* α^1 non audent d. u. v. q. t. p. f. m. et m. *ACDHαβ* *om. B, but with mark of ref. below the col.* B^1 [25] in causa d. t. q. r. e. *ABCDHα* *om. β* [26] vana *ABCDαβ*,H^1 *in mar.* unna *(?) H* [27] sua *ACHα*,B^1 *cp. n.* 28 sui *Dβ* [28] et pugiles d. i. c. s. f. pugn. *ACDHαβ*,B^1 *in mar.* *om. B* [29] et *ABDHαβ* *om. C* [30] tripl. *in H illegibly written, but in mar.* de triplici *is add. by* H^1 [31] *the codd. read:* terratura *C* creatura *ABDH,α, in mar. is add.* tercatura, *above the* c *an* r α^2 [*therefore* terratura] cratura *β, but* e *is inserted above it by* β^1 [32] 2do *ABCDαβ*,H^1 *corr. into the text* *om. H* [33] vehementis *ABDHαβ* vehentis *C (compend. om.)* [34] vehemencia *BCDHαβ* vehemenciam *A* [35] fortitudinem *ABCDαβ* fortitudine *H*

culpabilem auferentem[36] et ad omnem[37] spiritalem[38] | fortitudinem mentis eodem spiritu congruam generaliter excitantem[39]; sed deficit secunda figura in lingwis igneis, quia fortitudo amoris divini[40] extingwitur, et candens facula[41] in cordibus terrestribus ex gravedine ad infernum tendentibus in figuram a dyabolo preparatur, et sic tercio miticia[42] auri[43] suspenditur, et volatilium rapacium figurale dogma filiis[44] dyaboli propalatur.[45] | C fol. 159b

Et sic dona sancti spiritus, sicut sua operacio et viatorum[46] filiacio sunt subversa, et ita mundani, qui debent esse spiritus ut patet Luc. 11,[g] in corpora gravia sunt subversi, et fortitudo spiritus sancti, que[47] debet esse viatoribus spiritalis, versa est in fortitudinem corporalem, et per consequens pugna, que debet esse spiritalis contra dyabolum, versa est in pugnam atrocissimam corporalem, cum non solum mundani compugnant,[48] sed eciam episcopi, qui debent esse mitissimi. Et ita, qui debent in paciencia possidere animas suas iuxta doctrinam ewangelii,[h] ponunt in atrocitate suas mundanas[49] victorias,[50] et qui debent esse in paupertate[51] humiliores et simpliciores, sunt in mundana[52] elacione superbiores et mundo[53] diciores; et qui debent loqui ewangelicam veritatem,[54] locuntur mendaciter falsitatem; et ultimo, qui debent suam fortitudinem humilitate et paciencia[55] custodire, excitant suam robusti-

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[g] *v. 24—26* [h] *cp. Luc. 21, 19*

[36] aufferentem *B* aufferendo *ACDαβ* *om. H* [37] omnem vec. c. auff. et ad omn. *ABCDαβ* *om. H, but add. below the col. (207^d) by H*[1] [38] spiritalem *BCDαβ* spiritualem *AH* [39] excitantem *ABCDHα* excitando *β* [40] divini *ACDHαβ* domini *B* [41] facula *CDβ* patula *Aα* pocula *B* pacula *(above the* p *an* f) *H* [42] miticia *BCDHαβ* miticiam miticia *AE* [43] auri *ACDHα* auris *B* avari *β* [44] fil. *ABCDα* a fil. *Hβ* [45] *in A the first* a *of* prop. *is entirely blotted out* [46] viatorum *ABCHαβ* beatorum *D* [47] que *Cβ* qui *ABDH,α*, *but in mar.* que *α*[2] [48] compugnant *ABCDαβ* pugnant *H* [49] mundanas *ACDHαβ* mundanos *B* [50] *B reads* vitorias, *but a* c *is add. above it* *in H here ends col. 207^b, in its lower margin is add.:* Contra pugnam episcoporum *H*[1] [51] e. i. p. *ACDHαβ* i. p. e. *B* [52] in mun. *ABCDαβ,H*[1] *in mar.* *om. H* [53] mundo *CDHα* multo *AB*,*β*[1] *(here a corr. word)* [54] *from* verit. *on in H a new hand begins* [55] humilitate et paciencia *E,A (the end-*e *of* hu. *is corr. from* i, *the end-*a *of* pa. *from* e) humilitati et paciencie *BCDHα* humiliti et paciencie *β*

tatem in pugnis ballistarum et scurrilitate simili corporali;[i] sic, quod Iordane converso retrorsum, quondam filii dei sunt[56] in filios dyaboli transformati.

CAP. VI.[1]

Quintum vero donum sancti spiritus est donum sciencie.[2] Cum enim secundum philosophos sciencia est noticia conclusionum, sive speculativa sive practica, ex sapiencia et intellectu tamquam principiis deductarum,[3][a] patet, quod spiritus sanctus ecclesie sue deficeret, nisi sibi de tali sciencia provideret.

Debet autem fidelis cognoscere, qua arte sua proximo suo secundum caritatem proficeret, et ista[4] mensura doni sciencie, que sit conclusio practica operandi, est necessaria[5] viatori.

Ex fide quidem[6] capimus, quod tota viacio momentanea nostra est[7] propter beatitudinem acquirendam, ideo necessarium est nobis breve tempus nostrum redimere et conclusiones tales, de quanto ad beatitudinem proficiunt, secundum hoc donum spiritus sancti addiscere. Et hoc foret scire,[8] quomodo possumus in caritate dei et proximi habundare.

Et patet, quantum in[9] isto dono sciencie ordines novelli degenerant, cum intendunt precipue illi praxi, secundum quam in dotacione et aliis temporalibus poterint[10] habundare, ut monachi dicuntur artibus humanis, iuri civili atque canonico patenter vel private inten-

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[i] *From the above may be inferred, the that Crusade to Flanders (1383) has neither begun, nor is at the time of writing thought of.*
CAP. VI. [a] *cp. a similar definition of the sciencia Trial. 129*

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[56] sunt *A,B*[1] *in mar., β*[1] *has corr. it into the text om. BCDHαβ*
CAP. VI. [1] *the number of the chap. not given in ACDHαβ* sextum *B* [2] *in C is add. above the chap.:* Donum sciencie *in β in mar.:* Sciencia [3] deductarum *ABCDHβ* deducta *α (after* a *there is an erasure)* [4] ista *C (the* s *is corr. above* ita*)* ita *Aα* illa *BDβ* igitur *H* [5] *on* necessaria, tanea *(of* momentanea *l. 12 above) and* bre *(of* breve *l. 14 above) there is in H an big ink blot* [6] quidem *ABCHαβ* quippe *D* [7] est *ABCHαβ* necessaria est *D* [8] scire *ACDHαβ. B*[1] *in mar. om. B* [9] in *ABCDHβ,α*[2] *corr. into the text* de *(sd.) α* [10] poterint *CDHα* poterit *A* potuerit *B* poterunt *(? potuerunt) β*

dere. Cuius causa videtur, quia ipsa est[11] sciencia lucrativa, et cupido temporalium ex malicia consequente[12] hoc exigit, quod,[13] de quanto magis imbibitur, de tanto dyabolus magis[14] provocat, ‖ *C fol. 160a* ut[15] ardencius[16] multitudo temporalium appetatur, quia viator exhorbitans ex continuacione devii[17] necessario continue a rectitudine itineris plus declinat.

Consideret ergo viator prudenter, quomodo dotacio et ista temporalium possessio a statu innocencie deviant,[18] et a statu, quem Cristus elegerat[19] cum suis apostolis.

Ideo necesse est, quod status istarum religionum, que[20] sic in temporalibus immerguntur, de quanto plus biberint, de tanto plus siciant habere temporalia.[21] Cuius racio est secundum philosophos, quod anima humana naturaliter appetens beatitudinem et sic deum, non habet istud analogum boni simpliciter executum. Ideo cum caret hoc bono animi,[22] naturaliter appetit magis bonum, et cum per[23] appetitum temporalium sic indisponitur, appetit impossibiliter in istis temporalibus saciari. Ideo si per impossibile infinitos mundos posset acquirere,[24] adhuc bona appeteret[25] ampliora, quia deficit anime summum bonum, in quo solo[26] anima disposita naturaliter quietatur. Et hoc[27] videtur psalmista sentire Psal. 16[28 b]: ego autem in iusticia apparebo,[29] saciabor, cum apparuerit gloria

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[b] *Ps. 17, 15*

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[11] est *is in H crossed out by strokes (H¹)* [12] cons. *ABCDHαβ,E² in mar. om. E* [13] quod *CDHαβ* et *AB* *in C in mar.:* Roma [14] magis *ABCDαβ* plus *H* [15] ut *ABCDHβ* vel *(corr. by α¹) α* [16] ardencius *ABCHβ* candencius *DC¹,α, but above the* a *an* r *by α¹* [17] devii *BCHβ,α² in mar.* devii deum *A (E:* devii deum [deum *ud.*]*)* deum *α* devij *D* [18] deviant *Cα* deviat *ABDHβ* [19] elegerat *ABCDHβ* elegererat *α* [20] que *ABCDHα* qui *β* [21] *in C is add. in mar.:* Roma [22] animi *ABCαβ* tamen *D* cum *H* [23] per *in C corr. into the text* [24] posset acquirere *BCDαβ* infinitos mundos *(cr. out)* possit acquirere *H* acquireret *A,E here* ret *is erased, and in mar.* posset *is supplied by E²* [25] appeteret *BCDHαβ* appetet *AE* [26] solo *B* sola *ACDHαβ* [27] hoc *ABCDHβ* hoc modo *α* [28] *in H is added:* 16 quere verte duo folia post; *here ends fol. 207b; on 208a a new hand begins a new Tract, Incip.:* Utrum potestas clavium ecclesie extendit *etc., Explicit at the end of fol. 209b:* accusacio sui ipsius aput post duo folia verte, *then follows on fol. 210a the remainder of the present Tract:* ego autem *etc.* [29] app. *ABCDαβ* tua app. *H*

tua,[30] et Augustinus libro Confessionum[31c]: fecisti nos, domine, ad te, et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te.

Et in isto devio humanarum tradicionum hii ordines novi exhorbitant a religione domini nostri[32] Iesu Cristi. Unde fratres dicuntur infinitum[33] sitire numerum[34] sociorum et[35] temporalium, cum quibus globus huiusmodi sustentetur. Et hinc dicuntur vendere sermones suos frivolos, literas fraternitatum, suffragia oracionum[d] et huiusmodi, cum quibus dyabolus[36] docet eos[37] cum fidelibus commercari.[38] Nec dubium, quin sicut[39] habent sciencias se ipsos secundum suos[40] ordines perornandi, sic[41] habent vocatas sciencias temporalia ab egenis fidelibus[42] perquirendi. Sed indubie illa sciencia non est habitus, qui graciose[43] a sancto spiritu est infusus.

Sicut ergo trinitas posuit cuncta sua opera in mensura, numero et pondere, sic ponit[44] et totam noticiam, quam graciose[45] tribuit viatori. Quid ergo profecissent[46] antiquis patribus conclusiones huiusmodi in ecclesia primitiva?

Et[47] idem videtur de[48] deviis in grammatica,[49] in logica et metaphysica, et in[50] aliis scienciis, in quibus moderni[51] exhorbitant a via ad beatitudinem,[52] que tamen beatitudo foret finis,[53] qui omnia media ad ipsum[54] tendencia mensuraret.

Et illud donum sciencie propter peccata et alias curiositates

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[c] *Augustinus, Confess. lib. I, 1* [d] *as to this, cp. above De tripl. Vinc. Am. p. 193; also p. 143; 35; again Trial. 349 ff.*

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[30] tua *ABCDαβ* *om. H* [31] confessionum *ACDHαβ* confessionis *B* [32] nostri *ACDHαβ* *om. B* [33] inf. *ABCDαβ* in inf. *H* [34] numerum *ABCDHβ*,α^1 *in mar.* *om. α* [35] et *BCDHαβ* *om. A* [36] dyabolus *ABCDαβ*,H^1 *in mar.* *om. H* [37] eos *ABCHαβ* nos *(ud.)* eos *D* [38] commercari *ACDHαβ* quietari *B* [39] sicut *ABCDHβ* sic *α*, α^1 *has added* ut [40] suos *ABCHαβ* *om. D* [41] per sic *BCHαβ* per et sic *D* perornande sic *AE* [42] fidelibus *ACDHαβ* *om. B* [43] graciose *ABCDHα* gloriose *β* [44] ponit *ABCDHα* posuit *β* [45] gr. *in α a corr. word (by* α^1*)* [46] profecissent *BCDHαβ* profecisset *A* [47] et *ABCDHα, corr. into the text by* β^1 sed *β* [48] de *ACHαβ*,B^1 *in mar.* *om. BD* [49] grammatica *ABCDHβ* gramaca *(compend. om.) α* [50] in *ACDHαβ* *om. B* [51] moderni *ABDHαβ* mordeni *C* [52] beatitudinem *BCH* habitudinem *ADαβ* [53] fi. *in α a corr. word* [54] ipsum *BCDα* ipsam *(?) AHβ*

humanas rarenter acquiritur.[55] Et hoc est signum evidens, quod spiritus sanctus in viatoribus parum illabitur. Que, rogo, necessitas occupandi[56] tempus et ingenium humanum, ut homo sciat fratrem succingere[57] et in aliis pictaciis, quas vane religiones nove[58] invenerant, se ipsum vel socium perornare? Revera sicut corpora per tradiciones huiusmodi deturpantur, || sic mentes per istas vocatas || *C fol. 160b*
sciencias amplius viciantur. Et ex isto errore nigromancia,[59] philomancia[60] et alie artes dyaboli prodierunt.[61]

CAP. VII.[1]

Sextum donum sancti spiritus[2] vocatur pietas, que subdividitur[3] in theosebiam et in[4] eusebiam[5]. Theosebia[6] autem dicitur donum sancti spiritus, quo homo caritative tribuit[7] cultum deo,[a] eusebia autem dicitur obsequium, quo homo caritative diligit[8] proximum sicut debet. Et istud donum pietatis signanter consequitur ad donum sciencie, cum sciencia debeat pietate huiusmodi mensurari. Nullam quidam scienciam debemus addiscere vel curare, nisi ipsa[9] profecerit ad pietatem homini[10] acquirendam. Ideo debemus vanas[11] sciencias, quas prius[b] didicimus, suspendere vel curtare.

Et istud donum[12] pietatis[13] movet alios[14] niti reducere ordines

CAP. VII. [a] *cp. another definition of pietas Trial. 186.* [b] *cp. above cap. VI conclusion; cap. I conclusion (p. 209)*

[55] *in A (E) is add. below the col.:* Donum sciencie propter peccata raro acquiritur A^1 (E^1) [56] occ. *ACDHαβ* foret occ. *B* [57] succ. *ACDHαβ* suum succ. *B* [58] nove *BCDHαβ*,E^2 *a.R.* non *AE* [59] nigromancia *ABCHαβ* nigromantici *D* [60] philomancia *ABCHαβ* philomantici *D* [61] prodierunt *ABDHαβ* perdierunt *C*

CAP. VII. [1] *the number of the chap. not given in ACDHαβ* Cap^m septimum *B* [2] sa. sp. *ACDαβ* sp. sa. *BH* [3] subd. *in β a corr. word* ($β^1$) [4] in *C* *om. ABDHαβ* [5] *in C is add. in mar.:* Theosebia, Eusebia, *above the chap.:* Pietas *in β in mar.:* Pietas *in A (E) above the col.:* Quid sit theosebia et eusebia A^1 (E^1) [6] theos. *in α a corr. word* [7] car. trib. *CDHαβ* trib. c. *A* trib. car. tribuit *B* [8] car. dil. *ABCHαβ* dil. car. *D* [9] ipsa *ACDHαβ* *om. B* [10] homini *BCD* hominum *AHαβ* [11] vanas *ABCDHβ*,$α^2$ *in mar.* bonas *α* [12] donum *ABCDHβ*,$α^2$ *in mar.* *om. α.* [13] do. pi. *ACHαβ* pi. do. *BD* [14] alios *ABCDHα* aliquos *β*

istos novellos ad[15] puram sectam domini Iesu Cristi, quia ista pietas sonaret in amorem eorum et fidelium, quos fatigant. Sed sicut ordo donorum spiritus sancti iuxta dicta superius transformatur, sic et donum pietatis, cum impietas vocatur pietas et e contra.

Nunc enim vocatur pietas tribuere temporalia conviventi,[16] licet ipsa sibi noceant et ecclesie militanti, ac[17] si diceretur, quod pietas magna est tribuere furioso[18] acutum gladium et febricitanti potum calidum.

Et in ista pietate fratres laborant, cum volunt ordinem suum, in quo a religione Cristi[19] degenerant, dilatare. Ideo quidquid persona talis ordinis fecerit, dum in laudem vel proprium lucrum sonuerit, factum[20] illius persone tribuunt[21] toti ordini, et si[22] sonet[23] in vituperium, e contrario.[24]

Unde dubitatur[25] communiter, quid[26] in puncto proposito[27] sit[28] tenendum. Et dicunt quidam, quod sicut deus ex quolibet facto laudabili persone private principaliter[29] est laudandus, sic ex quolibet culpabili facto[30] persone private istorum ordinum ordo integer est culpandus, et specialiter, si ordo ille privatus sit causa vel consenciens illi facinori perpetrato.[31]

Sed contra illud quidam obiciunt, quod per idem quecunque persona peccaverit, puniri debet tota religio cristiana. Sed quid iniquius, cum deus, qui est prima[32] iusticia, contradicit faciendo unumquemque portare onus proprium, quia aliter iustus propter dyabolum puniretur.

Hic[33] dicunt quidam, quod isti ordines, non fundati in domino, debent participare adiutorio ecclesie propter culpam unius persone, cum[34] tota ecclesia debet niti totum ordinem illum ad

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[15] ad *ABCDαβ* reducere ad *H* [16] conviventi *CDHαβ* convincenti *AB*, *β¹ corr. from* conviventi [17] ac *BCDHαβ* et *A* [18] fur. *ABCDHβ* virtuoso *(cr. out)* fur. *α* [19] r. Cr. *ABCDαβ* Cr. r. *H* [20] factum *BCDHβ* fratrum *Aα* [21] tribuunt *ABCDαβ* tribunt *H* [22] si *ACDHαβ* sic *B* [23] sonet *ACDHαβ* sonat *B* [24] e contrario *ACHαβ* e converso *(?) BD* [25] dubitatur *BCDHαβ*,*E² in mar.* dicuntur *A(ud.E)* [26] quid *CD* quod *ABHαβ* [27] proposito *ABCDαβ*,*H¹ in mar.* *om. H* [28] sit *ACDHαβ* sic *B* [29] princ. *ABDHαβ* istorum ordinum *(ud.)* princ. *C* [30] cul. fa. *ACHαβ* fa. cul. *BD* [31] perpetrato *BCDHαβ*,*E corr. from* -ti perpetrati *A* [32] prima *ABCDαβ* persona *(? pª) H* [33] hic *ACDHαβ* Septimum donum et ultimum *(cr. out & up.)* hic *B* [34] cum *ABCDHα* *om. β*

puram religionem Cristi reducere. Nam religio Cristi docet bonum pro malo reddere. Igitur cum totus dictus novellus ordo consentit privato facinori, quia error peccati communicatur toti ordini, religio Cristi exigit propter pietatem ad deum et totam suam ecclesiam,[35] quod error tocius novi ordinis corrigatur.

Ideo sicut percuciens proximum suum[36] cum pugno non solum est in pugno ex pietate domini puniendus, | sed bonum penalis[37] *C fol. 161a* iusticie debet ad totum hominem dilatari, sic videtur in maliciis istorum ordinum.

Et quantum[38] ad racionem in contrarium, dicitur, quod omnes isti novi ordines sunt participes in errore. Sed secus est de filiis dei predestinatis ad gloriam et de filiis dyaboli prescitis ad penam. Utrobique[39] tamen est pietas exercenda, quia, nisi foret pietas in istis novis ordinibus in claustris, consentirem, quod[40] propter culpam unius persone foret totum conventiculum dissolutum. Sed illa dissolucio proficeret cuilibet persone illorum[41] ordinum et toti ecclesie militanti; non tamen consencio, nisi habuero revelacionem divinam, quod persona aliqua occidatur.[c] Sed ad illud, quod[42] sonat in utilitatem[43] cuiuslibet illarum[44] et tocius ecclesie, potest catholicus securus operari.

CAP. VIII.[1]

Septimum donum et ultimum spiritus sancti[2] est timor domini,[3] quod est basis omnium aliorum. Qui enim debite timet dominum,

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[c] *as to this milder attitude of W. towards the Orders, cp. Trial. 349; also cod. 1343 (Imper. Libr., Vienna), fol. 51a in the Tract De Apostasia; Lechler, I, 590 has printed the passage in question*

[35] eccl. *in β a corr. word* [36] suum *ABCHαβ* *om. D* [37] penalis *B (!)*, *CDHαβ* penale *A* [38] qua. *BCDHαβ* ad *(cr. out)* quan. *A* ad quan. *E* [39] utrob. *ABCDHβ* ubique *(cr. out)* utrob. *α* [40] consentirem quod *ACHαβ,E*, *in mar. is added* quod consenti racio quod *D* quod consentiret *B* [41] illorum *ABCDHα* istorum *β* [42] quod *ACDHαβ* quidem *B* [43] utilitatem *ABCHαβ* inutilitatem *(! motitatem) D* [44] illarum *BCDHαβ* illorum *A*

CAP. VIII. [1] *Number of chap. not given in ACDHαβ* 8vum *B* [2] sa. *ABCDH om. αβ* [3] *in C is add. above the chap.:* Timor domini *in β in mar.:* Timor domini

conservat sé ab omni nequicia, quantum potest. Ideo dicit Augustinus,[a] quod, sicut seta inducit filum[4] in durum corium, sic timor domini inducit virtutes alias tempore vel ordine abscondito consequentes. — Et de timore filiali videtur,[5] quod spiritus sanctus hic loquitur. Timor autem naturalis non est pertinens virtutibus sive viciis, cum Cristus naturaliter timebat, sed timor servilis sapit peccatum ex inexistente vecordia. Et timor filialis vocatur timor sanctus manens in seculum seculi et ille[6] timor sive pena i… titudinem, cum ad deum secundum quantitatem sui natur, et includit horrorem peccati persone proprie … sone divine,[8] propter quam peccatum in persona propri… Et istum[9] timorem domini[10] pauci vel nulli viantes p… plus timent temporalem dominum,[11] quam dominum … et plus abhorrent offense sue[12] temporalis gravedinem, … dinem culpe, propter quam homo ex divina iusticia[13] … dus. Bene ergo foret[14] illi homini, qui perfecte ha… timorem domini et sex dona alia, que precedunt.

Et hic notant fideles, quomodo isti novelli ordin… iste secte quatuor timuerunt,[15] ubi non erat timor, quia … ordinem suum mardosum, quam sectam vel ordinem cri… plus timent carenciam vocati commodi temporalis, quam … boni patrie, ex peccato in spiritum sanctum insurgente.

Et ad hoc seducit eos dyabolus huiusmodi[16] paralogi… suus est melior quam persona aliqua in eodem, sed pro n… amplius est zelandum, ergo pro salvacione sui ordinis p…

CAP. VIII. [a] *W., perhaps, had in his mind August. Opp.* … *Edition) tom. V Sermo XLVI de Pastor. p. 224 B: homo* … *sanctificationem etc. I have failed to ascertain the quotation* …

[4] filum *ABCDHα* filium *β* [5] *in A (E) is add. in mar. (* … *col.):* Timor filialis non naturalis est timor dei et donum spiritus sancti [6] ille *ACDHαβ* iste *B* [7] inferens *ACD* inserens *Hαβ* in sanctis *B* *there is a blank space instead of* div., *the copier, I believe, could not read his* … [9] istum *BCHβ* cum *AE* itum *α* iterum *D* [10] domini *ABCHαβ* … [11] temporalem dominum *ACDHαβ* temporale dominium *B* [12] sue *A*… *om. H* [13] iust. *ABCDHβ* clemencia *(ud.)* iust. *α* [14] foret *BE*[2] *in mar.* … *ACDHαβ,E (ud.)* [15] timuer. *in β corr. from* timerunt [16] huiusmodi *AB*… huius *β*

pro aliqua persona eiusdem vel persona aliqua militantis ecclesie est zelandum.

Et iste[17] paralogismus dicitur movisse fratres ad intoxicacionem cesaris in hostia consecrata[18 b] et fratres alios pro nostro tempore ad occisionem domini Ducis Lancastrie, quia noluit[19] sacerdotes fideles punire, secundum quod pro defensione sui ordinis cupiebant.[c]

Et istorum ordinum introduccio habet istud periculum in eis ditum, quod[20] dyabolus potest ipsos ad tantum seducere, ›nspirent in mortem cesaris,[21] regum vel[22] principum, ymo || *C fol. 161b* itatum[23] propter inordinatum amorem, quem habent ad ardosum ordinem conservandum. Veritas quidem est, quod[24] ile et salubre a fideli ecclesia observandum, quod ordines esistant, cum non habent[25] in domino fundamentum. Nam wangelii dicit Ioh. 10[26 d]: qui non intrat[27] per ostium in

[b] *Either Günther of Schwarzenburg is meant (compare Uetterodt, G. v. Schw., Lpz. 1862, p. 79 ff.) or Henry VII of Germany. According to the most credible contemporaries the latter died August 24th 1313 (shortly after he had received the Holy Sacrament from a Dominican, Bernardino), from the effects of exertions he had undergone in his campaigns, or from the poisonous air of the Maremna. The unknown author of a Brevis hist. ord. Praedic. remarks that the Cistercian monk, John, a chaplain of H.'s, first made the accusation of murder by poison, because he coveted the Dominican's post of confessor to H., see Pöhlmann, Römerzug Heinrichs VII, 1876; also Wenk, Allg. D. Biogr. XI, 448.* [c] *cp. Chron. Adae de Usk 4; Wals. I, 325 ff. The addition* quia noluit *etc. probably refers to the famous scene in St. Paul's Church on Feb. 19th 1377, cp. Lechler, I, 370. This notice contradicts what is known of Lancaster's connection with the Mendicant Friars, compare Lechler, I, 369, Note. On account of Wiclif's repeated notices of the scandalous plot and the remark of Wals. II, 112 ff., I am not so entirely convinced that Lancaster „was as declared a friend to the Mendicant Friars", as he was a sworn foe to the prelates.* [d] *v. 1*

[17] iste *ABCHαβ* dicitur *D* [18] *in A (E) is add. in mar. (above the* ʹ.*):* Quare fratres intoxicarunt cesarem *A¹ (E¹)* [19] noluit *ABCDHα* vont *β, above the* v *an* n *by β²* [20] quod *CDHαβ* quia *AB* [21] cesaris *ABCHαβ om. D* [22] vel *ABCHα* cesaris vel *Dβ* [23] communitatum *BCH* comitatum *Dαβ,C¹ above* commun. [24] quod *ABCHαβ om. D* [25] habent *ABCDHα* abeant *β* [26] 10 *ABCDHα,β² above* 1⁰ 1⁰ *β* [27] intrat *ABCDαβ,H¹ in mar. om. H*

ovile ovium, sed ascendit aliunde,[28] fur est et latro. Omnes autem isti[29] novelli ordines non intrant in ecclesiam per ostium Iesum Cristum, sed super tectum ecclesie per cautelam dyaboli subintraverunt.[30 e] Ideo certum est, quod sunt fures et latrones, qui, ut furentur,[31] mactent[32] et perdant,[33] per dyabolum subintrarunt.[34] — Et si intrarunt[35] per ostium, reseret quicunque eorum, ubi, quando et qualiter ex auctoritate domini subintrarunt. Quod cum nesciunt, apud fideles prudentes isti ordines ex furto et latrocinio sunt suspecti.

Sed respondendo sophismati illius dyaboli concedendum est, quod isti ordines materialiter sunt plus amandi quoad[36] creaturas istas, que dicuntur esse in istis ordinibus, quam persona aliqua eorum,[37] verumtamen tam[38] persone quam virtutes eorum[39] sunt plus amate a domino, quam[40] mille tales ordines formaliter intellecti salva implicacione falsa, quod tales ordines intellecti[41] formaliter[42] sunt amandi.

Ideo amemus personas et odiamus habitudines glomeratas, et tunc nec frater nec persona aliqua istorum novorum ordinum seducetur sophismate[43] dyaboli, occidendo in carcere fratrem suum, vel magnatem aliquem vel communitatem, cum vita naturalis persone sit pocior quam glomeracio talis per dyabolum introducta.

Ideo dissipando tales ordines nature et[44] opera dei in illis ordinibus salvarentur; virtutes autem morales[f] sunt infinitum[45] istis ordinibus meliores. Ideo homo debet mori pro illis virtutibus paciendo.

[e] *a reproach advanced frequently against the Sects by W.* [f] *cp. Trial. 128: iustitia, fortitudo, prudencia, temperancia; generally they are called cardinales, sometimes morales to distinguish them from the virt. intellectuales: sapientia, intellectus, sciencia, ars, prudencia, cp. Trial. 129*

[28] aliunde *BCDHαβ* aliudo *A (compendium om.)* [29] isti *ABCHαβ* tales *D* [30] subintraverunt *ACDHαβ* subintrarunt *B* [31] furentur *ABCDHα* finientur *β* [32] mactent *BCDHα* mactant *A* et mactent *β* [33] perdant *ABCDHα* deperdant *β* [34] subintrarunt *BCHα* subintraverunt *Aβ* subintrant *D* [35] intrarunt *ACDHα* intrant *B* intraverunt *β* [36] quoad *ABCDαβ* qua ad *H* [37] eorum *B* earum *ACDHαβ* [38] tam *CDHαβ* *om. AB* [39] eorum *B* earum *ACDHαβ* [40] quam *BCDHαβ,E, corr. later above* quod quod *AE* [41] intellecti *ACDαβ,H(?)* *om. B* [42] i. f. *ACHβ* f. i. *D* int. sunt (su. *cr. out)* for. *α* f. *B, cp. note 41* [43] sophismate *BCDHαβ* sophismati *(?* sompniati) *AE* [44] et *ABCDHα* ut *β* [45] infi. *ABCHαβ* in inf. *D*

CAP. IX.[1]

Sed contra illud obicit anticristus, quod iuxta hanc evidenciam artes confederate, gilde,[2] ville, patrie non sese amarent[3] reciproce, cum[4] ex istis oriri possent pugne[5] et bella, multi[6] populi destructiva. Non ergo sequitur, ex istis poterunt[7] oriri multa mala,[8] ergo sunt a populo destruenda, cum ex qualibet creatura, ymo, ut quibusdam[a] placet, ex deo oriri poterunt[9] multa mala.

Hic dicitur, quod fidelis non quiescit super istam evidenciam, sed pocius super istam: Cristus, dominus noster omnipotens, omnisciens et omnivolus,[10] fuit in lege et ordinacione sua completissimus, compendiosissimus et nullo modo a deo vel creatura aliqua[11] culpabilis vel eciam defectivus.[12] Sed ipse in toto corpore legis sue non docuit explicite vel implicite, quod ad regendum ecclesiam suam oriri debeant tales secte.[b] Ideo catholicus debet quiescere in mensura ordinante[13] Iesu Cristi[14] sui. Maior patet ex fide, minor[15] ex hoc evidet, quod secta Cristi compendiosissima sit[16] per se sufficiens, ergo superflueret[17] addere novas sectas. Universitas enim creata[18] tendit ad dei[19] similitudinem, quantum permittit

CAP. IX. [a] *Th. Bradwardin, De Causa Dei I cap. 32 fol. 282 (edit. by H. Savile, Lond. 1618); as to this, cp. Lechler I, 236 ff.; 504 ff. According to Thom. Aquin., Summa I qu. 49 art. 2, Deus est causa mali per accidens, cp. J. Müller, Sünde (1853) p. 307 ff.* [b] *to make good this reproach, W. wrote De Fund. Sect., cp. above p. 13 ff. and below p. 230 l. 18*

CAP. IX. [1] *Number of chap. not given in ACHαβ, in D the text is not interrupted* Cap[m] novum *B* [2] *in D there is a blank space instead of* gilde; *the bohemian copier could not, I presume, make out this uncommon word of his text* [3] amarent *ACDHαβ* armarent *B* [4] cum *BCDHαβ* nam *A* [5] poss. pug. *ACDHαβ* poss. possent pug. *B* [6] mul. *ABCHαβ* et mul. *D* [7] ex istis poterunt *ACDHα* ex *(cr. out)* poterunt *B* ex istis potuerunt *(?* poterunt) *β* [8] p. or. mu. ma. *ABCHαβ* p. mu. ma. o. *D* [9] or. poterunt *BCHα* or. poterant *A* poterunt or. *D* or. potuerunt *(?* poterunt) *β, cp. n. 7* [10] omnivolus *ABCDHα* omnibenivolus *β* [11] cr. al. *ABCHαβ* al. cr. *D* [12] defectivus *ACDHαβ* defanus *B* [13] ordinante *Cβ* et ordinacione *A* ordinacione *BHα* ordinancie *D* [14] Cristi *ACDHαβ* *om. B* [15] minor *ACDHαβ* et minor *B* [16] sit *ACDHαβ* fuit *B* [17] superflueret *ABCDHβ,α*[2] *in mar.* sufficeret *(cr. out) α* [18] cr. *ABCHαβ* dei cr. *D* [19] dei *ACDHαβ* *om. B*

racio, et sic de quolibet membro suo. Ecclesia ergo Cristi propter unitatem patroni et propter unitatem regule[20] secte Cristi appetit unitatem, et quando post mille annos sathanas est solutus et in- | C fol. 162a ducta est de fratri bus secta novissima, tunc decrevit[c].

Ideo quidam capiunt ab effectu experienciam, quod tam Cristus quam racio secundum doctrinam apostoli Eph. 4[21 d] talem appetit unitatem. Et racio tercia stat in isto,[22] quod Cristus racioni plus consone potuit ecclesiam suam in unitate huiusmodi ordinare. Nec racio vel[23] auctoritas isti repugnat, sed consonat, ideo istud catholice est tenendum.

Ideo si alique persone de hiis sectis, ut[24] fratres[25] vel[26] alii, fingant, quod Cristus confuse vel sentencialiter[27] innuat sectam suam,[28] dicant, ubi sit,[29] per que media.[30 e] Et induat catholicus prudenter habitum responsalem. Et notet fidelis, quomodo Cristus[31] quandoque per verba, quandoque per opera et quandoque per taciturnitatem locutus fuit absconsius vel expressius, secundum quod fuit expediens sue ecclesie, veritatem. Ubi ergo innuit Cristus istas sectas, dicant fratres, si sciverint.[32] Et ideo[33] videtur, quod Cristus ipsas approbative et explicite non curavit, sed, ut patet alibi de Fratrum Fundacione, illarum[34] errorem multipliciter prophetavit.[35]

Plexitic tustatarc ed temsep snido Spc Sti.[36]

[c] *as to this, cp. below the Tract* De Solut. Sat. [d] *v. 3 ff.* [e] *these slight hints are explained more fully in* De Fundat. Sect., *cp. above p. 13 ff.*

[20] regule *ABCHαβ* *om. D* [21] 4 *ACDHαβ* 9 *B* [22] *in C is add. in mar.:* Racio [23] vel *CDHαβ* nec *AB* [24] ut *ACDHβ,α² in mar.* ut *(corr. by B¹ from* nec) *B* per *(cr. out) α* ut, *above it* nec *E* [25] fratr. *ABCDαβ* per fratres *H* [26] vel *ACDHαβ* vel *(corr. by B¹ from* nec) *B* [27] sentencialiter *ACDHα* finaliter *Bβ* [28] se. su. *ABCDαβ* su. se. *H* [29] sit *ABCDHα* sint *β* [30] media *BCDHαβ* *om. A* [31] quom. Cr. *ABCDαβ,H¹ in mar.* *om. H* [32] *here ends in H the col. (211b); the closing words of the Tract are added above the text of col. 212a, which is written by a different hand (that of fol. 208 and 209, see above cap. VI note 28)* [33] ideo *ACDHαβ* ideo *(cr. out)* omnino *B* [34] illarum *BCα* illorum *ADHβ* [35] prophetavit *BCDHα* proph. etc. *A* prophetavit amen *β* [36] *i. e.* Explicit tractatus de septem donis Spiritus sancti Explicit tractatus de VII donis spiritus sancti *AH* Explicit tractatus de septem donis spiritus sancti secundum doctorem ewangelicum De triplici vinculo amoris Cap. primum *B* Tractatus de VII donis spiritus sancti *D* *without Explicit αβ*

VI.

DE QUATTUOR SECTIS NOVELLIS.

DE QUATTUOR SECTIS NOVELLIS.

I. Division.

(*A*) *Introduction: On sound foundations of the State, chap. I.*
(*B*) *Argument:*
  (*a*) *Thesis: the pernicious influence of the Four Sects, chap. I—IV.*
  (*b*) *Antithesis: objections to the thesis and counter arguments, chap. V—X.*
  (*c*) *Synthesis: on remedies of the evil, chap. XI—XII.*
(*C*) *Conclusion: the interests of the Church are best promoted by vigorous opposition to the Sects, chap. XII.*

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. *One of the most important commands in the Decalogue is love of parents and neighbours, p. 241. He who assists a brother, at the same time helps to support Church and State; the lower orders* (**wlgares**) *especially, as the basis of the realm, require the spiritual support of the priests, and the temporal aid of the laity, p. 242. The Four Sects work in an entirely opposite direction, injurious to Church and State, and should, therefore, be abolished, p. 242. — Their four kinds. (1) The* clerus cesareus, *the endowed priests, bishops, cardinals, and pope possess what belongs by right to the temporal power, p. 243. They ought no longer to be allowed to rob the State, or to transfer their treasures to a foreign power, p. 244.*

Chap. II. *— (2) The second Sect, the Monks, are a burden to the State as such, as well as indirectly to the poor; were they re-*

moved, large sums would be available for the poor, p. 245. Why should not the clergy live entirely by alms? They do not abide by their three vows, and it is a singular coincidence that especially the vow of poverty has become ruinous to the poor of the land, p. 246—247.

Chap. III. — *(3) The third order, the Canons are full of lies and deceit, both as regards their (pretended) foundation by St. Augustine, p. 247—248, their sinful endowments, p. 248—249, their miracles, and their saints, p. 249—251.*

Chap. IV. *(4) The most pernicious in their influence, however, are the Mendicant Friars, the fourth order, p. 252; their four lies: (a) that Christ begged as they do, (b) that a life according to the rules of their order is more perfect than a simple pious christian life, (c) that it is also more perfect than the life of other orders (fables about the habits of the Orders and the letters of Fraternity), (e) that their prayers are of more avail than the intercession of our Lord, p. 252. Thus through their lying arts they become hurtful to the kingdom, p. 253, especially to the poor, who can less easily understand the inner motives of their actions, p. 254. They alienate the people from the true faith by opposing the preaching of the simple Gospel, p. 255, and by refusing taxes to the King (Proposal of an annual tax of 1000 Mark to be put on the fratres) etc. etc., p. 255—256.*

Chap. V. *The objections and their refutation. (1) If the Pope were removed, the Church would be without a head and like the heathen, p. 256. — Answer, prefaced by W.'s protest, that he will not allow himself to be controverted but by arguments from Holy Scripture or sound reason, p. 256: Christ alone is sufficient for the Church, p. 257; since, as every one predestinated is a priest, there would be no want of clergy or bishops, p. 258; it is a fable that the Pope alone can consecrate archbishops etc., p. 259, he is, therefore, to be received only so far as he agress with the Gospel, p. 260.*

Chap. VI. *The bishops, too, are superfluous; the primitive Church existed several centuries without them in a flourishing state, p. 260 — 261. Why should not a simple priest have the power to hold confirmations, ordinations etc.? a privilege, which the bishops now arrogate to themselves, p. 261. The bishops should rather preach the Word of God, instead of placing it lower than the Rules of Sarum (Salisbury), p. 262; the Church would then flourish as in Apostolic times, p. 263—264.*

Chap. VII. *(2) The objection (of a certain* frater) *that all the*

preceding assertions are not to be proved by Scripture, p. 264, may be refuted thus: Christ, who knew best how to care for His Church, has not mentioned the Four Sects in His Gospel (or if He did, He blamed them), p. 265—266; nor did St. Paul venture to found new ones, p. 267. Only the office of deacon is upheld by Scripture, not the Four Orders; they should, therefore, be abolished, p. 267—269.

Chap. VIII. *(3) New objection: according to the principles brought forward in the preceding chapters, (a) the Hospital knights ought also to be abolished, p. 269. — Yes, they ought to, because all the good done by them can be effected without constituting an order, p. 270. (b) Also the colleges of the University should cease, p. 271. — Yes, they should, because jealousy, perjury, and simony are fostered by them, p. 272. Although it is true that much good springs from them, yet their foundations and rich endowments withdraw large possessions from the Church, and they are nevertheless powerless to bring back the priesthood to their ancient purity of life, p. 272, (c) also the* cantarie *(chantries) should be abolished, p. 272—273.*

Chap. IX. *To reform the First Sect (cp. chap. I) it would be best to deprive them of their temporal possessions, p. 273—274; the sovereign of the land should choose a worthy priest for every parish, and should of his plenary power replace him if he prove unworthy, p. 274—275. It was thus in the primitive Church, which was more flourishing than the present, p. 276—277.*

Chap. X. *Should it be urged, that the temporal lords may with equal right be deprived of their possessions, p. 278, the answer to this diabolical subtilty (which attempts to adjudge all power temporal as well as spiritual to the Pope) should be that Christ Himself teaches, tribute is to be paid to the emperor and not to Peter (or the Pope), p. 278. More over, that the temporal power requires outward means for the maintenance of order, peace, and the stability and welfare of the realm, p. 279—281.*

Chap. XI. *In order to remove the evils mentioned above, the king should (1) on the death of a prelate confiscate his estates, in case the investment of his successor cannot take place without danger, p. 281 — 282; (2) he should require from the Four Sects a proof from Scripture for their right to exist, and for their doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, p. 282 — 283, and (3) he should abolish the endowments of the Four Sects as unscriptural, since they serve private and earthly, not heavenly interests, p. 283—284,*

Chap. XII. If, however, the members of the several Sects will return to the religion of Christ, they may continue to exist, p. 285; the worthiest and ablest of them should be installed as rectors into parishes, others should be placed as priests, teachers, or artisans, following St. Paul's example, p. 285. There is certainly no prospect of this at present, as the head of the First Sect (the Pope) arrogates to himself all power on earth (on the ground of an erroneous — mystical — exposition of St. Luke 22, 39), p. 286. Moreover, the author will gladly recant if he be in error, or can be refuted by arguments founded on Scripture or reason, p. 287. Meantime he hopes best to serve the interests of the Church by opposing and exposing the erroneous teaching of the Four Sects, p. 287—289.

III. Date of Composition.

There are numerous data by which to fix the time at which this Tract was written. W.'s conflict regarding the Roman doctrine of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper (which began in the summer of 1381, cp. Fascic. Ziz. 104) had already taken place, cp. host. consecr. *p. 262 l. 1;* de quidditate ho. cons. *p. 282 l. 12; likewise the Great Schism of 1378 and the papal wars of the two heads of Christendom, cp.* quod unus papa *etc. p. 249 l. 27 are presupposed.* Neutri eorum *etc. p. 257 l. 21 refers to a later period of the contest, thus the period after 1381 comes in question, compare Lechler, J. v. W. I, 580 ff. Further, according to p. 250 l. 5* isto bello Flandrie *etc., p. 265 l. 6 ff.* nostratibus ut in *etc., the Crusade of Bishop Spenser of Norwich (May—October 1383) has already begun. Again from the notice* nec scimus, si iste ultimus exitus *etc. p. 281 l. 4 ff., we may, I think, conclude that the Crusade was neither ended, nor had news of its ultimate, most unfortunate (cp. Pauli, Geschichte von England IV, 544 ff.) result yet reached England. The first (favorable) news came before Midsummer 1383, cp. below chap. X, note h. This would bring us to the early summer (June, July) of 1383. If, in addition to this, we take into account the notice of the eclipse of the sun, which, according to Chronic. Angl. 360, took place August 17th 1383, the date arrived at above will be confirmed. The Tract was written, therefore, in the early summer (June — July) 1383, since W. mentions the* coniunccio *as impending*[1] *(*que proximo est futura *ibid. l. 19—20).*

[1] *The 'coniunctio planetarum Iovis et Saturni' mentioned by Walsingham Ypod. Neust. 341, which took place in the month of May 1385, cannot be taken*

IV. Genuineness.

(a) External evidence:

(1) Wiclif-Catal. of the Vienna codd. except cod. 7980, cp. above p. 7

(2) Walden, Doctrinale Fidei, II, 57 etc.

(3) Bale, Illust. Script. Summ. 156

(4) cod. C, Explicit, cp. cap. XII, n. 80

(5) cp. also the front cover of cod. A

(6) cp. notice on the front cover cod. E; as to (5) and (6) cp. above General Introd. IV, Description of the codd.

(7) cp. below cap. V, note 6

(8) Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, 1437; 1453; 1466

(9) Shirley, Catal. p. 28, No. 85.

(10) Lechler, J. v. W. II, 568

(b) Interior evidence:

(1) cp. above General Introd. V, e

(2) the frequent reference to English affairs

(3) cp. for instance cap. I, note b; c; e; f; III, d; IV, c; n; V, a; c; i; VI, b; VII, c; d; q; VIII, e; IX, d; e

***V.** Not printed heretofore.*

***VI.** Extant in*

cod. 3929 = A fol. 225^a—233^b { *A^1 = Glosser (pale black ink)*; *A^2 = Glosser (red ink, thick hand)* }

cod. 4527 = C fol. 34^b—46^b { *C^1 = Corrector (red ink)*; *C^2 = Corrector (thin hand)* }

cod. 1337 = E fol. 81^a—95^a { *E^1 = Corrector (pale ink)*; *E^2 = Corrector* (quod vere) }
E^3 = Glosser (red ink)

in the Imperial Libr. at Vienna

cod. XI. E. 3. = γ fol. 1^a—5^b γ^1 = Corrector (perhaps texthand)

the latter in the Univers.-Libr. at Prague.

VII. The Manuscripts.

A. ***Their relationship.*** *I. A—E. The connection between these is evident (1) from their almost entire agreement when compared*

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into consideration here, first from chronological reasons, and because, according to our quotation (cum luna *etc. p. 280 l. 20 ff.), the constellation of the moon is also affected by this eclipse.*

with the two other codd.; in 50 cases (out of 501 decisive readings) they both give the same reading against the consensus of the others, a number which is not nearly approached by any other combination. The number of passages in which they jointly agree with one of the two other codd., is much larger. (2) As characteristic of their common origin, cp. arceant. *III, 6;* brach. *X, 17;* legi *etc. XI, 34—36; further* unica *I, 8;* spe *I, 12;* debent *I, 19;* inquir. *II, 8;* pingwibus *II, 12;* offend. *III, 25:* serv. *V, 7;* doc. *VII, 67;* qui *(om.) VIII, 9;* finem *VIII, 17;* et *VIII, 21; 22;* p. d. s. C. *IX, 5;* confit. *IX, 29;* subd. *IX, 35;* sed *(om.) IX, 55;* util. *IX, 77;* deneg. *XI, 37;* temp. *(om.) XI, 13;* indigene *XI, 25;* notar. *XII, 53;* peccato *XII, 12;* quam *XII, 71.* —

A cannot be immediately copied from E, (1) because E is exceedingly corrupted and A does not give the same wrong readings; (2) cp. sue fratr. *etc. IV, 9;* temp. *XII, 52;* excus. *IX, 42;* commodo *XI, 23;* sed duo gladii *XII, 46;* in Angl. *I, 22;* Cristo paup. *II, 14;* atque stult. *III, 20;* lic. fuer. *V, 33;* vel honor. prop. *VI, 34;* predica. *VI, 53; and very many other lacunae of smaller length. All these omissions are filled up by* E^1. — *Nor was E after having been corrected (by* E^1*) the original of A, cp.* quomodo *XI, 23;* regni *I, 17; especially* Angl. *I, 22;* papa *V, 19;* error. *V, 22;* et sic *V, 30;* posset *XI, 7.* — *On the other hand, E is not the copy of A, cp.* nec hom. *etc. III, 41;* plus cred. *III, 56;* in hiis bon. scr. *VIII, 62;* pleth. vel laq. *X, 27.* — *Moreover, it seems to me doubtful on account of the great number of independent readings, which cannot be explained as mere errors in copying or reading, whether A and E have the same original; cp.* in hiis b. scr. *VIII, 62:* Sar. *VI, 40; but for want of evidence there is no conclusive proof.*

II. Class C—γ. All that has been said above of the connection between A—E, may also be taken into account with regard to the relation between C—γ; but their connection is not so close as that of the first group; to prove this, cp. the combinations made use of above for A—E: unica *I, 8 etc. and the additional ones:* succumb. *II, 28;* proteccio *XI, 36;* utilit. *IX, 77;* inequa *IV, 28, and especially* arceaturi *III, 6; cp. further, besides many other irrelevant passages, the order of the words, for instance:* d. s. C. p. *IX, 5;* u. p. a. e. *IX, 7.* — *C has not been copied immediately from γ, cp.* precept. *I, 32;* viv. *II, 6* sit *III, 48;* reg. *IV, 64 and 65;* plus *V, 13;* de Pau. *V, 32;* rec. *VI, 16;* et *etc. VI, 54;* part. *IX, 16;* se. *IX, 30;* anticr. *X, 8;* mort. *XI, 16;* tal. *XII, 7;* pop. *XII, 15; especially*

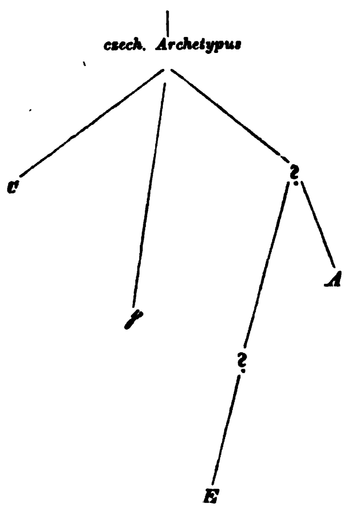
vir. *etc. III, 4;* influenc. *VI, 17;* suam *etc. VI, 38;* advers. *etc. VII, 11;* si aut. *IX, 41; nor has γ been copied from C, cp.* ut *IV, 39;* bene *V, 55;* est *VII, 41;* sunt *IX, 3;* rem. *IX, 44;* dic. *IX, 67;* fier. *X, 7. No particular stress is to be laid on these passages (omissions), as they may be explained by the carelessness of the writer; but they become, I believe, of importance, if we take what follows into consideration. From several passages not necessary to notice here (see below the critical notes), it appears that the text of γ in common with E's often differs from that of C, cp. for example:* patet *(om.) IV, 20;* ut *IV, 39;* fratr. *VII, 36;* centra *(om.) IX, 44;* humil. *XII, 73; these passages might, perhaps, be explained, for want of a better reason, as the effect of carelessness; but what cannot be explained as negligence, is that all these careless readings of E occur in exactly the same passages as those of γ. γ is, therefore, in some way connected also with E, but I am not able to explain, in what degree.*

The characteristic reading ante ea (annea) *of CEγ chap. XII, 62 against the correct* antea *of A) would seem to indicate that the same archetype, however remote it be, must also be recognised for C. The scribe of γ had already twice written* ante ea, *here C joins him, whilst E reads the monstrous* annea *from the known abbreviation for* antea.

B. **The best Codex.** *Amongst about 500 variations, which are to be taken into account, if wish to find out the best codex, E reads the false ones in more than half the number, viz. in 281 cases (= 56 %),*[1] *γ in 127 cases (25½ %), A in 120 cases (24 %), but C only in in 64 cases (15 %). Therefore E must be excluded from the very beginning. But as there is no evidence at all, that it is copied directly from one of the three other codd. and as it gives in no few places the correct (or, at least, a characteristic) reading against the (wrong) consensus of the three others codices (cp.* exercere *V, 54;* dei *VIII, 95;* pleth. *etc. X, 27;* petita *XII, 66), I will add in my critical list its variants. Its corrector, E¹ must also be taken into consideration. The passages:* in Angl. *etc.* — defectu *I, 22;* regni *I, 17;* papa *V, 19;* et sic *V, 30;* posset *XI, 7;* quom. *XI, 23 show, that he has not corrected from one of the three other codd. so that eventually*

[1] *After a careful comparison I have found this number. From the following critical notes this number cannot be precisely vouched for, since I have not as a rule noticed the unimportant corrections of E¹, nor the corruptions of E; I added them as far as chap. VIII incl., merely to give the reader and critic an idea of the corruption of E.*

he may possibly offer some readings of value, but, at the same time, it is evident from them, that his corrections are not to be depended on, cp. especially posset *XI, 7, where he evidently corrected not from his original, but was led by his fancy; also* quomodo *XI, 23 (abbreviation?). For these reasons, and because this corrector in no passage gives the correct reading against the common agreement of the others, I note the corrections of* E^1 *only in the first chapp. to give the reader an idea of the corruption of his readings.*[1] *γ and A, it is true, offer in many places the correct reading independently from, and in contradistinction to, the agreement of the rest. Still they stand so far behind C (as is shown by the numbers given above), that they cannot be employed as a principal authorithy in the formation of the text.*[2] *I take my text, therefore, from the cod. C; the following diagram may serve to show the relationship of the four MSS.*



[1] *In this way, it is true, a great number of E's corruptions, which* E^1 *has corrected, are lost.*

[2] *γ evidently write carelessly, as is proved by the numerous errors mentioned below in the critical notes; cp., for example, passages like* quod *VII, 21:* quod *VII, 28;* pand. *VII, 35;* dedisset *VII, 37 etc. A is better than γ.*

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE QUATTUOR SECTIS NOVELLIS.

CAP. I.[1]

[2]Secundum tres virtutes theologicas[a] fideles quidam sup ponunt se moveri a domino ad fidem theologicam[3] atque | consilia ecclesie[4] promulgandum. Nam constat ex fide catholica[5] quod militans ecclesia sit mater personarum ecclesie militiancium, et cum primum mandatum secunde tabule monet patrem et matrem diligere, ille videtur prevaricator mandatorum tocius decalogi, qui non donat ad utilitatem ecclesie perfecciora[6] dona dei ad hoc sibi a deo gratis donata. Et hoc movebat Paulum et ceteros apostolos usque ad mortem scribendo et predicando ad utilitatem ecclesie laborare. *C fol. 34b lin. 9*

Qui ergo sumus nos, qui necessitamur aliter mori penalius, qui loquimur[7] veritatem catholicam ad utilitatem ecclesie militantis? Cum autem ecclesia sit domus domini et vinea,[8] que debet esse fructifera, debet instar istorum[9] quodammodo gubernari, et impossibile est regi bene[10] ecclesiam, nisi regatur secundum regulas[11]

CAP. I. [a] *fides, spes, caritas; cp. I Cor. 13, 13*

CAP. I. [1] *Title, Expl. and Inc. not given in ACγ* Explicit tractus de perfeccione statuum Incipit de quatuor sectis novellis *E* [2] *cod. A fol. 225[a] lin. 21 cod. E fol. 81[c] lin. 41 cod. γ fol. 1[a] lin. 1 in C about a fifth of the page is not written upon* [3] theologicam *CE* theoloicam *γ* catholicam *A* [4] eccl. *is in A corr. later into the text* [5] cathol. *CEγ* *om. A* [6] perf. *AC* *γ*militantis perf. *E* [7] loq. *ACE* non loq. *γ* [8] vinea *Cγ* unica *AE* [9] istorum *ACγ* eorum *E* [10] r. b. *C* b. r. *AEγ* [11] regulas *ACE* regulam *γ*

legis dei. Et ita in spem[12] retribucionis eterne quelibet persona regni debet fratrem suum diligere et per consequens sibi specialiter proficere, dum in caritate debite servierit deo suo. Sicut enim singule partes terre se ipsas et spheram suam usque ad centrum iuvant reciproce, sic regnum debet partes eius singulas et specialiter se totum[13] saltem spiritualiter adiuvare.[b]

Videtur autem ex lege domini, quod partes cuncte[14] regni fideliter debent facere, quod eis attinet et superflua expurgare.[15] Sic enim colitur vinea et fructificacio eius destruitur, dum pretermittitur officium eius[16] cultus. Et sic iuxta principium apostoli unum membrum regni non dampnificaret reliquum,[17] nec ipsum in temporalibus vel spiritualibus oneraret, sed pocius unumquodque eorum saltem spiritualiter reliquum adiuvaret.

Ex quo patet, quod pars tercia ecclesie,[18] ut wlgares,[c] non debet[19] contra legem dei opprimi, sed cum sit[20] fundamentum regni, debet secundum legem dei a partibus superioribus stabiliri, a sacerdotibus spiritualiter et a dominis corporaliter, quia aliter necesse est regnum ex defectu sui ipsius corruere, cum secundum sentenciam Salvatoris[d] omne regnum in se ipsum[21] divisum desolabitur.

| *C fol. 35a* || Quatuor autem sunt secte in Angliam et regna alia introducte, et ipse ex defectu[22] fundacionis a Cristo sunt ecclesie onerose[e] et per consequens ad stabilicionem regni et ecclesie expurgande.[23f]

Sunt autem hee secte quatuor[24]: sacerdos cesareus, monachus, canonicus atque frater.[g]

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[b] *as to this, cp. De Christo et Adv. suo cap. I commencement*
[c] *cp. ibidem* [d] *cp. Matth. 12, 25* [e] *cp. Arnold, S. E. W. III, 512*
[f] *cp. ibidem III, 361; 437* [g] *cp. De tripl. Vinc. Am. cap. IV p. 173*

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[12] spem *Cγ* spe *AE* [13] totum *ACE* totam *γ* [14] cuncte *ACE* cuncti *γ* [15] expurgare *CEγ* expurgari *A* [16] eius *Cγ* huius *AE* [17] *in E is add.* regni *in mar. with mark of ref. to* da. *by E*[1] [18] eccles. *CEγ* *om. A* [19] debet *Cγ* debent *AE* [20] sit *ACγ* sint *E* *in A is add. in mar.:* Wlgares sunt fundamentum regni *A*[1] [21] ipsum *Cγ* ipso *E* *om. A* [22] in Angl. — defectu *ACγ* ex defectu *E, but above the col. E*[1] *has added:* in A. et r. a. i. et sic i. ex def. [23] expurgande *ACγ* expurgandi *E* [24] *in C is add. in mar.:* Quatuor secte *in A*

Sacerdos autem cesareus[25] ad onus et dampnum regni late dispergitur, cum a papa et cardinalibus capitaliter capit originem et in episcopos et alios dotatos presbiteros contra legem dei[26] distenditur. Et intelliguntur in proposito dotati presbiteri, quicunque seculares clerici, qui ex origine dotacionis cesaris seculari dominio sunt dotati. Totum autem hoc dominium debet dominis secularibus pertinere et nunc ex disposicione humana tam clerus quam hoc brachium contra ordinacionem domini est infectum.

Et sic infirmatis istis partibus necesse est terciam partem ecclesie infirmari, et quia in spiritualia superiora noticia sensibilis introducit, memorandum, quomodo ista distemperancia[27] regnum[28] in temporalibus discrasiat. Cum autem necesse sit,[29] regem et dominos habundare in temporalibus pro suo officio adimplendo, que caritas vel racio moveret regnum nostrum conferre uni alienigene[30] discolo bona sua et permittere pauperes suos indigenas adeo indigere. Et si allegetur papa, illud precipiens, benedictus deus, qui non permittit tantam culpam in anticristo ulterius prevalere, sed divisit caput serpentis movens unam partem ad aliam conterendam.[31h] Consilium autem Cristi, ymo verius preceptum[32] tocius trinitatis est in isto casu, non credere nec abire, ut patet Matth. 24[i].

Consilium ergo sanum videtur permittere has duas partes[33] anticristi se ipsas destruere, et cristicola debet esse paratus ad obediendum in Cristi nomine utrique illorum vel cuicunque[34] alteri secundum formam, qua[35] fideles obedierunt[36] monitis sancti Petri.

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[h] *through the Great Schism of 1378; cp. Supplem. Trial. p. 424: Sed benedictus dominus Jesus Christus, qui est caput ecclesiae, in parte contrivit et divisit in partes contrarias caput huiusmodi maledictum! cp. also the following passages* [i] *v.* 26

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is *add. above the col.:* Quatuor secte principales *A*[1] *in E is add. below the col.:* Secte quatuor Sacerdos cesareus Monachus Canonicus Frater *E*[2] [25] *in C in mar.:* Prima secta [26] dei *AEγ* domini *(cr. out & ud.) C, but in mar.* dei *(texthand?)* [27] distemperancia *ACE* discrepancia *γ* [28] regnum *ACγ* regum *E* [29] sit *CEγ* est *A* [30] alienigene *AC* alienigenigene *E* (geni *ud.)* aligene *γ* [31] conterendam *ACγ* conterrendam *E, C*[1] *in mar.* [32] prec. *ACE om. γ* [33] pa. *ACE* sectas partes *γ* [34] cuicunque *CEγ* tamen *A* [35] qua *ACγ* quam *E* [36] obedierunt *ACγ* obediverunt *E*

Si autem ultra urgeant[37] propter secularem dominacionem vel temporalem cupidinem, declina[38] ab illis ut a precipuis anticristis.

Et istud debet principibus regnorum tamquam principium stabiliri, quod non permittant clericum ultra legem Cristi vel facta sancti Petri regnum, quod regulant, spoliare et multo magis rex non permitteret, clericos suos intrinsecos deferre[39] thezaurum suum ad aliquam talem curiam pro beneficiis acquirendis,[40] cum tunc foret princeps consumpcionis[41] thezauri proprii et auctor symonie et sceleris perpetrati. Et sic si consilium regis notaverit, quanta pecunia a regno pro talibus privilegiis et anticristivis immolacionibus annuatim[42] per discolos est exhausta,[k] non oporteret pauperes regni pro defensione ipsius vel dominorum secularium supra racionis limites spoliare.

CAP. II.[1]

Secunda secta extravagans est de monachis, cum suis particulis adinventis. C fol. 35b

Notata autem tota dominacione, quam secta ista habet in Anglia, et adiuncta dominacione, quam habent episcopi cum aliis secularibus servitoribus anticristi, pateret luce clarius, quod rex et seculares domini, habentes ista in propriis manibus, possunt multa milia librarum de regno nostro expendere, plus quam modo sufficiunt, annuatim,[a] et tunc non oporteret pauperes regni nostri propter tales incumbentes necessitates preter legem domini onerari. Illi autem, qui culpabiliter consenciunt istis oneribus, in isto conscien-

[k] *cp. De Fundacione Sectarum cap. IV p. 28: quadraginta milia librarum, again above p. 103, 192 ff. and Trialog. 369*

CAP. II. [a] *cp. De triplici Vinc. Am. cap. IX p. 192 and 193, where 40,000 Mark, and Trialog. 369, where 60,000 Mark are given as the yearly expenses the Friars put the country to; cp. also above p. 103 n. 1*

[37] urgeant *ACγ* vigeant *E* [38] declina *ACE* declinari *γ* [39] def. *ACγ om. E* [40] *in A is add. in mar.:* Reges non debent permittere clericos deportare thezaurum ad curiam pape *A²* [41] princeps consumpcionis *ACγ* principis consummacionis *E* [42] annua. *ACγ,E¹ in mar.* animatim *(sd.) E*

CAP. II. [1] cam 2m *C in mar., above it:* Secunda secta *the number of the chap. is not given in AEγ*

ciam perdiderunt; nec mirum, quia auferendo ista a dominis reputarent[2] se prestare deo obsequium et proficere[3] utrumque meritum ad spirituale suffragium augmentandum. Et ista cecitas in fide, qua anticristus patrias sic cecavit, excedit dampnum, quo depauperavit dominos per furtivam ablacionem dominii temporalis.

Constat quidem ex legibus multiplicibus legis veteris, quomodo clerus non debet taliter dominari, sed de parte domini secundum pauperem vitam et humilem contentari. Et istud confirmatur luce clarius ex vita paupere et verbis multiplicibus domini Iesu Cristi, qui non requirebat per contenciones et placita oblaciones et decimas, sicut indigni presbiteri videntur hodie litigare, sed contentus cum suis apostolis de parvis et paucis[4] elemosinis, quantum[5] oportuit, ne foret onerosus pauperibus, residuum victus sui per miracula exsupplevit.

Quare ergo non potest hodie clerus, regno nostro sufficiens, vivere[6] de decimis et oblacionibus gratis datis? Titulus, inquam, elemosine est preclarissimus et securissimus militanti presbitero,[7] cum securitas hereditaria istis personis vel sectis infixa videtur impugnare verba apostoli[b]: non habemus hic manentem civitatem, sed futuram inquiramus,[8] et multo evidencius clerum videtur oblivisci[9] ministerium sibi creditum et Cristum cum suis apostolis plane spernere et legem fidei heretice impugnare, cum I Tim. 6 scribit apostolus[c]: habentes, inquit, alimenta et quibus tegamur, hiis contenti simus.[10]

Expergiscat ergo racio in secularibus dominis et videant,[11] si sit elemosina stabilire tales perpetuas elemosinas contrarias legi Cristi, vel si sit elemosina de propriis redditibus ditare clericum

[b] *cp. Heb. 13, 14* [c] *v. 8*

[2] reputarent *CEγ* reputarunt *A* [3] proficere *CEγ* perficere *A* [4] de par. et pau. *ACE* , in paucis *γ* [5] quantum *ACγ* quam *E*, *in mar. is added* tum *E*[1] *(therefore* quamtum) [6] viv. *ACE* *om. γ* [7] *in A is add. above the col.:* Titulus elemosine est clare securissimus et preclarissimus *A*[1] [8] inquiramus *Cγ* inquirimus *AE* [9] clerum vid. obl. *C* vid. clerum ablivisci *(sic) A* clerus vid. obl. *Eγ* [10] quib. teg. h. c. s. *ACγ* quibus et sequ. *E* [11] et vid. *ACγ*,*E*[1] *in mar.* *om. E*

cum pingwibus[12] buccis et rubeis et iuvenem ventre[13] pingwem fovere ad libidinem et pauperem operarium macidum et egenum per tallagia regno necessaria spoliare. Numquid deus pro fine huiusmodi donavit magnatibus ista dominia? Numquid in die finalis iudicii pro istis stulticiis Cristo pauperi respondebunt?[14]

Certum quidem est, quod clerici sic pingwati et dotati respondebunt de prevaricacione regule Cristi et statuti proprii, ad quod *C fol. 36a* specialiter sunt iurati; specialiter cum omnes religiosi ista tria, licet proditorie, profitentur,[15] scilicet paupertatem et[16] obedienciam et castitatem.

Sed quantum ad paupertatem, patet, quod inter omnes homines magis habundant sua promptuaria cibariis et altilia cum bobus et ovibus crassitudine sive pingwedine, ut in Psalmo dicitur. Sed que elemosina est monachis taliter providere? Revera, dotator non solum se ipsum inficit, sed suos elemosinarios, quibus bona domini[17] sic partitur.

Et sic[18] quantum ad confessionem ab antiquis patribus in elemosinam perpetuam eis factam, patet, quod gravat peccatum tam in primis dotantibus, quam in posteris heredibus illam[19] continuantibus, et sic officit utrobique. Nam error continuatus tam vivis quam mortuis magis nocet.[20] Numquid credimus, quod illi spiritus modo detenti[21] in purgatorio vel in[22] inferno gaudent de continuacione sui erroris, cum peccatum suum sit eo[23] gravius et per consequens a domino[24] plus punitum. Numquid[25] egeni pauperes, a quibus ista[26] temporalia detinentur, vel monachi pingwescentes, qui ex hoc in suis mentibus spiritaliter peiorantur, post mortem pro tali elemosina elemosinantes spiritualiter adiuvabunt.[27] Vel veritas et racio succumbent tali stulta participacione[28] temporalium, vel

[12] pingwibus *AE* pinguis *Cγ* (*with ref. to this, cp.* dyaconis *and* dyaconibus *which both repeatedly occur in W.'s works*) [13] ventre *CEγ* ventrem *A* [14] Cr. pau. resp. *ACγ,E¹ in mar.* pro resp. *E* [15] profitentur *ACγ* profiterentur *E* [16] et *CEγ om. A* [17] dom. *ACγ,E¹ in mar. om. E* [18] sic *CEγ om. A* [19] her. ill. *Cγ* her. ad ill. *A* ill. *E, in mar. is add.* her. *E¹* [20] ma. no. *ACγ.E¹ with mark of ref. below the col. om. E* [21] detenti *CEγ* decenti *A* [22] in *CEγ om. A* [23] eo *ACE* in eo *γ* [24] domino *ACE* deo *γ* [25] numquid *ACγ* numquam *E* [26] ista *ACγ* illa *E* [27] adiuvabunt *C* (ur *is erased*) adiuvabuntur *AEγ* [28] ver. et ra. succumbent ta. st. participacione *Cγ* ver. succumbet ta. st. participacione *A* ver. et ra. succumbit ta. st. particione *E*

ipsa faciet, quod pena utriusque partis ipsis mortuis acuetur. Et sic nec prodest vivis nec mortuis, nec ad regimen regni licet[29] stulte dotantes ex superbia illa dyabolica gratulentur. Letantur enim tales, cum male fecerint, sed illa iniusticia[30] indubitanter ad regulam finaliter[31] punietur. Et cum peccator primo et principaliter semet[32] ipsum inficit, patet, quod tales domini sibi ipsis et suis dominiis magis nocent.

Et hec est una causa, quare per conquestus[33] et modos alios talia dominia sunt translata. Deus enim necessario est dominus dominorum, et quando videt, quod ipsi ad suam iniuriam et dispendium proximi abutuntur donatis dominiis, aufert illa ab ipsis et donat aliis facientibus fructus suos. Et sic dileccio parentum et[34] dileccio, qua secularis dominus diligit se ipsum et proximum, ymo dileccio, qua diligit sanctam matrem ecclesiam atque regnum, moverent[35] ad errorem istum instancius corrigendum. Et sic generaliter evidencie, que movent ad sectam istam continuandum, scrutate[36] diligencius, moverent ad istam sectam prudencius terminandum.

CAP. III.[1]

Tercia secta, scilicet canonicorum, multiformiter laborat in eodem crimine, quo secunda et specialiter in hoc communi, quod omnes iste secte originantur[2] ex mendacio et sic sunt opposite veritati.

Fingunt autem canonici atque fratres, quod sanctus Augustinus eos fundaverit,[a], cum tamen certum sit, quod fuit regularis canonicus atque monachus et vivens secundum regulam Cristi, sicut debent vivere alii prelati canonici et monachi seculares. Non enim

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CAP. III. [a] *cp. below cap. VIII; also De Tripl. Vinc. Am. cap. IV p. 173*

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[29] licet *CEγ* nec *A* [30] iniusticia *ACE* iusticia *γ* [31] fin. *ACγ,E*[1] *in mar. om. E* [32] semet *CE* se *Aγ* [33] per conquestus *C* per questus *A* post questus *Eγ* [34] et *Eγ* *om. A* est *(cr. out & ud.) C, but in mar.* et [35] moverent *ACγ* moveret *E* [36] scrutate *CEγ* scrutante *A*

CAP. III. [1] Cam tercium *C* *the number of the chap. not given in AEγ* [2] originantur *ACE* oriuntur *γ*

fuit desponsatus cum ritu vel regula adinventa, sed consuetudinem honestam habuit citra sectam, ut ipsi et alii virtuosi gratis conviverent et dum fuerunt[3] viciosi[4] vel aliomodo magis proficerent || *C fol. 36b* vel ad talem exitum liberum[5] arceantur,[6] vel ad sanctum || propositum racione multiplici moveantur.

Et isto modo debent hee secte vivere, dum preponderaverint tradicioni sue frivole racionem.[7] Ideo menciuntur, quod Augustinus esset[8] eorum patronus ad tam arte secundum istam regulam convivendum. Augustinus enim condescendit communi sensui[9] terminorum, quod ille sit monachus, qui custodit spiritualiter se ipsum secundum vitam et regulam Iesu Cristi. Et sic ille vocari potest[10] regularis canonicus, qui vivit regulariter secundum canones apostolicos,[11] ad quod Augustinus specialiter sathagebat. — Habitus autem et ritus alii, de quibus gaudent modo canonici, dicuntur esse noviter adinventi, et sic obligantur in[12] adinvenciones humanas, regulis scripture sacre,[13] in quibus staret fides ecclesie, pretermissis. Ideo non sint regulatores istorum ordinum colantes culicem et deglucientes camelum,[b] sic quod propter fucum talem sophisticum timeant reducere has sectas ad canonem et ordinacionem liberam, factam per dominum Iesum Cristum. Non enim moverent[14] conscienciam dominorum secularium in ista parte capere, quod est suum[15], quia, ut iam proximo[c] dictum est, proficerent sic tam vivis quam mortuis, ymo toti ecclesie militanti. Quis ergo timeret sic[16] matri sue proficere, cum non timuit contra legem dei ex stulticia dyaboli parum sibi officere? Tales ergo[17] cecati per dyabolum timuerunt, ubi non erat timor, cum sint audaces, ut faciant mala, sed benefacere nimis timent[18] sub proteccione regule[19] domini Iesu Cristi.

[b] *cp. Matth.* 23, 24 [c] *cp. above p.* 247 *l.* 2 *ff.*

[3] fuerunt *C* fuerint *AE* *om.* γ [4] virtuosi gr. c. et d. f. vic. *ACE* *om.* γ [5] liberum *CE*γ liberuntur *A* [6] arceantur *AE* arceaturi *C*γ [7] racionem *CE*γ racioni *A* [8] esset *CE*γ est *A* [9] sensui *AC*γ sensu *E* *in AE is add. in mar.*: Quod est vere monachus et canonicus regularis A^1E^2 [10] v. p. *AC*γ p. v. *E* *in C is add. in mar.*: Monachus Canonicus regularis C^1 [11] apostolicos *CE*γ apostolicas *A* [12] in *C*γ *om. AE* [13] scripture sacre *ACE* sacris γ [14] moverent *CE*γ moneret *A* [15] est su. *AC* su. est γ est su. propositum *E* [16] sic *AC*γ *om. E* [17] ergo *AC*γ,E^1 *in mar.* *om. E* [18] timent *ACE* timeant γ [19] regule *C* *om. AE*γ

Constat quidem, quod ista dotacio fuit culpabilis atque stulta[d]; cum ergo ex perversa vita dotatorum sit magis culpabilis,[20] videtur, quod hodie ex maioritate perversitatis debet error iste pocius terminari.

Similiter ex principio communi legum hominum non valet dotacio vel confessio, quam fecerit inferior dominus, nisi habita fuerit a supremo[21] domino licencia specialis, ymo lex communis tale[22] donatum capitali domini forisfacit. Quomodocunque ergo fuerit de ista iustificacione legum hominum, certum est ex fide, quod hoc verum de deo, qui est dominus dominorum. Cum ergo deus prohibuit dotacionem huiusmodi et numquam postmodum[23] ad hoc dedit scienciam, videtur, quod minister suus, qui secundum Augustinum est rex, debet totum tale forisfacere deo domino capitali. Et cum suum sit, racione vicarie talia dominia disponere conformiter legi Cristi, videtur, quod debet omnia ista dominia sic stulte donata reddere ordinacioni Cristi[24] conformiter brachio seculari. Et heretici, qui contra istud remurmurant, vel ostendant[25] dei licenciam vel racionem, quod sic licuit facere contrarie legi Cristi. —

Nec valent ficticie ad excusandum vel confirmandum istam stulticiam hodie machinate.

Dicunt enim primo, quod ista ex antiquitate et colore elemosine contrahunt robur suum, sed malicia dyaboli et sectarum aliarum infidelium fuit longe[26] diucius indurata.

Ideo secundo confirmant istum || errorem ex[27] confirmacione papali,[28] que equivalet confirmacioni[29] domini Iesu Cristi. Et ista excusacio in peccatis hodie per hoc[30] patenter destruitur,[31] quod unus papa destruit tamquam hereticum, quod alius confirmavit.[32] || *C fol. 37a*

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[d] *cp. Arnold, S. E. W. III, 171; 433; 474; I, 308; 313; Trial. 195; Suppl. Trial. 407 ff.; cp. above p. 94; 137; 175*

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[20] atque stulta — culpabilis *ACγ* *om. E, but add. later below the col. by E¹* [21] supremo *ACγ* summo *E* [22] tale *AC* hominum tale *Eγ* [23] post modum *CEγ* post hoc *A* [24] Cristi *ACγ* Iesu Cristi *E* [25] ostendant *Cγ* offendant *AE* [26] longe *ACγ* lege *E* [27] ex *ACγ* et *E* [28] *in C is add. below the col. 36ᵇ* err. ex co. pa. *as a catchword* [29] equivalet *ACγ* est valet *E* [30] per hoc *CEγ* *om. A* [31] destruitur *CEγ* destruit *A* [32] alius confirmavit *ACγ* confirmat alter *E*

Ideo cum ipsi sint persone peccabiles legis et voluntatis dei sepe ignari, idem est ac si diceretur: anticristus sive dyabolus sic asserit, ergo verum.

Erubescunt enim iste secte, capere[33] fratres suos occisos in isto bello Flandrie[e] tamquam martires,[34] licet ex promulgacione, edita ex parte pape[f], evidenter pateat, quod sunt. Ideo[35] concedat nobis deus aliud auxilium spiritale,[36] quam de illis credimus in ecclesia triumphante.

Ideo tercio dicitur, quod sancti de istis ordinibus sic[37] dotatis per multa tempora claruerunt miraculis et sunt ad hoc apocrifa[38] et sompnia cum aliis ludicriis allegata. — Sed hic dicitur, quod inter omnes fallacias dyaboli hec est una, quod ex talibus signis nec[39] fide credatur perfidie, quam post fingit. Credibile quidem est, quod omnes patroni[40] in istis sectis, qui per curiam romanam sanctorum catalogo sunt adscripti, non istam sectam construxerant, nec homines sic viventes, ut modo vivant, dilexerant,[41] sed oderunt, ymo a papa et falsis fratribus istum ordinem fabricarunt, et fundamentum maximum de sanctitate patroni et frequencia miraculi potest esse ex illusione dyaboli. Operibus itaque vivacibus, conformiter[42] legi dei,[43] debemus credere et alias miraculorum ficticias prudenter respuere. Dicit enim apostolus I Cor. 13[g]: si habuero omnem fidem, ita ut montes transferam, caritatem autem non habuero,[44] nichil sum. Ecce, quod non solum per dyabolum, sed per ypocritam conviventem socium, ymo per cadaver mortuum,[45] a dyabolo agitatum, potest in penam peccati vivencium fieri talis illusio, vocata miraculum. Non seducat ergo fideles tale sompnium.

[e] *The Crusade of Bishop Spenser to Flanders lasted from May to Oct. 1383; W. very often refers to it* [f] *cp. Walsingham II, 88 ff.* [g] *I Cor. 13, 2*

[33] ca. ACγ,E[1] *in mar.* *om.* E [34] martires ACγ matres E [35] ideo ACγ tales ideo E [36] spiritale ACE spirituale γ [37] sic CEγ *om.* A [38] apocrifa ACγ ypocrifa E [39] nec Eγ ut A ut *(ud.)* C, *above it* nec [40] omnes patroni ACγ omnis patronus E [41] nec hom. — dilexerant CEγ *om.* A [42] conformiter ACE et formiter γ [43] dei ACγ Cristi E [44] habuero ACγ habeam E [45] mort. ACγ,E[1] *in mar.* *om.* E

Nam de Alexandro Magno legitur,[46h] quod magnos montes ad includendum filios Israel[47] coniungebat. Numquid ex tali mirabili sit[48] sanctorum catalogo deputandus? Tunc enim foret facile per signa ista apocrifa et falsa testimonia cum pecunia symoniaca dyabolos ponere in catalogo beatorum.[49]

Signa autem ista, cum sint mortua et sepe[50] dyabolica, non concludunt virum istum, quem homines iudicaverint[51] esse sanctum, cum operibus vivis et caritativis pocius est credendum. Catheclismus eciam fidei est in hiis testibus,[52] cum adduci possunt faciliter ad testificandum falsum eis incognitum, dum pro competenti precio sint conducti. Et empcio ista symoniaca persone canonizande, sicut et finis, pro quo canonizantur, et fundacio canonizacionis ex defectu racionis et scripture[53] a catholicis sunt[54] suspecta. Et sic contingit regna illudi ex hoc, quod plus attenditur ad sequelam talis patroni, qui fingitur, quam ad sequelam domini Iesu Cristi; plus creditur hiis falsis signis et scelestibus,[55] quam infringibili legi domini Iesu Cristi,[56] et plus applauditur tali ficcioni sensibili, quam caritati insensibili, que proficeret regnis et toti ecclesie militanti. Nec dubium, quin tales fallacie[57] anticristi inducunt[58] perfidiam et blasphemiam contra dominum Iesum Cristum, | et talis seduccio dominorum secularium inducit rapinam et onustacionem[59] indebitam[60] pauperum plebeorum. C fol. 37b

Quid, rogo, infidelius, quam dominum secularem[61] dicere, quod non audet complere[62] legem[63] Cristi et eius ordinacionem, nisi habuerit licenciam[64] anticristi!

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[h] *cp. Arrian. II, 26 ff.; Diod. XVII, 48; Plut., Al. 26; cp. also Droysen, Hellenismus I, 300; again Grote, Gesch. Griech. (1856) VI, 532*

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[46] *in AE is add. below the col.:* Miraculum Alexandri magni *A¹E²* [47] israel *ACγ,E¹ in mar.* israelem *(ud.) E* [48] sit *ACE,γ¹ corr. into the text* *om. γ* [49] beatorum *CE* sanctorum *Aγ* [50] se. *ACγ* sic se. *E* [51] iudicaverint *AC* iudicaverunt *E,γ (?)* [52] testibus *ACγ* *om. E* [53] r. et s. *ACE* s. et r. *γ* [54] sunt *ACE* fuit *γ* [55] scelestibus *E* celestibus *Cγ* *om. A* [56] plus creditur hiis — Cristi *CEγ* *om. A* [57] fallacie *ACγ* false *E* [58] inducunt *AEγ* indicunt *C* [59] onustacionem *ACγ* contristacionem *E* [60] indebitam *ACE* indebitum *γ* [61] dominum secularem *ACγ* dominis seculare *E* [62] complere *AE,Cγ, in mar. is add. with mark of ref.* complanare *(texthand) by C, respect.* alias complanare *by γ* [63] legem *ACγ* templa et legem *E* [64] h. l. *ACE* l. h. *γ*

CAP. IV.[1]

Quarta autem secta fratrum[a] est multiplex in generibus, in fraudibus et personis, cum ista secta ultima per dyabolum introducta seducat multos per callidiores cautelas et specialiter per ypocrisim, in qua ista secta habundat ex meandris[2] mendacibus patris sui.[b] Fundatur[3] enim super isto mendacio blasphemo,[4] quod[5] Cristus taliter mendicavit[c]; et cum istud mendacium sit quasi vita eorum, superaddunt[6] aliud blasphemum mendacium, quod religio et vita eorum sit perfeccior quam religio apostolorum; et tercio fingunt ex istis, quod habitus eorum, litere fraternitatis et alia opera meritoria sint perfecciora et magis necessaria, quam illa, que in aliis ordinibus prefuerunt.[7]

Et ex hoc pululant tales hereses, quod quecunque persona mortua fuerit in suis habitibus, numquam erit in locum dyaboli condempnata[d]; quod[8] quicunque habuerit suffragia literarum sue fraternitatis, erit ultra alia nominata suffragia,[9] non faciendo mencionem de sua contricione vel fratrum humilitate, spiritualiter suffragatus.

Et quarto[10] menciuntur blaspheme, quod sua specialis oracio plus prodest populo quam oracio dominica, sicut forma sue predicacionis, eciam facte[11] ex frivolis, singulariter sit laudanda.

Et ex istis perquirit sibi unus frater multa stipendia ad pro defunctis pluribus[12] celebrandum. Et sic, collecta tota eorum[13]

CAP. IV. [a] *i. e. the Mendicants* [b] *cp. Trialog. 163: in hypocrisi, quae est pessima species superbiae et religiosos nostros saepe consequitur etc.* [c] *cp. Trialog. 367 and 368, more especially 341 ff. and 345 ff.* [d] *cp. the same reproach above p. 143 n. b and 35 n. h*

CAP. IV. [1] *the number of the chap. not given in the codd. in C in mar.:* Quarta [2] meandris *C,γ in mar. is add.* zokolkow *(texthand)* menandris *AE* [3] fundatur *CEγ* fundantur *A* [4] *in A is add. above the col.:* Quatuor mendacia principalissima *A*[1] [5] quod *ACγ* quia *E* [6] sup. *ACγ* sit perfeccior *(cr. out & ud.)* sup. *E* [7] prefuerunt *ACγ* prefuerint *E* [8] qu. *ACγ* item qu. *E* [9] sue — suffr. *ACγ om. E, but added later by E*[1] *below the col.* [10] 4° *C,A (corr. from 3°)* 3° *Eγ* [11] facte *AC* ficta *E* facta *γ* [12] *from here on (fol. 85[a] begins) in E a new somewhat different hand sets in* [13] t. e. *AC* e. t. *Eγ*

conversacione subdola, non dubium, quin sunt[14] regno nostro et ecclesie onerosi, ut notet homo omnes sumptus, quos annuatim habent de Anglia,[e] et ut probabiliter creditur, excedunt multum redditus comitis sive ducis.

Cum ergo ante introduccionem eorum stetit regnum prosperius tam in temporalibus quam spiritualibus,[15] videtur, quod quantum expendunt[16] et amplius sint[17] regno Anglie onerosi. Sunt enim media tribus sectis superioribus et specialia instrumenta dyaboli ad simplices in fide et temporalibus seducendum, et specialiter sunt habitacula eorum nidi[18] dyaboli ad spolia simplicium colligendum.

Cum ergo sunt regno tam sumptuosi et tam parum fructiferi,[19] manifestum est, quod[20] sunt ecclesie contra legem dei onerosi, nec refert, quod persone per se sint[21] pauperes, vel quod in domibus aut[22] aliis signis ypocriticis expendunt sic bona pauperum, vel quod minuatim hec[23] colligunt de egenis, qui gratis titulo elemosine ad conferendum talia sunt inducti, quia omnia ista gravant quoad dominum fraudem suam,[24] quia quoad primum sunt omnes collecti[25] una persona, que est ex consensu multiplici plus nephanda; et si habere debeant[26] instar apostolorum omnia[27] in communi, tunc sunt mundo plus divites, quam wlgares, quos spoliant, et inequa[28] distribucio spoliorum pauperum contra caritatis regulas[29] in fratribus auget culpam. Eciam talis thezaurus est faciliter regnorum per fraudem dyaboli subversivus. Ideo notato peccato, quod intrinsece intra se faciunt et ypocritice abscondunt, iste maledictus thezaurus absconditus foret causa[30] || sufficiens ad regnum Anglie de fratribus | *C fol. 38^v*
expurgandum.

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[e] *cp. De Fund. Sect. above p. 28; 192 ff., also p. 103 nn. e and n*

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[14] sunt *ACE* sint *γ* [15] spi. *CE* in spir. *Aγ* [16] expendunt *CEγ* excedunt *A* [17] sint *ACγ,E¹ in mar.* *om. E* [18] nidi *ACγ* mundi *E* *in A is add. with mark of ref. below the col.:* Nidi dyaboli fratrum habitacula *A¹* [19] fructiferi *ACγ* fructuosi *E* [20] qu. *Eγ* patet qu. *AC* [21] sint *ACγ* sunt *E* [22] aut *ACE* vel *γ* [23] hec *C* hic *AEγ* [24] su. *ACγ,E¹ in mar.* *om. E* [25] colecti *Aγ* collecti sunt (su. *cr. out & up.) C* collectim *E* [26] debeant *CEγ* debeatur *A* [27] omnia *CEγ* eciam *A* [28] inequa *Cγ* in e contra *AE* [29] reg. *ACE* culpas *(cr. out & ud.)* reg. *γ* [30] causa *CEγ* tam *A*

Et per hoc patet ad excusacionem secundam,[f] quod plus accusat[31] fratres in isto, quod plus ypocritice expendunt bona pauperum. Numquid[32] Cristus vel sui apostoli, in quibus fuit omnis sapiencia, ad istum finem sic pauperes spoliarunt, quin pocius curiositatem in talibus signis inclinantis ad seculum condempnarunt? Causa autem, quare pauperes communius quam divites sic[33] spoliant, est,[34] quia divites percipiunt subtilius[35] fraudem suam, pauperibus autem[36] et wlgaribus deest instruccio, per quam calliditatem suam percipiant.[37] Et sic communiter in fide et moribus[38] seducuntur et dyabolus per eos operatur subtilius, ut[39] inducendo novitatem in basilicis ecclesias antiquas destruat et ecclesias novas fratrum construat,[40] ut vel sic populus concurrens ad eorum hospicium propter fallax[41] spectaculum per fraudes amplius seducatur. Et ubi fuit caritativa colleccio proximorum in parochiali basilica,[42] ipsa deseritur, et per rapinam subdolam temporalium a parochianis[43] corruenda contempnitur.

Et quantum ad terciam excusacionem[g] frivolam, patet, quod directe gravat peccatum, cum collecta[44] minuta a talibus pauperibus necessitant[45] ad circumvencionem magis dampnabilem et specialiter in hoc, quod fratres laborant ad animas[46] talium simplicium defraudandum.[47]

Et fraus est ex[48] hoc patencior, quod contra caritatis regulas continue querunt, que sua sunt, et non ad communem utilitatem ecclesie, que sunt domini Iesu Cristi. Per fraudem itaque talem sic extorquere elemosinas est duplex iniquitas.

Sed ascendendo alcius ad fraudes, quas fratres faciunt, patet.

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[f] *cp. above p. 253 l. 15* [g] *cp. ibidem l. 16*

[31] accusat *CEγ* accusas *A* [32] num. *ACγ* nec num. *E* [33] sic *ACγ* *om. E* [34] est *ACγ* *om. E* [35] subtilius *ACγ,E¹ in mar.* sub talibus *(ud.) E* [36] autem *ACγ* *om. E* [37] percipiant *ACγ* participiant *E* [38] mo. *ACγ* in mo. *E* [39] ut *Eγ* *om. AC* [40] construat *CE* confort *(cr. out)* const. *A* *om. γ* et eccles. n. fr. const. *ACE* *om. γ* [41] fallax *ACγ,E¹ in mar.* fallarum *E* [42] parochiali ba. *Cγ* par. ecclesia *E, but in mar.* basilica *E¹* parochili ba. *A* [43] parochianis *CEγ* pauperibus rochianis (uperibus *ud.) A* [44] collecta *E* colleccio *Aγ* collecto *C* [45] necessitant *E* necessitat *ACγ* [46] animas *CEγ* animos *A* [47] defraudandum *CEγ* ad fraudandum *A* [48] ex *ACE* in *γ*

quod non solum seducunt secundam partem ecclesie[h] in mundana prudencia, sed totam ecclesiam nituntur in fide subvertere.[49] Cum ergo a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos[i] et fratres[50] iam habent animas multorum dominorum et dominarum in sua custodia, patet, quod culpa eorum est fratribus ascribenda. Consiliarius autem inducens secularem dominum vel episcopum ad taliter operandum est alter Achitophel et proditor manifestus.

Paucos ergo vel nullos inducunt ad pacem vel caritatem secundum regulas fidei adimplendas, sed pro bono proprio laborant[51] anxie, ac si ordinacionem Cristi vellent subvertere. Cristus enim ordinavit[52] tales elemosinas suis debilibus,[53] fratres autem nituntur elemosinas illas ab ipsis sugere[54] et mendicanti valido contra legem dei tribuere. Et sic in spem lucri proprii consulunt ad bella,[k] ad dissensiones et[55] divorcia cum talibus irregularitatibus satis multis. Et ex istis patet, quod fratres sathagunt fidem ecclesie et ordinacionem domini enervare,[56] ac si dyabolus proponeret per illos sibi perquirere totum mundum.

Et hinc creditur, quod[57] fratres abhorrent, quod publicetur in Anglia ewangelium vel lex Cristi,[l] et tamen patet expertis, quod edificacio[58] ecclesie stat in ordinacione Cristi secundum suos[59] limites novitatibus superfluis et infundabilibus | defalcatis.[60] Multis *C fol. 38b* autem videtur congruum,[61] cum[62] tres debent esse legii[63] homines regis sui et preter regis[64] licenciam dederunt pape omnia bona sua

[h] *viz. the milites, cp. De Christo et s. Adv. cap. I commencement* [i] *cp. Matth. 7, 16* [k] *W. here, very probably, has in view the Crusade to Flanders which had been encouraged by the sermons of the Friars; cp. Wilkins III, 176 ff.; Walsingham II, 72ff.; cp. also above p. 19 nn. f and h* [l] *by W.'s itinerant Preachers, cp. Chron. Adae de Usk 3; Lechler, J. v. W. I, 421 ff.; also above p. 116 and 168*

[49] subvertere *ACγ* subvertore *E* [50] fratres *ACE* fures *(?) γ* [51] laborant *ACγ* laborat *E* [52] ordinavit *ACE* ordinat *(?) γ* [53] debilibus *ACE* fidelibus *γ* [54] sugere *ACγ* removere *E* [55] et *ACE* *om. γ* [56] enervare *AEγ* erimare *(cr. out & ud.) C, but in mar.* enervare *(texthand?)* [57] quod *ACγ* quods *E* [58] edificacio *ACγ* edicacio *E, but above it* fi *is corr. (by E^3?)* [59] suos *ACγ* suas *E* [60] def. *add. as catchword in the upper marg. of C fol. 38^b* [61] cong. *CEγ* esse congr. *A* [62] cum *ACγ, E^1 in mar.* ut *(ud.) E* [63] legii *ACγ* regii *E* [64] regis *CEγ* eius *A*

in Anglia, quod dent regi[65] in signum legiancie sue mille marcas[66 m] vel amplius annuatim. Per talia enim posset rex parcere suis wlgaribus in inductis pedagiis onerosis.

Et sic, ut patet sparsim alibi,[n] sunt nimis multe[67] hereses, quas fratres seminant et defendunt in ecclesia subdole vel aperte.[68]

CAP. V.[1]

Sed contra hec[2] dicta obicitur primo per hoc, quod deficiente papa ecclesia nostra foret acephala[3] et per consequens extra fidem ecclesie ut pagani. Sed quis sufferret istud dispendium pro aliquo bono mundi? Nam si[4] non est papa, cum solus papa potest episcopos consecrare, non est episcopus, et sic non sacerdos,[5] et sic perirent omnia ecclesiastica sacramenta et per consequens fides ecclesie.

Hic profiteor et protestor,[6] quod volo ex integro sentenciare[7] fidem catholicam, et si quidquid[8] dixero contra illam, committo me correccioni superioris ecclesie et cuiuscunque militantis[9] persone, que me in hoc[10] docuerit erravisse[a]. Sed subduco quascunque tradiciones hominum[11] citra fidem scripture, et sic non accepto in ista materia nisi fidem scripture, vel racionem vivacem,[b] sed adducentem aliud[12] de perfidia et ignorancia habeo plus[13] suspectum.

Et cum[14] videtur probabile, quod limitata wlgari significacione istius termini 'papa', ecclesia Cristi militaret legi et beneplacito dei

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[m] *a mark = 13 sh. 40 d.; cp. above p. 103 note n* [n] *cp. for instance Trialog. 365 ff.*

CAP. V. [a] *with ref. to this, cp. W.'s Protest in De Christo et Adv. cap. VII conclusion* [b] *exactly the standpoint of Luther in Worms 1521*

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[65] regi *ACE* *om.* *γ* [66] mi. ma. *ACγ* ma. mi. *E* [67] nimis multe *C* multe nimis *A* multe *γ* manifeste *E* [68] aperte *CEγ* apte *A*

CAP. V. [1] *the number of the chap. not given in the codd.* [2] hec *ACγ* hoc *E*, *above it is corr.* hec [3] acephala *ACγ* acefalia *E* (i *ud.)* [4] nam si *CEγ* non nisi *A* (ni *ud.)* [5] sa. *ACγ* est sa. *E* [6] *in C is add. in mar.:* Protestacio magistri *in A with mark of ref. above the col.:* Protestacio Wykleff optima *A'* [7] sentenciare *Cγ* servare *AE* [8] quidquid *C* quid *Aγ* quidque (que *cr. out) E* [9] militantis *ACγ* militatis *E* [10] hoc *CEγ* hac *A* [11] *in A is add. in mar.:* Nota [12] aliud *ACγ* aliquid aliud *E* [13] plus *ACE* *om.* *γ* [14] cum *AE* tunc *Cγ*

conformius, dum pure viaret secundum legem Cristi sine aliquo tali papa. Patet ex hoc, quod Cristus cum[14] lege sua est per se sufficiens ad regendum totam ecclesiam militantem. Absit, inquam, fideles concedere,[15] quod Cristus cum lege sua[16] ad salvacionem hominis[17] indiget tali papa. Similiter ante incarnacionem verbum dei fuit illapsum multis hominibus, ut patet Iob et ceteris gentibus et Iudeis. Si ergo ecclesia potuit salvari sine humanitate Cristi vel saltem[18] sine eius presencia comitante, multo evidencius fideles possunt modo salvari sine alicuius pape mortalis[19] presencia comitante. Aliter enim pro tempore mortis pape omnes gentes mortui sunt dampnati, et tota ecclesia dependeret ex recta eleccione istorum cardinalium, qui communiter sunt presciti.

Similiter talis papa et specialiter post dotacionem ecclesie ex defectu sequendi Cristum communiter est prescitus, sed quis auderet[20] concedere, quod salvacio predestinati dependet[21] ex gubernacione talis dyaboli vel influencia anticristi. Ideo dicitur a quibusdam, quod post induccionem istius heresis[22] pape duxerunt catervas multas per devium[23] ad infernum, et sic profuisset ecclesie Cristi talibus ductoribus[24] caruisse.[c]

Et ex istis videtur, quod duobus[d] contendentibus pro papatu securum foret, neutri eorum, cum de probabili sit[25] dyabolus, adherere. Et istud videtur Cristi[26] consilium Matth. 24[e]: nolite credere et[27] nolite abire ad alteri talium profitendum.

Et quantum ad evidenciam[28] patet, quod ecclesia servans fidem Cristi non est acephala,[29] cum habeat Cristum caput, et[30] Cristus est per se sufficiens, sicut fuit post missionem spiritus sancti. Non

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[c] *with ref. to this passage, cp.* *Suppl. Trial.* *426 ff.; also* *De Christo et s. Ad. cap. IX conclusion* [d] *Urban IV. and Clement VII.* [e] *v. 26*

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[14] cum *ACE* ex *(ud.)* *γ, above it* cum *(texthand)* [15] concedere *CEγ* coecdere *A (compend. om.)* [16] l. s. *ACE* s. l. *γ* [17] hominis *CEγ* su *(cr. out and ud.)* hom. *A* [18] saltem *ACγ* saltim *E* [19] pa. mortalis *ACγ* mortali *E, in mar. is add* papa *E¹* [20] auderet *ACγ om. E* [21] dependet *ACE* dependeat *γ* [22] *in E is add. in mar. with mark of ref. to* her. erroris *E¹* [23] per devium *ACγ* penium *E* [24] ecclesie Cri. tal. du. *γ* ecclesia Cr. tal. du. *CE* ecclesie du. tal. *A* [25] sit *ACγ* scit *E* [26] Cristi *ACE om. γ, but corr. later into the text by the texthand* [27] et *ACE om γ* [28] evidenciam *CE γ* eundem *A* [29] acephala *ACγ* acefalia *E* [30] *in E is add. in mar. with mark of ref. to* et sic *by E¹*

enim ierunt[31] ceteri apostoli vel sui ordinati ad Petrum, ut habeant ab ipso confirmacionem, ut patet de Paulo[32] ad Gal. 1[f] et 2.[g] || C fol. 39a Quomodo || ergo necesse foret adire romanum pontificem, licet fuerit crebrius anticristus![33]

Supercilium ergo phariseicum[34] nimis diu cecavit ecclesiam in hoc puncto.[35] Ideo bene est Grecis et aliis, qui non sic ista heresi sunt cecati. Et patet, quod turpiter arguit hereticus in racione[36] prima, nec potest in lege[37] scripture vel racione domini se[38] fundare, ideo[39] contempnenda[40] est talis argucia.

Et ultra dicitur, quod, licet non fuerit aliquis talis papa non eo[41] minus est verus episcopus ac sacerdos, cum bona opera, que facit talis episcopus vel[42] sacerdos, testantur, quod deus ipsum instituit et ad tale officium ordinavit, quia, cum Cristus mandat Ioh. 10[h]: operibus credite, ipsa opera testantur[43] efficacius, quod talis est episcopus vel sacerdos domini, quam testarentur oracula vive vocis consecrantis[44] episcopi vel sua litera sigillata.

Et si dicatur, quod in ista credulitate contingit hominem errare, et non foret necessaria episcopi consecracio hodie usitata, conceditur assumptum pro prima[45] parte, cum non sit fides ecclesie, quod iste sit episcopus vel sacerdos; et sic error in talibus contingit communius istis signis sensibilibus adimpletis. Notata ergo vita atque officio, quod deus limitat sacerdoti, requiritur et sufficit ad hoc, quod iste sit sacerdos, quod deus donet sibi graciam ad istam vitam vivendum et istud officium peragendum. Et ad hoc est efficax signum complecio, quam sentimus, et sic est de aliis statibus iudicandum, ut notato, quid deus statuit ad ordinem monachalem, ad hoc, quod iste sit monachus, oporteat,[46] quod ex gracia dei compleat istud officium sibi datum.

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[f] *v. 17* [g] *v. 11 ff.* [h] *v. 38*

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[31] ierunt *Cγ* iverunt *E,A (here corrected)* [32] de Pau. *ACE om. γ* [33] li. f. cr. an. *ACγ,E¹ in mar. om. E* [34] phariseicum *Cγ* pharisaicum *A* farisaicum *E* [35] puncto *ACγ* pucto *E (compend. om.)* [36] in ra. *ACγ,E¹ in mar.* in racioni *(cr. out) E* [37] lege *CEγ* fide *A* [38] se *ACγ* sic *E* [39] ideo *ACγ* ide *E* [40] contempnenda *ACγ* condemnanda *E* [41] eo *AC,E¹ in mar. om. γE* [42] vel *ACE* aut *γ* [43] testantur *ACγ* testificantur *E* [44] cons. *ACγ,E¹ in mar.* consecutis *E* [45] pro prima *AE* propria *Cγ* [46] oporteat *ACE* oportet *(!) γ*

Unde signa sensibilia a prelatis cesareis introducta sunt sepe falsa et media ad decipiendum populum de talibus statibus iudicando.[47] Et istud concepit[48] metricus, quando dixit:[49]

Lata corona nimis, nigra[50] vestis, botta rotunda
Non faciunt monachum, sed mens a crimine munda.[i]

Debet ergo fidelis notare officium status, quem deus instituit, et notare, quod illud officium fideliter peragatur.

Sed hic instant mundani, quod iuxta hoc laicus est sacerdos et facta[51] episcoporum sensibilia superfluunt. — Hic dicitur, quod quilibet predestinatus est sacerdos in patria[52] nec debet propterea omnes[53] ritus et opera sacerdotibus limitata exercere,[54] nec debet fidelis sine revelacione consecracionem episcopi sui contempnere. Sed hoc debet credere, quomodocunque episcopus suus operatus fuerit, nisi deus insensibiliter ordinet. Consecracio sensibilis parum valet, et sic assistente ordinacione divina quilibet sacerdos potest eque conferre[55] sacramenta ecclesiastica sicut papa,[56] sicut ceteri apostoli eque bene ordinaverunt episcopos sicut Petrus.

Nec est cura vel articulus fidei, quibus verbis consecratoriis utebantur. Non enim sine causa tacuit spiritus sanctus, ubi, qualiter, et qua forma Cristus ordinavit suos apostolos sacerdotes.

Et si allegetur[57] communis opinio, quod solus papa potest ordinare saltem archiepiscopos[58] et sic de multis aliis operibus, pape specialiter reservatis, dicitur, talis[59] communis opinio est fabula non fundata. Et ad tantum possunt iste hereses perdurare, quod credantur tamquam fides catholica, sicut dicitur mulierem quandam[60] sic assuefieri ad venenum, quod ipsa digessit ipsum, et sibi non nocuit,[61] sed habuit potenciam ad intoxicandum alios mundos, cum || *C fol. 39b*

[i] *this Versus Memorialis is frequently made use of by W.*

[47] indicando *A* iudicanda *CEγ* [48] concepit *ACγ* concedit *E* [49] *in A is add. in mar.* yo *(? not clear) A³* [50] ni. *ACγ, E¹ in mar.* magna *(cr. out.) E* [51] fa. *ACγ, E¹ in mar.* sancta *E* [52] *in A is add. in mar.:* Quilibet predestinatus est sacerdos in patria *A¹* [53] omnes *γ* omnis *ACE* [54] exercere *E om. ACγ* [55] conf. *ACE* bene conf. *γ* [56] *in A is add. in mar.:* Quilibet sacerdos potest conferre sacramenta sicut papa *A¹* [57] allegetur *ACγ* allegaretur *E* [58] *in A is add. in mar.:* Fabula non fundata quod solus papa archiepiscopos ordinat *A¹* [59] tal. *CEγ* quod talis *A* [60] quandam *AEγ* quemdam *C* [61] nocuit *CEγ* potuit *A*

quibus communicaverat. Et proporcionaliter est de talibus erroribus. Possunt enim ad tantum tempus dimitti a[62] fidelibus et discussi et a personis gravibus approbari, quod credantur[63] tamquam articuli fidei, licet sint errores patuli.

Admittatur[64] ergo reverenter papa, de quanto sequitur vestigia sancti Petri, et de quanto exhorbitat, fugiatur.

CAP. VI.[1]

Restat parumper ulterius tractandum de erroribus, qui episcopos cesareos[a] consecuntur.

Dicitur enim, quod reservarunt sibi confirmaciones et collaciones[2] ordinum, et omnino consecraciones ecclesiarum et calicum et ornamentorum similium cum aliis absolucionibus et privilegiis infinitis;[b] eciam racione istorum est predicacio et vita apostolica commutata.

Constat autem, quod sine hiis sectis quatuor et quacunque illarum stetit ecclesia Cristi post ascensionem per trecentos[3] annos in suo robore[4] longe prosperius, quam post stetit.[c] Ideo[5] suppono,[6] quantum ad istos duos ordines, scilicet confirmacionem et dacionem[7] ordinis, quod non est racio, quare inferiores presbiteri non potuerunt[8] ipsos dare. Non enim tantam vim habent, isti duo ordines, nec tantam habet[9] auctoritatem pontificale[10] episcopi, quin[11] inferiores presbiteri cum aliis sermonibus potuerunt[12] ministrare huiusmodi sacramenta.

CAP. VI. [a] *the First Sect, therefore, is meant here* [b] *cp. Brown, Fascic. 205 ff.; Armagh, De quaest. Armen. lib. XI cap. V* [c] *an assertion frequently made use of by W.; with ref. to it, cp. Lechler I, 589*

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[62] a *ACE* *om.* γ [63] credantur *CE*γ creduntur *A* [64] admittatur *AC*γ adimittatur *E*

CAP. VI. [1] 6 *C in mar. number of chap. not given in AE*γ [2] collaciones *ACE* colleciones γ [3] trecentos *C*γ tercentos *A* cercentos *(?) E* [4] robore *CEG* labore *A* [5] ideo *AC*γ item *E* [6] suppono *ACE* supposito γ [7] dacionem *CE*γ dotacionem *A*, *in mar. is add.* collacionem *A*[1] [8] potuerunt *ACE* poterint γ [9] habet *AC*γ habent *E* [10] pontificale *CE*γ pontificalem *A* [11] quin *AC*γ quibus *E* [12] potuerunt *ACE* potuerint γ

Et sic dicatur de consecracione basilice vel superaltaris aut[13] alterius ornamenti. Nec video necessitatem de reconsiliacione[14] ecclesie post eius pollucionem, cum II Macc.[15] 5[d] dicitur, quod non locus sanctificat hominem, sed e contra[e]. Quantitas enim secundum philosophos non est de genere activorum, ideo cum locus per consecracionem influenciam maiorem a celo non recipit[16] nec est sanctitas in loco post consecracionem[17] episcopi derelicta, videtur, quod assistente sanctitate quantumcunque locus prius[18] corporaliter[19] pollutus fuerit, ex sanctitate anime remanet[20] locus sanctus. Sicut enim post privacionem[21] primi angeli remanserat[22] celum sanctum, sic[23] post expulsionem hominis a[24] paradiso remanserat[25] locus sanctus. Ideo videtur quibusdam, quod expulso avaro episcopo inducto ad modo[26] suo consecrandum ecclesiam foret locus sanccior quam per eum.[27] Nam trinitas est ibi, et corporalis pollucio est impertinens sanctitati, cum Iob in sterquilinio et Cristus in diversorio fecerant illa loca satis abiecta spiritualiter esse sancta, et Loth in civitate peccatrice[28] servaverat sanctitatem, et extra in loco reputato sancto cum filiabus peccaverat.

Sanctitas ergo originata in anima[29] fecit[30] turpissimum locum esse sanctum, sicut sanctitas anime Cristi, quando descenderat ad infernum.

Videtur ergo, quod omnes tales consecraciones[31] et benedicciones cerei atque panis, palmarum, luminis, salis, pere, baculi, armorum cum eis similibus non sunt de substancia fidei cristiane. Ideo foret laudabilius multis rectoribus, quod episcopus suus predicaret et doceret fidem catholicam, quam quod ministraret hec sacramenta vel consecraret suas ecclesias vel conferret ecclesie sue carisma.[32]

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[d] *v. 19* [e] *as to this passage, cp. Festival Sermons, Nro. XXXVII, cod. 3928 fol. 75[c] (Vienna Library)*

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[13] vel *ACE* aut *γ* [14] *in A is add. in mar.:* Non est necesse post pollucionem ecclesiam reconsiliare *A[1]* [15] Mach. *ACγ,E[1] in mar.* Mat *(underlined) A* [16] recipit *AC* recepit *E* *om. γ* [17] influenc. m. a c. n. r. n. e. s. in l. p. consecr. *AEC* *om. γ* [18] prius *ACE* primus *γ* [19] corp. *in A corr. later into text by A[1]* [20] re. *ACγ,E[1] in mar.* *om. E* [21] privacionem *Cγ* prevaricacionem *AE and E[1] in mar.* [22] remanserat *Cγ* remanserant *(the last* n *ud.) E* remansit *A* [23] sic *γ* sicut *ACE* [24] a *ACγ* de *E* [25] remanserat *CEγ* remansit *A* [26] ad modo *A* a dominio *Cγ* a domino *E* [27] eum *CEγ* ante *A* [28] peccatrice *Cγ* peccatrici *AE* [29] in an. *ACγ,E[1] in mar.* in omnia *E* [30] fecit *Cγ* facit *AE* [31] co. *ACγ,E[1] in mar.* conservatos *(ud.) E* [32] carisma *CEγ* crisma *A*

Unde quidam querunt a suis episcopis loco talium sigillacionem vel confirmacionem istius veritatis fidei, quod consecrata hostia sit vere panis et virtute verborum domini corpus Cristi. Episcopus autem, qui tacet[33] in talibus tamquam ignarus fidei scripture, modicum prodest consecracione vel benediccione aut talibus fictis signis.

C fol. 40a Unde dicitur a quibusdam, || quod sicut episcopi post dotacionem per seculares expensas sunt onerosi ecclesie, sic sunt onerosi ecclesie per cerimonias novas, quas tamquam necessarias introducunt, et vel honor proprius[34] vel cupiditas est causa talium vel utrumque. Scimus quidem,[35] quod in coniuracionibus dicitur nomen sanctum dei et tamen illicite, et ita videtur in hiis esse[36] consecracionibus aut benediccionibus per ipsos introductis. Et sic, ubi Cristus facilitavit ecclesiam suam, ne oneretur talibus, anticristus e contra difficultat[37] ecclesiam[38] per suos discipulos inducendo talia tamquam fidem.

Et sic est de multis consuetudinibus per romanam ecclesiam vel per metropolitanos vel per proprios episcopos introductis,[39] ut hodie tantum ponderatur regula Usus Sarum,[40 f] quam[41] catholicus ponderat ewangelium. Et sic, ubi Cristus libertavit suam ecclesiam, anticristus ipsam callide et ypocritice illibertat.[42] Ideo videntes, ordinacionem Cristi in talibus esse liberam, graviter ferunt talem consuetudinem tamquam fidem catholicam introductam, et sepe, ne scandalizent[43] fratres, faciunt et approbant talia dimittendo magis utilia. Et illud est sue consciencie onerosum, ut libenter missas audiunt et missas celebrant, dicunt matutinas et alias horas

[f] *The Usus Sarum composed by Bishop Osmund of Salisbury about 1085, contained in its Breviary the usual service, in its Missale the Communion service, and in its Manuale the Baptismal service. It gradually supplanted the other diocesan services, then in use, got hold of nearly all the Churches, so that even the Hereford and York Uses lost their ascendancy. In Reformation times the Common Prayer Book was based on the Sarum Usus.*

[33] tacet *AEγ* cacet *C* [34] vel h. p. *ACγ,E¹ in mar.R.* usus *(sd.)* pr. *E* [35] quidem *CEγ* enim *A* [36] in h. e. *AC* e. in h. *Eγ* [37] difficultat *CE* dificultavit *A* *om. γ* [38] suam ne o. t. a. e c. d. eccl. *ACE* *om. γ* [39] introductis *ACE* introductos *γ* [40] Sarum *A, but in mar.* horarum *A¹* saxum *Eγ* saxum *C, in mar. is add.* sarum *(?) C²* [41] quam *CEγ* quantum *A* [42] illibertat *ACγ* libertat *E* [43] scandalizent *ACE* scandalizarent *γ*

secundum usum ecclesie, in qua degunt,[44] et tamen videtur, quod melius, ecclesie utilius et honori dei placencius possent tempus suum expendere et ad utilitatem ecclesie militare.

Ideo in istis periculosis temporibus grave foret fidelem pure intendere legem[45] Cristi. Ideo si apostoli, qui in hoc fuerunt[46] liberi,[47] continue predicaverunt,[48] quanto magis nos[49] miseri, qui per tales prophanas consuetudines sumus taliter obligati! Et si quis querat, quid talis presbiter de racione faceret, cum non debet taliter deprecari, dictum[50] est, quod unus[51] debet in casu, quo deus inclinaverit,[52] predicare, alius dicere oracionem dominicam vel edificare proximum aut spiritualiter aut corporaliter secundum quod deus inclinaverit[53] faciendum. Et sic standum est consuetudini loci, de quanto non repugnat regule Cristi vel racioni. Nec[54] dubium, quin executa[55] lege[56] Cristi secundum officium, quod ipse suis fratribus limitavit, prosperaretur ecclesia, nec deficeret usque ad diem iudicii operacio apostolica, sed dyabolus nititur fraudare[57] vel superare ecclesiam per clerum sophisticum, sicut sophisticatus fuit per caput cleri,[58] dominum Iesum Cristum. Et laborando[59] ad hoc extraneat cleri[60] officium et sectas extraneas quasi hillatores[61] domus dicti[62] introducunt[63] et episcopi, qui false fingunt se in conversacione imitari[64] apostolos, limitant novos predicatores sophisticos, qui foveant iniquitatem dyaboli introductam, et alios fideles ecclesie persecuntur in tantum, quod unus fidelis dicit metrice istam sentenciam, quod si Petrus vel alius apostolus ex dei omnipotencia[65] reconversaretur[66] cum episcopis incipiendo a papa[67] et visitando alias

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[44] degunt *ACγ* detegunt *E* [45] legem *CEγ* legi *A* [46] fuerunt *ACγ* fuerint *E* [47] li. *ACγ,E^1 in mar. om. E* [48] predicaverunt *ACE* predicaverint *γ* [49] nos *corr. later into the text* [50] di. *ACγ* ut di. *E* [51] unus *A,E^1 in mar.* bonus *Cγ,E the (ud.)* [52] inclinaverit *ACE* declinaverit *γ, above* de *(ud.)* in *is add. later by texthand* [53] predicare — inclinaverit *ACγ, add. by E^1 below the col. om. E* [54] nec *ACE* et sic non *γ* [55] executa *CEγ* exercitata *A* [56] lege *ACγ* regula *E* [57] fraudare *AEγ,C^1 in mar.* fraudire *(cr. out and up.) C* [58] cle. *ACγ,E^1 in mar. om. E* [59] laborando *CEγ* laborado *A (compend. om.)* [60] ex. cl. *Cγ* ex oculi (oc· *cr. out.) E, in mar. is add.* cleri *E^1 om. A* [61] hillatores *ACγ* bellatores *E* [62] dicti *A om. γ* divitis *E blank space in C* [63] introducunt *CEγ* introducit *A* [64] imitari *ACγ* mutari *E* [65] omnipotencia *ACγ* potencia *E* [66] reconversaretur *ACE* reconversarentur *γ* [67] *in E* episcopis *and* papa *are added in mar. by E^1*

provincias cristianismi, non cognosceret istos prelatos cesareos[68] cum sectis aliis, sed constanter assereret,[69] quod non secuntur Cristum nec aliquem[70] apostolum nisi Iudam, et per consequens non vadunt viam ad patriam,[g] sed per viam publicam ad infernum, seducunt simplices per mendacium ypocriticum, quod omnia, que faciunt, faciunt ex licencia[71] et auctoritate Cristi, sicut et ipsi in personis propriis vivendo | apostolicam vitam rectissimam immediacius secuntur dominum Iesum Cristum. (*C fol. 40b*)

Et tale mendacium fictum et[72] per patrem mendacii practizatum seducit hodie ecclesiam militantem.

CAP. VII.[1]

Sed quia unus phariseus[a], qui se reputat principem quarte secte, graviter fert hanc evidenciam: hoc non est exemplatum a Cristo, nec dictum in suo ewangelio, ergo non est catholice observandum, et ad huius improbacionem facit[2] raciones multiplices, ut de ordine dyaconatus et aliis observanciis hodie licite observatis, licet non habeant auctoritatem a Cristo et a[3] suo ewangelio, — levis ergo est evidencia: hoc non est[4] a Cristo vel a[5] suo ewangelio dictum ecclesie vel fidelibus exemplatum, ergo non[6] est catholice observandum, ideo relinquendo hanc evidenciam tamquam frivolam laborat circa 40[7] signa ad hereticum cognoscendum. Et cum hereticus et fidelis in quibusdam conveniunt, capit[8] superflue multa signa, que

[g] *i. e. to eternal salvation*

CAP. VII. [a] *From the conclusion of the chap. it is evident that by this term a Friar is meant who held a public disputation on the subject in question in Oxford, cp. below p. 269 l. 1 ff.*

[68] istos prelatos cesareos *ACγ* istas platas cesareas *E* [69] assereret *ACE* asseret *γ* [70] aliquem *ACE* alium *γ* [71] faciunt ex licencia *ACγ* excellencia *E* [72] et *ACγ* *om. E*

CAP. VII. [1] 7 *C in mar.* nota bene *A*[2] *number of chap. not given in Eγ from here on in A very numerous red commas occur; they run down to the end of col. (229a)* [2] facit *CEγ* sunt *A* [3] a *Cγ* *om. AE* [4] est *ACγ* *om. E* [5] a *Cγ* *om. AE* [6] non *CEγ* hoc non *A* [7] 40 *in γ illegible (44 ?)* [8] capit *ACγ* caput *E*

fidelibus poterunt[9] convenire, satis ergo est, fidelem cognoscere, quod quicunque fuerit pertinaciter fidei scripture contrarius, est hereticus,[10] et sic omnis prescitus et specialiter adversans in vita fidei scripture.[11] Et sic rimando subtiliter condiciones heretici plures fratres proprios capere posset per verticem tamquam tales, et specialiter faciliter[12] evidencias vel predicando vel consenciendo nostratibus,[b] ut in causa Urbani nostri occidant[13] tot milia hominum et de tanto thezauro spolient regnum nostrum.

Tales, inquam, moventes per sompnia vel per sinistrum sensum fidei scripture videntur esse heretici, ut fratres predicantes,[14] quod licet episcopis sic pugnare ex hoc, quod Cristus precepit[c] suis apostolis, quod qui habet tunicam vendat eam et emat gladium.[15] Fratres autem non vendiderunt tunicas, sed procucarunt[16] sibi[17] secures armorum, ideo non fuit[18] mirum, si hoc negocium non fuit cum talibus prevaricatoribus prosperatum.

Redeundo ergo ad principium[19] calumpniatum primo supponitur ista fides, quod Cristus sit verus deus et verus homo, et per consequens in sua deitate[20] habet ydeas vel raciones exemplares omnium fiendorum, et per consequens si in ipso non relucet racio faciendi, non licet sic facere, cum dyabolus et alii in peccando faciunt, ut[21] non licet. Et hinc fideles dicunt communiter, quod peccatum non habet ydeam in deo, cum deus non sit auctor peccati,[d] nec deus exemplificat, quod taliter est peccandum, et per

[b] *who where engaged in a war in Flanders against the adherents of the Antipope Clement VII.* [c] *cp. Luc.* 22, *36* [d] *cp. Trial.* 67 *ff.*, *also p. 74: sed cum peccati sit idea nec peccati productivitas vel producibilitas in Deo, oportet peccatum esse et adesse vel potius abesse deficere etc. Against Bradwardine and Thom. Aquin., see above p.* 229 *n. a*

[9] poterunt *C* poterint *γ* potuerunt *AE* [10] *in A is add. below the col.:* Quis sit hereticus *A*[1] [11] adversans in vita fi. scr. *AC* adversans *γ* adversans fidei scripture contrarius est hereticus et sic omnis prescitus et specialiter adversans in vita fidei scripture *E* [12] faciliter *CEγ* facit *A* [13] occidant *CEγ* accidant *A* [14] pred. *in γ a corr. word* [15] gla. *ACγ* sibi gla. *E* [16] procurarunt *ACE* procuraverunt *γ* [17] sibi *is repeated in γ, because it was not very plain the first time* [18] fuit *ACγ* *om. E* [19] principium *ACE* principem *γ* *in C is add. in mar.:* Supposicio prima [20] deitate *ACγ* divinitate *E* [21] ut *ACE* quod *γ*

idem deus non exemplificat, quod in ecclesia sua crescant monstruositates culpabiles tamquam in vinea, cuius vites ex[22] tali nequicia sterilescunt.

Sed quantum ad humanitatem Cristi supponitur iterum tamquam fides, quod anima sua videt continue clare in deitate racionem omnium fiendorum et quidquid usque[23] in diem iudicii est venturum.[24] Sicut enim boni[25] vident futura in verbo, sic anima Cristi videt clarius secundum illum creatum spiritum omnes raciones et omnia facienda, qua fide supposita.

Secundo supponitur, quod inter omnes homines ille spiritus Cristi habuit maximam caritatem.[26 e] Cum enim fuit deitati[27] ypostatice copulatus, fuisset ingratus nisi deum et suam ecclesiam supra alios dilexisset. Ex quibus videtur, cum[28] dileccio stat principaliter in utilitate doctrine[29] quod Cristus per illum spiritum docuisset suam || ecclesiam[30] perficere,[31] quid et qualiter est agendum, quid et qualiter est a malo periculi fugiendum. Cum ergo non approbative docuit suam ecclesiam de hiis sectis, sed reprobative[f] videtur loqui plura de fratribus, videtur, quod non approbat illos status. Si enim illi status fuissent tam perfecti et tam utiles ecclesie, quid prohibuisset Cristum omnipotentem et omniscientem has sectas fratrum sue ecclesie expressisse? Et blasphemum videtur, quod Francisco vel alio privato patrono privilegium supra ipsos instituendi[32] meliores ordines ac[33] regulas[34] pandidisset,[35] quam ipse in persona propria ordinavit. Et cum dei perfecta sunt opera, et Cristus fuit contentus de statibus[36] istis et formis suis, quando magis vigebat sua ecclesia, videtur, quod tam perfectum statum et

|| C fol. 41a

[e] *cp. De tripl. Vinc. Am. p. 162* [f] *as to the proof of this reproach, cp. De Fund. Sect. from chap. V on, cp. also above p. 79; 303*

[22] ex *ACE* in *γ* [23] us. *ACγ,E¹ in mar.* *om. E* [24] venturum *CEγ* verum tamen *(?) A* [25] boni *C*, *but in mar.* bene *C²* boni *γ*, *but below it* bene *is add. later* beati *A* bene *E* [26] *in C is add. in mar.:* Supposicio secunda *in A in mar.:* Spiritus Cristi habuit maximam caritatem *A¹* [27] f. d. *ACγ*, d. sitit *E*, *but in mar. with mark of ref. to* d.: fuit *E¹* [28] cum *ACE* quod *γ* [29] doct. *CEγ* ecclesie *(ud.)* doctr. *A* [30] su. ec. *AEγ* suam suam *(the latter cr. out. and ud.)* eccl. *C* [31] perficere *AC,E¹ in mar.* perfecte *γ* proficere *E* [32] ipsos instituendi *A* ipsum instituendum *Eγ* ipsos instituendum *C* [33] ac *CEγ* et *A* [34] or. ac re. *ACγ* re. ac or. *E* [35] pandidisset *ACE* pandisset *γ* [36] statibus *AC,E¹ in mar.* fratribus *γ,E (ud.)*

regulam prius dedisse[37] sue ecclesie, ut fingitur ab hiis novis ordinibus, non racionabiliter omisisset. Tunc[38] enim plus claruisset[39] sua sapiencia sponse sue, tunc magis profuisset sue ecclesie,[40] et iste novitates fuissent magis autentice. Et tales evidencie movebant Paulum, quod non audebat novas sectas vel religiones novas statuere.[g] Sed quid sunt isti privati stolidi quoad Paulum! In wlgo dicitur, quod non equs[41] in biga audacior[42] quam est cecus.

Non tamen presumo scandalizare illos, quos secte hodie tamquam fidem reputant esse sanctos, sed unum videtur esse probabile, quod secte sequentes carent prudencia ad patronos, quos sibi eligunt, imitandum, sed sicut Cristum ducem deserunt, sic vagi et infundabiles patronos proprios derelinquunt.

Et quantum ad evidenciam dicti fratris[h] dictum est sepe[43] scientibus, quomodo Cristus tamquam fundamentum et semen sue ecclesie aliqua tamquam magis utilia sue ecclesie expressius exemplavit, ut patet de statu episcopali vel sacerdotali[44] cum regula eis data, aliqua autem exemplavit et docuit magis subtiliter, quorum existencia et noticia est[45] nimis[46] utilis, ut patet de illis, quorum doctrina per Cristum et suos apostolos est inventa. Et in illo[47] sunt gradus multiplices; et[48] patet ex fide scripture et specialiter Pauli[49][i] et[50] Actuum[k] apostolorum, quomodo Cristus in ewangelio suo ordinavit dyaconos. — Et sic dictus princeps[l] ex consuetudine antiqui mendacii non erubescit[51] falsum assumere, cum dicit,[52] quod status dyaconii[53] non est in ewangelio expressatus. Nam probabiliter creditur, quod septuaginta duo[54] discipuli, de quibus Luc. 10.[m] erant dyaconi sub apostolis designati. Paulus eciam dat in epistolis[55]

[g] *cp. I Cor. 1, 10* [h] *cp. above p. 264 l. 11* [i] *vgl. Phil. 1, 1; I Tim. 3, 8; 12* [k] *cp. Act. 6, 1—6* [l] *cp. note h* [m] *v. 1*

[37] prius dedisse *AC* dedisse prius *E* prius dedisset *γ* [38] tunc *ACγ,E¹ in mar.* non *(ud.) E* [39] claruisset *ACE* caruisset *γ* [40] s. e. *ACγ* e. s. *E* [41] equs *AC* est equs *Eγ* [42] *in A is add. in mar.:* Proverbium verissimum *A¹* [43] sepe *ACE om. γ* [44] e. v. s. *ACE* s. v. e. *γ* [45] est *ACγ om. E* [46] nimis *AC* minus *Eγ* [47] in illo *ACE* vero *γ* [48] et *ACγ* ut *E* [49] Pau. *ACγ,E¹ in mar. om. E* [50] et *AEγ,C¹ in mar.* 2º *(ud.) C* [51] erubescit *Cγ* erubescet *AE* [52] dicit *γ* dicet *ACE* [53] dyaconii *AC* diaconi *γ* dyaconorum *E* [54] 72º *ACγ* a Cristo *(ud.) E, but in mar.* LXXII *E¹* [55] epistolis *ACγ* episcopis *E*

suis[n] specialem doctrinam de dyaconibus, et sicut credimus, quod Cristus[56] in isto apostolo est locutus, sic credimus,[57] quod suum ewangelium est ewangelium Iesu Cristi.[58] Nam in epistola sua ad Gal. sepe[o] asserit, quod epistole sue sint ewangelium, et non dubium, quin per idem ewangelium Iesu Cristi Lucas eciam Act. 6[p] exprimit, quomodo apostoli auctoritate[59] Cristi elegerunt septem dyaconos et ipsi predicacioni et oracioni liberius intendebant.

Alios autem status apocryfos[60] introductos non est tantum[61] peccatum dimittere sicut illos, qui ordinantur expressius in ewangelio Iesu Cristi.

| *C fol. 41b* Sed volvat homo et revolvat totum | corpus legis domini et non inveniet unum verbum, in quo secta istorum fratrum vel istorum novorum ordinum approbacione domini est fundata preter in isto II Cor. 11[q]: periculis in falsis fratribus. Et talia verba possunt dare hiis sectis operam ad fundacionem suam in fide scripture diligencius perscrutandam.[62]

Constat quidem,[63] quod non decuit[64] nec oportuit[65] Cristum quoscunque actus particulares laudabiles in fide legis[66] sue ecclesie expressisse, quia hoc fuisset dispendiosum et onerosum sue ecclesie, sed genera omnium necessariorum ad doctrinam ecclesie modo, quo decuit,[67] exprimebat. De genere autem istarum quatuor sectarum non reperi, nisi reprobative et yronice quis loquatur.[r]

Et sic accipiunt[68] multi ut fidem ecclesie, quod nisi expressasset in genere status[69] et opera facienda, ipsa non sunt a fidelibus amplectenda. Et frater, qui nescit, quomodo genus et secta debent

[n] *cp. I Tim. 3, 8—10* [o] *cp. I, 1; 11—13; cp. I Cor. 15, 3; 11, 23* [p] *v. 5* [q] *v. 26; W., very frequently, recurs to this ironical remark, cp. for instance, above p. 37 l. 16* [r] *cp. above p. 37 l. 16*

[56] *here ends in E col. 89a, below it:* specialem *without a mark of ref.* [57] cr. *AEγ* Cristus *(ud.)* cr. *C* [58] *in A add. in mar.:* Ewangelium Pauli est ewangelium Cristi *A¹* [59] auct. *AC* ex auct. *E* ex auctite *(*au. *ud.)* auct. *γ* [60] *in E* appogriffas [61] tantum *Aγ,E¹ in mar.* tamen *(ud.) E* tamen, *above it* tantum *C* [62] perscrutandam *ACE* perscrutandum *γ* [63] quidem *CEγ* enim *A* [64] decuit *ACγ* docuit *E* [65] oportuit *ACE* oportet *γ* [66] leg. *is in A corr. later into the text* [67] decuit *ACγ* docuit *E* [68] capiunt, *above the* a *an* i *is add. by the texthand, and in mar. is add.* ac, *therefore* accipiunt *C* capiunt *AE* sapiunt *γ* [69] ex. inge. sta. *ACγ,E¹ in mar.* expressisset in gestatus *E*

pertinenter in proposito limitari, est nimis indispositus ad tractantandum de materia ista vel heresibus et specialiter publice in studio generali.[a]

CAP. VIII.[1]

Sed[2] restat parumper ulterius pro purgacione secte prime leviter pertractandum.

Videtur enim, quod verba ista[a] sint duplicia et locuntur[3] a Cristo dispariter, ac si apud loquentes foret accepcio personarum. Videtur enim per locum a sufficiente[4] similitudine, quod per idem cessarent[5] tam sacerdotes, quam milites de ordine Hospitalis,[6b] ymo secundo cessarent in generalibus studiis[c] fundata collegia, et quod est communius, cessarent utrobique[7] in Anglie cantarie.[8d] Sed quis non resisteret tali vesanie? Videtur, quod tam prelati dominantes et clerici, quam eciam studiosi in universitatibus commorantes et tercio burgenses, qui[9] multas cantarias[10] huiusmodi fun-

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[a] *viz. in Oxford, cp. above p. 264 l. 11*

CAP. VIII. [a] *cp. chap. V p. 256 l. 6 ff.* [b] *The Knights of St. John, founded about the middle of the 11th century by merchants of Amalfi, served as nurses to sick pilgrims in hospitals* [c] *in Oxford and the universities of the Continent* [d] *cp. W.'s The Order of Priesthood, chap. 24 (see Matthew, p. 177), where the foundation of chantries is spoken of. These chantries had become is W.'s times the commonest form of religious foundations. One Order after another having fallen away from the ideal aimed at in its foundation, people ceased to look upon monks and even Mendicant Friars as good men whom it was meritorious to help; in founding chantry houses and endowing chantry priests, they hoped to get prayers in return for their money, and thus to be of the best service for the welfare of their souls. From the Tract cited above it becomes evident that only rich men (,riche men and tirauntis') were enabled to indulge into this religious luxury., ,The formal religion of the day looked upon this as the safest religious investment', Matth. 513,*

CAP. VIII. [1] *number of chap. not given in the codd.* [2] Sed *CEγ om. A* [3] locuntur *ACγ* loquentur *E* [4] sufficiente *ACγ* sufficienti *E* [5] cess. *ACγ* enim cess. *E* [6] hospitalis *ACγ* hospitali *E* [7] utrobique *CEγ* ubique *A* [8] cantarie *AE* canterie *(the first* e *ud., above it* a*) C* cantuarie *γ* [9] qui *Cγ om. AE* [10] cantarias *AE* cantarios *C* cantuarios *γ*

daverunt,[11] huic perfidie obviarent, et papa specialiter, cum in fundacione, confirmacione vel collacione[12] talium relucet sua potestas vicaria, que pari evidencia omnino detolleretur.[13]

Hic locuntur humiles tamquam persone mundo incognite, nec sunt[14] pro publicacione huiusmodi[15] sentencie humanum stipendium exspectantes, sed a deo, qui ex lege sua movet homines ad istam sentenciam tamquam divinam in populo publicandum. Et si non repertet statim sentencie in populo,[16] creditur tamen, quod paulative potest in fructu crescere et finaliter in die iudicii credi et perpetuo observari. Nec est in istis verbis duplicitas, sed secundum fidem[17] et rectam conscienciam sentencie vere sinceritas, et timore ac amore personarum superstitum omnino postpositis, dicitur consequenter, sicut creditur, sequi ex istis principiis.[18] Omnia autem hec tria[e] tacta in perpetuacione seculi videntur ex dictis de statu innocencie[f] et statu post finale iudicium esse cum prudencia terminanda.

Et sic quoad primum[g] videtur, quod tam presbiteri, quam milites Hospitales debent pure religionem Cristi accipere et istas adinvenciones novas deserere. Hospitalarii autem sicut Templarii videntur infundabiles racione. In cuius signum gerunt ficte nomen Hospitalarie et breviter, quidquid boni[19] fecerint, possent liberius ac meritorius illud[20] facere in[21] liberrima secta Cristi. Unde et[22] privata et[23] propria obligacio huius secte onerat sepe consciencias *C fol. 42a* multorum et facit eas in se plus perplexas, quam forent in amplitudine secte Cristi.

Et quantum ad punctum fructus[24] huius secte de expugna-

[e] *cp. above p. 269 l. 9 ff.* [f] *from this it appears that the present Tract was written after De Statu Innoc., cp. Shirley, Catal. Nr. 15 (the second book of W.'s Summa)* [g] *viz. the abolition of the Hospital-Knights, cp. above p. 269 l. 9*

[11] fundaverunt *AC* fundaverat *Eγ* [12] collacione *ACE* colleccione *(?) γ* [13] detolleretur *γ* decolleretur *EC* recolleretur *A* [14] nec sunt *ACγ* ut nec sint *E* [15] huiusmodi *ACγ* huius *E* [16] publicandum — populo *ACγ* *om. E* [17] fidem *Cγ* finem *AE* [18] pr. *ACE* sentenciis *(cr.out and ud.)* pr. *γ* [19] boni *ACE* *om. γ* [20] illud *AEγ,C²* *in mar.* illud *(ud.) C* [21] in *Cγ* et *AE* [22] et *Cγ* *om. AE* [23] et *AC* *om. Eγ* [24] fr. *ACγ* et fr. *E*

cione[25] Iudeorum et infidelium aliorum, patet, quod ista pugna non est docta a domino Iesu Cristo, sed per mititatem et pacienciam[26] vincerent[27] longe copiosius infideles, ideo sint cristiani pacientes et non sic[28] cupidi, et tunc longe cicius ex percepcione talis vite infideles, quos hostes dicimus, ad fidem Cristi converterent, nunc autem per istam novam[h] pugnam extraneam ipsos plus acuunt ad continuandum in sua perfidia.

Nec videtur, quod missio talis pecunie ad partes tam exteras[i] habeat fructum bonum, sed per multas manus invisc*(er)*atas[29] avaricia est populus solvens[30] primam elemosinam defraudatus; et sic rex cum sua milicia, clerus per multa media et omnino populus, cui subveniretur, per tempora[31] iniustissime defraudantur. Et ille, qui contendit ad iustificandum hanc sectam per fructus eius aut verba[32] apocrifa, non est a prudentibus audiendus.

Et ita dampnificantur tam extranei, quam indigene ex continuacione[33] infundabilis talis secte. Superbia enim[34] multorum per istam[35] acuitur, et humilitas Cristi per multos[36] despicitur, et sic caritas ecclesie[37] minuitur per milites sic pugnantes.

Et eadem est consideracio de gildis et aliis privatis fraternitatibus hominum adinventis. Per omnia enim talia lex Cristi minuitur, et per dyabolum dissensionis seminarium occultatur.

Quantum ad collegia[38] in studiis generalibus[k] est idem iudicium. Nam[39] per ipsa patrie[40] et persone contra caritatis regulas acceptantur[41] et intrinsece invidie eum peccatis aliis et periuriis

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[h] *the Crusade to Flanders against Clement VII.* [i] *with ref. to this, cp. the privileges accorded to Bischop Spenser for undertaking the crusade in Walsingham II, 77, also Wilkins, III, 177—178; cp. also above p. 103 note l* [k] *cp. above chap. VIII, p. 269 l. 10*

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[25] expugnacione *ACγ* expurgacione *E* [26] *in A is add. below the col.:* Per mititatem et pacienciam debemus pugnare *A¹* [27] vincerent *ACγ* vicerunt *E* [28] sic *ACE* sint *γ* [29] inviscatas *CE,γ(?)* invistatus *A* [30] solvens *A* solutus *Eγ,C* , *but* t *cr. out, above it* e, *therefore* solvens [31] tempora *ACγ* temporalia *E* [32] verba *ACγ* alia *E* [33] continuacione *ACγ* contumacione *E* [34] enim *ACE* *om. γ* [35] istam *Cγ* ista *AE* [36] multos *ACγ* multas *E* [37] eccl. *ACE* Cristi eccl. *γ* [38] co. *ACE* studia *(cr. out and ud.)* co. *γ* [39] nam *in A corr. from* non [40] patrie *CE,γ* *(?* parate) facere *A*, *in mar. is add.* facies *A¹* [41] acceptantur *ACγ* accipiuntur *E*

ac symoniis contra instituta propria cumulantur.[42] Conceditur tamen, quod ex talibus collegiis sicut ex sectis aliis eveniunt multa bona, non tamen tot, quot occasione peccati dyaboli et primi hominis.

Ideo erubescat fidelis, fructum talis commodi allegare, sed insistat fundacioni, si sciverit, et evacuet malum, quod exinde provenit.[43] Scimus quidem,[44] quod per errores priores et specialiter ecclesiarum appropriaciones[45] est clerus et theologie studium diminutum,[l] sed per remedium fundatum in talibus collegiis non est clerus ad pristinum gradum[46] restitutus.

Ideo rectificatis istis erroribus foret clerus in fide forcior et subductis consuetudinibus gentilibus profectui Cristi ecclesie utilior et generaliter talium collegiorum fundacio est bonorum ecclesie inequa distribucio cum redditibus et ecclesiis appropriatis. Nec populi debite pascuntur corporaliter nec spiritualiter, et tamen[47] mediantibus fraudibus hincinde factis in regnis longe plures sparsim melius pascerentur. Debemus ergo attendere, quomodo deus sapienter dat[48] pluviam et quomodo secundum Iesaie vaticinium cap. 40[49m] omnis caro fenum, fenum autem non plene mortuum conglobatim[50] deficit in colore, in[51] odore et usque ad summum putrescit, et sic spiritualiter est de iuvenibus irregulariter conglobatis.

Et quantum vel cantarias[52] perpetuas per mundi divites fabricatas, patet, quod fundatores in fide primo deficiunt, ac si crede-

[l] *In a sermon preached by Richard Archbishop of Armagh before the Pope in Avignon (in the year 1357; Vaughan writes 1387, erroneously: for Fitzralph died as soon as 1359 in Avignon), he complained that the number of students in Oxford had decreased from 30,000 who where there in his time, to 6000. Fitzralph became Archbishop of Armagh in 1347. and in consequence of his promotion left the University, whose Chancellor he had been. See a similar complaint, made by Robert Gascoigne, who was likewise Chancellor of Oxford, in Fox, Acts and Monuments, I, 532, 543; also Huber, Engl. Univ. I, 66—68* [m] *v. 6*

[42] *in C an illegible word has been add. at this place in mar. . . . saret (by C^2)* [43] provenit *ACγ* proveniet *E* [44] quidem *ACE* enim *γ* [45] appropriaciones *ACE* approbaciones *γ* [46] pristinum gradum *γ* prestinum gr. *C* prist. statum *E* grad. pristinum *A* [47] tamen *CEγ* tam *A* [48] s. d. *CEγ* d. s. *A* [49] cap. 40 *ACE* *om. γ* [50] conglobatim *ACγ* conglobatum *E* [51] colore in *γ* colore et *A* calore in *CE* [52] cantarias *ACE* canterias *γ*

rent deum[53] sibi et suo generi per tales cantarias[54] singulariter[55] suffragari. Et raro vel numquam deficit eis luciferina || superbia, qua cupiunt nomen suum in terris perpetuari. Et[56] cum tempore[57] utriusque testamenti subiecti[58] dei[59] legibus per processum temporis notabiliter erraverunt, multo magis subiecti humanis tradicionibus. Et sic[60] propter securitatem perpetuitatis[61] presbiter fiet discolus, et thezaurus domini erit prelatis sive custodibus iniustissime distributus. Medicina ergo ad recolendum, quod non habemus hic manentem civitatem, sed futuram inquirimus,[n] est temporalitas et insecuritas in hiis bonis scriptis.[62] || *C fol. 42b*

CAP. IX.[1]

Pro supplecione[a] purgacionis secte prime,[2] que est propinquissima secte Cristi, videtur primo, quod in secta Cristi sunt gradus multiplices. Nam Scarioth fuit de secta Cristi, cum fuit apostolus, et in secta Cristi plurimi sunt presciti. Quia ergo non sunt[3] tres sequentes secte[b] de secta Cristi, ut verbaliter profitentur, secta ergo Cristi foret diligentissime expurganda.

Quantum ad istud dictum est alibi[c] diffuse de sectis, quod secte capiunt species suas a regula et patronis. Illi[4] ergo sunt pure de secta Cristi,[5] qui patronum suum et regulam fideliter profitentur. Et sic videtur,[6] quod duplicitur possunt aliqui esse[7] de secta Cristi,

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[n] *cp. Heb. 13, 14*

CAP. IX. [a] *cp. cap. VIII p. 269 l. 3* [b] *the monachi, canonici and fratres, cp. above cap. I p. 242 l. 25* [c] *I have not found out which of his former writings W. has here in view, perhaps Trial. 361 ff.*

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[53] deum *ACγ* demum *E* [54] cantarias *A* cantorias *Cγ* cautelas *E, but in mar.* canterias *E*[1], *cp. nn. 8, 10, 52* [55] singulariter *AC* finaliter *Eγ* [56] et *in A add. later in mar.* [57] tempore *CEγ* tempus *A* [58] subi. *in C repeated in mar. by C*[2] [59] dei *E* deo *ACγ* [60] sic *ACγ* sic sic *E* [61] perpetuitatis *ACE* perpetuitalis *γ* [62] in hiis bonis scriptis *CEγ* temporalium *A*

CAP. IX. [1] 9 *C the number of the chap. not given in AEγ* [2] s. p. *ACE* p. s. *γ* [3] sunt *AEγ,C*[1] *in mar. om. C* [4] illi *ACγ* ille *E* [5] p. de s. Cr. *AE,C (transposed by marks)* de s. Cr. p. *Cγ* [6] videtur *CE* videtur 1° *γ* intelligitur *A* [7] p. a. e. *Cγ* a. p. e. *A* p. e. a. *E*

scilicet nude verbaliter et vere realiter. Et existente multiplicitate[8] graduum[9] in primo membro videtur, quod in secundo generaliter et solummodo sint electi. Cum autem hee omnes secte quatuor profitentur patronum proprium et regulam citra Cristum, videtur, quod a secta Cristi sunt nimium aliene. Nam prima secta profitetur papam patronum[d] et leges suas sub obediencia sua pro regula; secunda autem secta profitetur Benedictum pro patrono et eius regulam tamquam legem;[10] tercia autem secta fingit Augustinum patronum et sue regule, que est[11] sentencia scripture sacre,[12] ritus proprios[13] superaddit; quarta autem secta quadrimembris[14] fundata super vacuo variat[15] in regulis et patronis,[e] ut prima pars, capiens Dominicum pro patrono, capit partem regule Augustini et aliam partem infamem capit a tradicionibus propriis et a papa. Et sic de secunda parte[16] huius secte, que[17] ad Franciscum, tercia autem pars propter maioritatem[18] antiquitatis fingit Augustinum patronum et sparsim colligit sibi regulam ex[19] multitudine disparium patronorum;[20] quarta autem pars, volens[21] in sanctitate et antiquitate priores[22] precellere, elegit beatam Virginem patronissam, licet inicialiter et figuraliter in monte Carmeli prius fuerat[23] sub Elia.

Relictis autem mendaciis[24] istis sive sompniis,[25] videtur, quod proprie utendo terminis nulla istarum quatuor sectarum militat sub secta domini Iesu Cristi, quia sicut[26] non est communicacio Cristi ad belial, sic non est communicacio sui et sibi observiencium[27] patronorum.

Conceditur ergo, quod in secta Cristi sunt homines dupliciter

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[d] *cp. above p. 248; also De tripl. Vinc. Am. p. 173* [e] *cp. above p. 173 and Trial. 361 ff.*

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[8] multiplicitate *ACγ* multiplico *E* [9] graduum *CEγ* *om. A* [10] legem *ACγ* *om. E* [11] que est *ACγ* quedam (dam *ud. and* est *in mar.) E* [12] sacre *AEγ,C² in mar..* sacra *C* [13] proprios *ACγ* proprioos *E* [14] quadrimembris *AEγ* quadribembris *E* [15] variat *ACγ* variatur *E* [16] parte *ACE* *om. γ* [17] que *AC* quo *γE* [18] maioritatem *ACγ* maioritatis *E* [19] ex *ACE* a *γ* [20] patronorum *ACγ* patronum *E* [21] pars volens *ACE* secta *γ* [22] pr. *ACE* volens pr. *γ* [23] fuerat *CEγ* fuerant *A* [24] mendaciis *Cγ* mendacii *AE* [25] sompniis *CEγ* sopniis *A* [26] sicut *CEγ* sic *A* [27] observiencium *A,C add. later by another hand (C¹)* abserviencium *γ* observancia *E*

atque equivoce modo dicto, nos autem, licet speremus, quod simus[28] de secta Cristi, non tamen habemus ad hoc demonstracionem vel revelacionem, sed evidenciam probabilem quietantem. Et stat in hoc, quod solum Cristum confitemur[29] patronum vel caput nostre ecclesie sive secte[30] et solum ac[31] plene legem dei confitemur pro regula, et sic quiete[32] vivimus in fide domini Iesu Cristi.

Conceditur autem ulterius, quod esset pernecessarium[33] sectam Cristi a viciis expurgare, et videtur, quod ad hoc et proficeret[34] talis purgacio, quod omnes secte preter istam, sicut fuit in primitiva ecclesia, || sint subducte,[35] et quod ista arceatur servare patro- | *C fol. 13a* natum et regulam domini Iesu Cristi. Arceatur, dico, quoad antecedencia,[36] illative, ex quibus libere eligat sectam Cristi modo, quo dictum est Luc. 14[f] parabolice, quod seculare brachium compellat intrare in viis et sepibus evagantes. Regula autem ewangelica ad perficiendum hoc opus domini foret securitatem temporalium ab hiis sectis excludere, cum Cristus patronus noster noluit sic habere, ubi caput proprium[37] reclinaret. Et istam regulam, quoad securitatem mundanam, apostoli et sequentes discipuli usque ad dotacionem ecclesie observarunt. Stante ergo hoc fideli principio debet intendens regni nostri gubernaculo[38] pro quacunque parochiali ecclesia regni Anglie providere presbiterum vel curatum, qui in ipsa parochia rite resideat pure secundum patronatum et regulam domini Iesu[39] Cristi. Si autem a[40] Cristo sit necessitatus deficere, oportet, quod de tanto sit a tali officio excusatus. Si autem plebi[41] notabiliter ab officio[42] isto ex propria culpa deficiat, sit amotus et alius ydoneus sine securitate seculi introductus. Et dic[43] remur-

[f] *v. 23*

[28] simus *ACE* sumus γ [29] confitemur *C*γ confitentur *AE* [30] secte *ACE* *om.* γ [31] ac *A* hoc *C*γ hanc *E* [32] quiete *ACE* quieto γ [33] ess. pern. *is in C add. later by another hand (C[1]), cp. above n.* 27 [34] et proficeret *C*γ proficeret *A* et *(ud.)* profecerit *E* [35] subducte *AE* subducti *C*γ [36] quoad antec. *AC*γ quod ad antecia *E (compend. om.)* [37] pro *ACE* suum *(cr. out and ud.)* pro γ [38] gubernaculo *CE*γ gubernacula *A* [39] Ie. *AC*γ nostri Ie. *E* [40] a *CE* *om. A*γ [41] si autem plebi *CE* si autem a Cristo sit necessitatus deficere *etc.* — officio excusatur si autem plebi *A* *om.* γ [42] excus. si au. pl. n. ab off. *AC* *om. E, but add. later below the col. by E[1]* *om.* γ^3 [43] dic *AC* dicit *E* *om.* γ

muranti contra[44] istam sentenciam, quod ipsam impugnet, si sciverit, racione[45] vel regula domini Iesu Cristi.[46]

Certum quidem videtur, quod sic regulabatur ecclesia primitiva, quando magis in prosperitate creverat et profecit et declinando ab hac[47] regula decrevit secundum singulas partes et obiectus[48] ab excommunicacionibus vel censuris[49] aliis capti(s)[50] moverent parum aut nichil Cristi milites ad sui ordinacionis fundacionem infideliter dimittendum.

Et eodem modo dicitur de pseudoprophetis ac pseudoapostolis, quod sua evidencia[51] secundum legis Cristi regulam[52] est videnda.

Sunt enim multe evidencie frivole, que fiunt ab anticristi discipulis contra istud.

Quidam enim prorumpunt in hec verba insania, quod tunc periret Cristi ecclesia[53] et per consequens milicia communiter. Sed idem est, ac si sic in isto arguerent:[54] ecclesia Cristi purgata secundum eius regulas deperiret et per consequens brachium militare. Sed[55] nulla evidencia est infidelior vel[56] placencior anticristo.

Secunda evidencia stat in isto, quod regnum nostrum stetit prospere, quando fuit[57] secundum leges harum sectarum specialiter in clercis regulatum. Evidens ergo est, quod stante isto gubernaculo piostmodum ita staret.[58]

Sed isti ceci solum considerant prosperitatem mundanam, ad quam solum aspiciunt, sed per quam viam debent viare ad celum secundum legem domini, non attendunt; ideo expergiscant in fide Cristi et videant in eadem fide, quomodo celum a viatoribus est querendum, et tunc eligant, quod[59] istorum est optacius, vel in prosperitate mundana vivere vel celum in persecucione acquirere. Sed fides concludit pseudoloquentibus hoc secundum.

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[44] remurmuranti contra *AC* remurmurantibus *E* *om.* γ [45] racione *AC* racio *E* *om.* γ [46] si autem a Cristo sit necessitatus *etc.* — vel regula d. Iesu Cr. *ACE* *om.* γ [47] ab hac *CE*γ ad hoc *A* [48] obiectus *ACE* abiectus γ [49] censuris *AC*γ censuras *E* [50] captis *CE*γ *om. A* [51] evidencia *CE*γ regulacio *A* [52] le. Cr. re. *AC*γ re. le. Cr. *E* [53] ecclesia *C*γ ecclesie *AE* [54] arguerent *AC*γ argueret *E* [55] sed *C*γ,*A (cr. out and ud.)* *om. E* [56] vel *AE*γ et *(ud.. above it* vel) *C* [57] fuit *AC*γ non fuit *E* [58] staret *ACE* starent γ [59] quod *CE*γ quad *A*

Tercio obicitur, quod multi pii domini, qui iam sunt mortui, talem elemosinam perpetuam ordinarunt. Quanta ergo foret impietas elemosinas ipsas destruere et in secularem vitam, que est deterior, commutare.

Sed fundent sic arguentes contra legem Cristi, si poterint,[60] quod defuncti in fundando elemosinas tales perpetuas meruerunt aut quod ipsis redactis ad ordinacionem Cristi forent expense deterius quam sunt modo. Sed confido in patrono nostro, quod omnes de istis sectis quatuor non possunt facere ‖ evidenciam vel perfunctoriam,[61] ut hoc probent. ‖ *C fol. 43b*

Sed quarto[62] obicitur per hoc, quod leges hominum et specialiter[63] leges papales tunc deficerent, est ergo contra[64] caritatis regulam depauperare[65] homines tamdiu secundum leges probabiles prosperatos.

Sed hic[66] dicitur,[67] quod licet leges papales deficiant,[68] donetur fidelibus ista[69] iniuria. Sic enim dixit papa, quando secundum introduccionem legum papalium lex domini est suspensa. Et quantum ad regulas caritatis supponendum est, quod non sunt caritatis, sed impietatis regule,[70] que dotant presbiteros contra Cristum, unde fides, si creditur, dicit[71] Ioh. [*13*]:[72g] mandatum novum do vobis, ut diligatis invicem sicut ego[73] dilexi vos, ut et vos invicem diligatis.[74] Vel ergo oportet dicere, quod Cristus odivit suos apostolos ordinando ipsos in statu tam paupere, vel concedere, quod imitando Cristum in isto diligeret seculares presbiteros, quos sic moderat ad vivendum. Non enim dicitur sive consulitur, quod occidantur vel[75] moriantur pre fame presbiteri,[76] sed quod vivant in statu anime sue et utilitati[77] ecclesie ac edificacioni[78] proximi secundum legem domini meliori. Sed donate dominis secularibus istam iniuriam.

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[g] *v. 34*

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[60] poterint *Cγ* poterunt *A* potuerint *E* [61] perfunctoriam *ACγ* perfectoriam *E* [62] quarto *ACγ* quatuor *E* [63] et sp. *ACγ* et sp. et specialiter *E* [64] contra *CEγ* *om. A* [65] depauperare *CEγ* deperauperare *A* [66] hic *ACγ* hoc *E* [67] dicitur *γ,C¹ in mar.* *om. ACE* [68] deficiant *ACE* deficerent *γ* [69] ista *ACE* talis *γ* [70] car. s. i. re. *ACγ* car. re. s. i. *E* [71] dicit *ACγ* *om. E* [72] *the codd. read* 14 [73] ego *ACγ* *om. E* [74] i. d. *ACE* d. i. *γ* [75] vel *ACE* sive *γ* [76] pre fame presb. *E* prefanie presb. *C* presbiteri *A* presbiteri pre fame *γ* [77] utilitati *Cγ* utilitate *AE* [78] *the codd. read* edificacione

CAP. X.[1]

Ulterius obicitur, quod publicando istam materiam homo non solum loquitur contra has sectas quatuor, sed contra salutem anime secularium dominorum. Multi enim eorum per mundanas divicias et affluenciam[2] seculi a salute[3] anime seducuntur. Tenentur[4] ergo specialiter clero moderno[5] in hoc, quod ipsos exhonerant[6] a mundi diviciis et dominio seculari. Quid ergo secundum[7] Cristi regulam de omnibus istis bonis?

Hic videtur sophisma anticristi[8] intendere, quod non sunt reges vel seculares domini et omnino, quod non habeant gladium temporalem, sed quod in papa resideat utriusque gladii plenitudo iuxta illud Luc. 22:[a] ecce, duo gladii hic, quod[9] veritas dicendo: satis est,[b] patule confirmavit. Sed apostolus ad Roman. 13[c] plane docuit dicendo:[10] non enim sine causa gladium portant, quod ad coactive castigandum[11] rebelles fidei sunt seculares domini ordinati. Et hinc Cristus docuit tam verbo quam opere, quod tributum sit dandum cesari,[d] non Petro vel pape alii,[12] sed omnino, quod ipsi teneant vitam pauperem et humilem instar sui.[13]

Et quantum ad primum assumptum patet, quod derisorie loquitur sine efficacia fundamenti. Et cum domini multipliciter ad istud consenciunt et istud blasphemum dominium[14] foret adeo contra deum, patet, quod continuacio consensus huius[15] maledicti[16] in seculari brachio[17] est magna causa deterioracionis ecclesie militantis.

CAP. X. [a] *v. 38* [b] *cp. Luc. 22, 38* [c] *v. 4* [d] *cp. Matth. 22, 21; Marc. 12, 17; Matth. 17, 25; 27; also Rom. 13, 7*

CAP. X. [1] 10 *C in mar. the number of the chap. not given in AEγ* [2] affluenciam *ACE* affluencia *γ* [3] a salute *ACγ* ad salutem (m *ud.) E* [4] te. *ACγ* et te. *E* [5] mo. *ACγ,E ud.* mundano *E¹ in mar.* [6] exonerant *Cγ* exonerat *AE* [7] sec. *ACE* fieret sec. *γ* [8] anticristi *ACE om. γ* [9] quod *Aγ,C* (? quoque) quoque *above it* quod *E* [10] dicendo *Cγ* docendo *AE* [11] ad coactive castigandum *Cγ* ad coactive instigandum *A* a deo active castigandum *E* [12] *in A is add. below the col.:* Non pape sed cesari tributum est solvendum *A¹* [13] sui *ACE* Cristi *(cr. out)* sui *γ* [14] dominium *Aγ* dictum *E om. C, but filled later into the blank space by another hand, also in mar. (here not clear) by C¹* [15] c. h. *AEγ* h. c. *C, but transposed by marks* [16] maledicti *ACγ* malicie *E* [17] brachio *Cγ* brachie *AE*

Unde in lege veteri de Maccabeis legitur, quod fuerunt[18] in tali seculari dominio plus potentes.[e]

Et continuacio istius dominii per tempus notabile parturivit, quod sacerdotes sic dominantes Iesum nostrum et dominum occidunt. Non ergo est evidens, quod seculare[19] dominium continuatum in prima harum sectarum[f] prodest corporaliter vel spiritualiter brachio seculari.

Et quantum ad ista dominia per anticristum hodie occupata est triplex responsio, prima, quod istud dominium sit manibus secularium, ut antea,[20] restitutum, nec[21] negabit fidelis, quin tale dominium et longe amplius potest meritorie occupari per dominos seculares, ut patet de David et multis aliis regibus, quorum aliquem fides ecclesie || canonizat. Plus enim credit fidelis beatitudinem || *C fol. 44*[a] sancti David, quam credit beatitudinem omnium illorum, quos papa a dotacione ecclesie canonizavit, quia fides scripture sonat multipliciter ad primam sentenciam, sed solum wlgaris opinio ad secundam.

Quod autem seculares domini sunt modo sic cupidi atque ceci, hoc facit defectus predicacionis scripture et exemplar pessimum captum ex operibus sacerdotum. Sed quomodocunque sit de hoc, est credibile multis, quod non plus faceret[22] dominacio sacerdotum. Ipsa enim preter alia mala, que impetrat, imponit Cristo blasphemiam,[23] ut, quod in vita sua et doctrina fuerunt[24] est et[25] non, quoad tale dominium seculare.

Secunda responsio dicit subtiliter, quod post dotacionem secularium dominorum quantum eis sufficit, tenuandi sunt redditus accipiendi ab eis de suis pauperibus tenentibus. Et hoc videtur propinquius statui innocencie, supposito, quod wlgares non prorumpant

[e] *cp. I Macc. 13 ff.* [f] *viz. in the clerus cesareus*

[18] fuerunt *ACγ* fuerint *E* [19] seculare *CEγ* seculariter *A* *in A is add. in mar.:* Triplex responsio pro dominiis clero auferendis, cui debeantur *A*[1] [20] antea *AE,C*[1] *in mar.* anna *(ud.) C* ante ea *γ* [21] nec *AEγ* ut *(ud., above it* nec) *C* [22] faceret *Cγ* fecerit *AE* [23] blasphemiam *ACγ* basfemiam *E* [24] fuerunt *Cγ* fuerit *AE* [25] *in E there is a blank space before* e, fuerit est *appear to be added later, the blank space is not quite filled up by them*

in insolenciam[26] vel peccata alia propter istud. Et omnino videtur, quod acquisito isto dominio de manu dyaboli non oporteret posterius onerare pauperes pedagiis insuetis.[27]

Tercia[28] vero responsio dicit, quod per illos redditus sunt marchie[29] vel confinia regni nostri fortificanda cum castris, villis muratis, et fortaliciis ac hominibus armorum ipsa incolentibus ad defendendum regnum ab exteris inimicis. Tunc enim posset regnum libere servire deo et intendere actibus yconomicis in pace Cristi securius utrobique. Nec scio efficaciter[30] improbare hanc[31] viam terciam specialiter servata pace tam intrinsecis[32] quam extrinsecis,[33] quod si hec via tercia pacem diruperit,[34] catholicus, ut videtur, non debet ad ipsam consulere. Ideo sanum videtur hanc viam terciam cum condicionibus personarum et temporis[35] moderare, quia pax et caritas sunt tam intrinsecus quam extrinsecus[36] preponende.[37] Nec credatur pseudoloquentibus in ista materia, ut victoria regnis et regibus sicut antea[38] ascribebatur, quia iuxta fidem pax et caritas sunt deo plus placite quam dominacionis acquisicio, fame, victorie vel honoris, et profitendo, quod nec sum[39] astrologus nec propheta, ignoro, si istorum planetarum coniunccio,[9] que[40] proximo est futura, sit benevola regno nostro, cum luna, que est planeta infimus,[41] dicitur super Anglicos dominari.

Sed dimittendo istam materiam michi incognitam consulo secundum fidem scripture, quod regnum nostrum inquirat pacem et sequatur eam, licet exinde perdiderit temporalia, honorem mundanum, antiquam victoriam, vel famam nominis secularis.

[9] *on Aug. 17th, 1383, cp. Chronic. Angl. (edit. Thompson, London 1874) 360*

[26] insolenciam *ACγ* insolencia *E* [27] insuetis *AC* inconsuetis *γ* plethami vel laqueis inconsuetis *E* [28] te. *ACγ* te. ut *E* *in AC is add. in mar.:* 3ª [29] marchie *ACγ* marchio *E* [30] efficaciter *CEγ* faciliter *A* [31] hanc *ACγ* et hanc *E* [32] intrinsecis *ACγ* intrinsecus *E* [33] extrinsecis *ACγ* extrinsecus *E* [34] dirruperit *γ* dirumpit *AE* dirumperit *C* [35] temporis *ACγ* ipsis *E* [36] quam extr. *ACE* *om. γ* [37] *in A is add. above the col.:* Pax et caritas victoriis fami *(?)* et honoribus regnorum preponende sunt *A¹* [38] antea *ACE* ante ea *γ* [39] sum *ACγ* sim *E* [40] que *ACγ* quod *E* [41] infimus *ACE* infimius *γ*

Ideo in ista materia videtur non esse credendum omni spiritui, sed fidei scripture et spiritui[42] domini Iesu[43] Cristi, quia constat, quod multi pseudo in ista materia in mundum exeunt[44] et multos seducunt per fabulas infundatas. Nec scimus, si iste ultimus transitus nostratum in Flandriam,[h] quem fratres multi istarum sectarum quatuor regularunt, sit a deo punitus ad regulam, vel adhuc eius punicio sit futura.[i]

CAP. XI.[1]

Sequitur videre media, per que ista sentencia est complenda, et eo spiritualius,[2] quo hec pars cleri est tam[3] fortis hodie, quod attemptata[4] hac causa invalesceret contra multos de secta Cristi | *C fol. 44b* et[5] nimis regnum Anglie perturbaret.

Ideo tacta sunt multa media, per que paulative conquestus iste ab anticristo et suis complicibus est complendus,[6] primo per hoc, quod mortuo prelato dotato et cadentibus suis temporalibus in manum regis, non forent temporalia reddenda, antequam per regem et suum consilium hoc posse[7] fieri sine periculo foret doctum.

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[h] *In May 1383 the Bischop Spenser left Norwich by sail, cp. Wals. II, 88* [i] *from this it appears that news of a definitive result of the Crusade had not yet reached England. The first news of the Bishops successful campaign came to England before the middle of the summer of 1383; it allured numberless multitudes of the laity as well as of of the clergy — the latter „petita licencia sed non obtenta“ (cp. Walsingham, II, 95) — under the command of John Philpot to Flanders; these arrived just in time for the siege of Ypres, which took place „in ipso fervore dierum“ (Walsingham II, 98). These new men were not at all welcome to the Bischop: „ad [not 'ut' as Riley reads] quid ergo venistis? ad consumendum victum, qui vix sufficiet bellaturis!“ etc. Walsingham, II, 95*

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[42] spiritui *ACγ* spiritum *E* [43] Ie. *AC* nostri Ie. *Eγ* [44] exeunt *CEγ* exiunt *A*

CAP. XI. [1] 11 *C in mar. the number of the chap. not given in AEγ* [2] spiritualius *ACγ* specialius *E* [3] tam *ACE* causa *γ* [4] attemptata *CEγ* acceptata *A* [5] et *ACγ* ac et *E* [6] *in C add. in mar.:* 1ᵃ *in A is add. below the col.:* Media per que anticristus paulative est spoliandus, tria, cave omnia *A¹* [7] posse *ACγ,E*, *but E¹ has added a* t *(therefore* posset*)*

Et certum est, quod pausantibus[8] illis dominiis in manibus capitalis domini usque illuc, numquam de cetero redirent ad manum mortuam. Et cum responsio sit tam[9] racionabilis[10] et pars adversa sit[11] tam parva[12] atque invalida, redire possunt ad manum vivam omnia mortificata dominia infra breve tempus,[13] ymo cum ius[14] regis in talibus non exspirat, et ius[15] regis fuit ad quodcunque tale mortificatum[16] dominium retinendum, rex posset prudenter et paulative repetere[17] hec perdita dominia, secundum quod sanum suum consilium viderit expedire.

Secundum medium[18] foret istud, quod rex omnibus[19] hiis[20] sectis quatuor mandaret sub universali edicto, quod scribant ad instruccionem regni sui fidem orthodoxam de quidditate hostie consecrate[a] et fundent se ex lege domini in sufficiencia dicti sui. Et non dubium, quin omnes hee secte quatuor eciam usque ad papam in isto deficerent, quia negando, quod sit corpus Cristi vel panis, contradicerent antique fidei orthodoxe et concedendo, quod[21] sit accidens sine subiecto, non dubium, quin omnes hee secte quatuor verbum, quod balbuciunt, non fundabunt, et deus ex gracia sua permisit, quod tamdiu in ista heresi perdurabunt, ut convicti[22] ex ista infidelitate contra fidem antiquam servatam in populo in dominio, in quo prevaricati sunt, taliter puniantur. Quid enim iustius, quam convincere has sectas de hac infidelitate vel percepto ipsos ab doctrina catholica *(et)* regno deficere, quod non gaudeant de cetero commodo[23] regni nostri, et deficiente quacunque persona vel domo usque ad finem temporis racionabilis limitati[24] temporalia sua et bona, que de regno occupat, sint interim confiscata, quousque sa-

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CAP. XI. [a] *W. began to publish his heterodox views on the Eucharist during the summer of 1381, cp. Fasci. Ziz. 104*

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[8] pausantibus *ACE* pensantibus *γ* [9] tam *Aγ,C (?)* causa *E* [10] racionabilis *CE* racionalis *Aγ* [11] sit *γ,C add. later in mar. om. ACE* [12] parva *ACE* perversa *γ* [13] te. *Cγ om. AE* [14] ius *A* vis *CEγ* [15] ius *A* vis *CEγ* [16] mortificatum *ACE om. γ* [17] rep. *ACγ* sibi rep. *E* [18] medium *ACE* remedium *γ in C is add. in mar.:* 2m [19] om. *ACγ* in om. *E* [20] hiis *ACE om. γ* [21] et conc. quod *ACγ* et sic conc. quot *E* [22] convicti *ACγ* coniuncti *E* [23] commodo *ACγ om. E, but* quomodo *in mar. E*[1] [24] limitati *ACγ* limitata *E*

tisfaccio pro dampno sit regi et regno secundum racionabile iudicium et sufficiens restituta. Nec dubium, quin stante opinione pape in suis decretalibus et istarum sectarum, que indigne[25] regnum nostrum incolunt, non possunt facere satisfaccionem pro ista perfidia, ut temporalia licite rehabeant[26] sicut prius, nec dubium, quin omnes homines non possunt defendere, quin uterque istorum modorum sit licitus a rege suis legiis racionabiliter iniungendus.

Tercium medium stat in isto, quod in parliamento publico referendarius regis discretus dicat, quod de fide oportet obedire deo magis quam homini. Sed notificatum est regi, istam dotacionem esse contra legem domini nec esse licitam[27] nisi ad hoc prehabita sit a deo[28] licencia specialis. Rex wlt propter[29] periculum anime sue confiscare de istis temporalibus, quantum placet, quousque veritas istius || materie sit edocta. Et quicunque legius regis isti sentencie | *C fol. 45a* catholice contradicit, eo ipso cadat a proteccione regis, cum rex et regnum non debent defendere[30] talem adversarium legis dei, nec debet aliqua pars de hiis[31] sectis contradicere isti sentencie, quod non sapiat caritatem, quia est manifeste racionabilis[32] et consona legi dei.

Cum ergo rex sepe cepit in manus suas temporalia sui cleri sine causa tam patenter racionabili, videtur, quod pro tali confiscacione rex non debet ab aliquo vel tacite increpari. Et ad evellendam[33] istam radicem[b] funditus consideranda est quecunque secta in regno, que secundum tradiciones humanas commiscet fantastica legi[34] Cristi. Et[35] temporalia regni atque regis proteccio[36] debent talibus derogari,[37] ut secta novella, que dicitur Bonorum Hominum,[c]

[b] *i. e. the temporalities of the clergy* [c] *viz. the Cathari, who were divided in Crezentz (credentes) and bos homes (boni homines), cp. C. Schmidt, Hist. des Cath., Par. 1849 and Hase, Kirchen Gesch. (10th ed.) 274*

[25] indigne *Cγ* indigene *AE* [26] rehabeant *ACγ* rehabebant *E* [27] licitam *CEγ* licita *A* [28] a deo *ACE* *om. γ, but in mar.* a deo γ^1 *(?)* [29] propter *ACE* semper *γ*, *but in mar.* propter γ^1 *(?)* [30] def. *ACE* protegere def. *γ* [31] hiis *ACγ* istis *E* [32] manifeste racionabilis *ACE* manifesta *γ* [33] ev. *in A a corrected word (by* A^1*)* [34] legi *Cγ* lege *AE* [35] et *Cγ* *om. AE* [36] regni atque regis proteccio *Cγ* regni atque regis *E* regis atque regni *A* [37] derogari *Cγ* denegari *AE*

secta monachorum Carthusiensium[38][d] et secta Sanctimonialium[e] cum eis similibus. Omnes enim tales sine dei licencia obligant se ad ritus privatos,[39] racione cuius sunt inhabiliores servire deo et tenere plenius legem suam. Cum ergo deus obligavit totam capacitatem istorum hominum ad serviendum sibi et legem suam secundum ultimum sue potencie conservandum, quis est iste anticristus, qui privatim sine Cristi licencia obligat ad eius iniuriam[40] suos servos? Nec dubium racionabili homini, quin private obligaciones huiusmodi, de quanto obligant ad ipsas[41] secundum tradiciones hominum adimplendas, de tanto minuunt capacitatem hominum et libertatem ac ordinacionem, quam Cristus instituit ad legem, quam ipse edidit, observandum.[42]

Sed quis vel temporalis dominus non offenderetur ex tali prevaricancia servi sui? Teneamus itaque libertatem, quam Cristus nobis contulit, et non simus sic talibus tradicionibus hominum obligati!

Et multi reputant, remurmurantes contra hanc Cristi sentenciam et volentes extollere[43] tradiciones hominum supra liberam legem Cristi habere in hoc[44] condiciones dampnabiles anticristi. Ideo quecunque pars ecclesie, eciam ordines isti novelli, seculares domini et wlgares, defenderent istam sentenciam tamquam caram, cum tam[45] quoad temporalia quam spiritualia toti generi hominum profecisset.[46]

CAP. XII.[1]

Restat finaliter tangere media, per que iste secte novelle servari[2] poterunt,[3] etsi tradiciones hominum derelinquant. Non enim

[d] *founded by Bruno of Cologne* [e] *viz. of pious women who formed a religious society, bound „certis, saepe nullis votis"; they are mentioned already by Augustine De Mor. Eccl. cap. 31; Hieron. Ep. 22, 48; Basil. De Virg. and Gregor Dial. I, 4; II, 19; 23; 32.*

[38] *in A is add. in mar.:* Secta novella Carthusiensium *A*[1] [39] privatos *ACγ* privatus *E* [40] iniuriam *ACE* iuriam *γ* [41] ipsas *ACE* ipsos *γ* [42] observandum *Cγ* observandam *AE* [43] extollere *CEγ* excellere *A* [44] hoc *CEγ* hac *A* [45] tam *ACγ* causa *E* [46] profecisset *CEγ* proficisset *A*

CAP. XII. [1] XII *C in mar. the number of the chap. not given in AEγ* [2] servari *CEγ* servare *A* [3] poterunt *AC* poterint *γ* potuerunt *E*

consonat legi Cristi, ut nobis videtur, homines occidere vel incarcerare, cum hoc, quod ex lege dei possent apcius castigari.

Ideo sepe dictum est, quod isti carceres, a principibus concessi[4] istis ordinibus, iudicant, quod declinando a lege Cristi summe civilitati intendunt et suis fratribus faciunt sepe[5] manifestam iniuriam. Ideo felix foret condicio, quod principes incarceracionem huiusmodi[6] revocarent, cum sufficienter aliunde sint regna hominum carnifices, licet sine fructu religiosi huiusmodi ex falsa ypocrisi non taliter[7] occidantur.

Debent itaque omnes hii novi ordines imprimis cognoscere,[8] quod deus dispensat et precipit, quod sine consciencia dirumpant cathenas hominum et intendant libere secte Cristi.[9] || Quis, rogo, *C fol. 45b* nisi stolidus anticristi discipulus haberet conscienciam super isto, quod excuciendo a se presumptam stulticiam vivat Cristo placencius secundum meliorem regulam? Et sic mutando votum in melius Cristus dispensat, sicut dispensat cum homine, qui vovit fratrem suum occidere et dimittit. Habiliores ergo de istis ordinibus possent secundum formam prehabitam admitti ad curam parochie, sic videlicet,[10] quod expuant vestem tortoris et larvam dyaboli[11] et instruant populum pure secundum legem domini Iesu Cristi; in quo si defecerint vel in alio peccato[12] notabili, sunt cum moderamine expellendi.

Et istum punctum de prudencia rectorum[13] huiusmodi debent domini regnorum notare eo diligencius, quo rectores[14] illi sunt quasi anima populo ad ipsum secundum deum et hominem instruendum. Tales autem faciunt populum[15] cristianum, excludunt perturbacionem regnorum et faciunt partes eorum secundu racionemm et humilitatem domini concordare.

Alii autem de istis ordinibus possunt esse inferiores presbiteri, alii iuvenum instructores et alii operatores, secundum quod deus

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[4] concessi *ACγ* concessis *E* [5] f. s. *ACE* s. f. *γ* [6] i. h. *ACγ* h. i. *E* [7] taliter *ACE* *om. γ* [8] cognosere *CEγ* *om. A* [9] *in A is add. in mar.:* Modus deserendi sectam *A*[1] [10] videlicet *C* valet *AEγ* [11] *in A is add. in mar.:* Cappe sunt vestes tortoris et larve dyaboli *A*[1] [12] peccato *AE,C*[1] *(?) in mar.* precio *Cγ* [13] *in γ there is a correction before* rect. [14] rectores *AEγ* rectiores *C* [15] populum *ACE* *mo. γ*

ipsos moverit ad agendum. Paulus enim, qui fuit melior omnibus hiis,[16] pro[17] se et suis fratribus propriis manibus laboravit, ut patet Act. 20.[18][a]

Unde audivi de quodam fratre nobili remurmurante contra quendam doctorem de labore manuum et querente,[19] cui laboricio secundum legem Cristi intenderet; alius autem refertur taliter yronice respondisse, quod vendat tunicam et emat gladium[b] et hortando dominos[20] et[21] sacerdotes ad pugnam aggrediatur cum illis et usque ad interfeccionem destruat cristianos. Michi autem videtur, quod querenti talem questionem particulariter falsam est taliter respondendum, quod servando religionem Cristi in principio vivat iuste et pulsando spiritum devotis[22] precibus petat suum consilium, quomodo in humanis actibus est vivendum. Et si recte istam regulam[23] observasset, numquam talem privatum ordinem intrasset. Qui enim spiritu dei aguntur, in talibus unus vivit sic et alius sic, secundum quod deus eos limitaverit ad vivendum. Unde illud quod[24] est uni utilius, est alteri nocivius.[25]

Et istud cognoscerent isti novi ordines introducti, quia per suas adinvenciones[26] novas sepe sunt contrarii voluntati et ordinacioni domini Iesu Cristi, cum sepe carent revelacione et racione, quando fratres suos obligant ad vivendum secundum suam privatam regulam, per quod ipsos sepe[27] privant gracia pro presenti et titulo beatitudinis pro futuro.

Ideo talia privata consilia sunt sepe contraria racioni.[28] Unde talis, de quo[29] petitur tale privatum consilium, non erubescat deo differre in[30] talibus et propriam ignoranciam humiliter confiteri, addendo, quod vivat iuste servando mandata[31] et vivendo vitam

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CAP. XII. [a] *v. 33—35; cp. also I Cor. 4, 12; I Thess. 2, 9; II Thess. 3, 8; Act. 18, 3* [b] *cp. Luc. 22, 36*

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[16] om. h. *E* om. hiis omnibus *ACγ* [17] pro *ACE* per *γ* [18] 20 *ACγ* 2 *E* [19] querente *Cγ* querenti *AE* [20] dominos *CEγ* dominas *A* [21] et *ACE* ac *γ* [22] dev. *ACE* sanctum dev. *γ* [23] i. r. *ACγ* r. i. *E* [24] qu. *CEγ* idem qu. *A* [25] est un. ut. e. al. noc. *ACγ* uni melius est alteri nocivius *E* [26] adinvenciones *CE* advenciones *Aγ* [27] sepe *ACE* se *γ* [28] racioni *ACγ* racione *E* [29] quo *ACγ* qua *E* [30] in *ACE* de *(cr. out & ad., above it* in *by γ¹) γ* [31] mandata *is in γ corrected at by γ¹*

sufficienter meritoriam petat a deo suo consilium, sic, quod ubique dei spiritu fiat || ductus. *C fol. 45a*

Unde speratur, quod persona hec[32] disserens[c] fundetur in lege dei et sua gracia ad dicendum talia agitetur. Quod si erraverit,[33] humiliter wlt corrigi et dei spiritu agitari, reputat autem, quod omnes persone harum sectarum quatuor nesciunt istam sentenciam impugnare.

Dicitur autem, quod secularis dominacio maxime pertinet[34] capiti[35] secte prime,[36d] ad quod figuratur evidencia ex hoc, quod apostoli dixerunt Luc. 22:[e] ecce, duo gladii hic[37] et Cristus respondit: satis est. Cum inquiunt: isti duo gladii sunt figuraliter due potestates,[38] scilicet secularis et spiritualis, manifestum est, inquiunt, quod utraque pertinet sancto Petro et per idem[39] cuicunque pape, Petri legittimo successori.

Sed contra hec nuda verba audivi instancias primo per hoc, quod secundum Augustini regulas non valet saltus a literali sensu scripture ad sensum misticum,[40] nisi ille[41] sensus misticus sit alicubi[42] fundatus. Cum igitur[43] iste sensus misticus de duplici potestate clavium sancti Petri nullibi sit fundatus, videtur, quod iste sit[44] paralogismus[45] sophisticus false dictus. Similiter non dicitur in ewangelio, quod Petrus sit succinctus duplici gladio, sed 'duo gladii sunt hic',[46] quod est probabile esse de uno[47] vel utroque gladio in[48] manu secularis persone. Quis ergo saltus,[49] si duo gladii sic sunt ibi, quod[50] uterque fuit pertinens sancto Petro, et sic potest dici, quod Petrus percuciens cum gladio accepit illum ad tempus a ministro aliquo, qui cum apostolis

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[c] *viz. Wiclif, the author, cp. below note i* [d] *i. e. to the Pope, cp. above p. 173 and 243* [e] *v. 38*

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[32] hec *ACE* *om.* *γ* [33] erraverit *ACγ* erraverunt *E* [34] pertinet *CEγ* competit *A* [35] capiti *ACγ* *om. E* [36] s. p. *ACE* p. s. *γ* [37] *in the margin of C there are at this place a hand-mark and the numbers* 144 56 [38] due pot. *ACγ* due potestates due *E* [39] idem *ACE* consequens *γ* [40] *in A is add. below the col.:* Non valet saltus a literali sensu ad misticum *A¹* [41] ille *C* iste *AEγ* [42] s. a. *AE,C (here transposed by marks)* a. s. *Cγ* [43] igitur *Cγ* ergo *AE* [44] sit *ACγ* *om. E* [45] paralogismus *ACE* paraloismus *γ* [46] sed d. g. s. hic *ACγ* sunt duo gladii *(ud.) E, but in mar.* sed duo gladii sunt hic *E¹* [47] e. de u. *CEγ* de u. e. *A* [48] ut. gl. in *ACγ* de ut. gl. esse in *E* [49] saltus *CEγ* status *A* [50] ibi quod *ACγ* ibique *om. E*

est coniunctus, et sic fuit suus ad usum, sicut equs conductus dicitur esse ad tempus equs hominis conducentis.

Et hoc videtur Cristum docere, quando docuit[f] Petrum ponere gladium suum in vaginam. Si autem hii duo gladii ad sensum expositum sint gladii sancti Petri, hoc videtur esse maxime[51] pertinens, quod sint sui ad ipsos[52] secundum legem ewangelii regulandum. Et notaret[53] papa non movens homines ad taliter pugnandum.

Similiter Petrus et ceteri apostoli ex hac levi evidencia huius textus non fuerunt moti ad sic exercendum post instruccionem spiritus sancti gladium temporalem. Ideo videtur, quod iste sensus ab instruccione maligni spiritus sit exortus.[54] Cum ergo Petrus sepe figuravit totam personam militantis ecclesie, que[55] argucia dyabolica, eciam si Petrus habuit duos gladios, quod ipse habuit temporalem huiusmodi[56] potestatem!

Notum quidem est logicis, quod sicut iste pater est tuus[57] et tamen non est tuus pater, sic hec potestas est tua, cum omnia sint iustorum, et tamen non est potestas tua. Et ewangelium non dicit: iste est gladius tuus, hoc est, hec potestas tua,[58] demonstrando potestatem brachii secularis.

Ideo hec evidencia huius textus est nimis stulta, eciam si[59] dyabolus[60] ipsam fecit. Ideo studere debent catholici, si quilibet || C fol. 46b papa sequens sit legittime || vicarius[61] sancti Petri. Ideo non obstantibus talibus fictis evidenciis oportet sensum domini semper stare. Ideo est maior evidencia, cum Paulus fuit ante ea[62] phariseus, ut patet Philipp. 3[g] et sine dispensacione papali sectam illam reliquerat,[63] adherens pure simpliciter[64] secte Cristi, quod licitum est

[f] *cp. John 18, 11; Matth. 26, 52* [g] *c. 5*

[51] e. m. *ACγ* m. e. *E* [52] ipsos *ACγ* tempus *E* [53] notaret *AE* vocaret *(?) Cγ* [54] exortus *AC* extortus *Eγ* [55] que *ACE* qua *γ* [56] ha. te. hu. *AE,C (here transposed by marks)* hu. ha. te. *γ* [57] tuus *AEγ* tuuus *C* [58] tua *ACγ* est tua *E* [59] si *ACγ* ipsam si *E* [60] dyabolus *ACE* dyabolicus *γ* [61] vic. *CEγ* sit *(cr. out & ud.)* vic. *A* [62] ante ea *Cγ* annea *E* antea *A* [63] reliquerat *C* relinquerat *AE* relinquerit *γ* *in A is add. without a mark of ref. below the col.:* Paulus sine licencia pape deserit *(?)* sectam suam phariseorum *A*[1] [64] adh. pure simpl. *AC* simpliciter adh. pure *E*

phariseis nostris hodie sic[65] facere ex auctoritate domini Iesu Cristi, non petita[66] a romano pontifice alia licencia speciali. Et confirmatur per hoc, quod sponsa vovens votum, quod nec sibi ad commodum nec sponso cederet[67] ad honorem, debet votum illud auctorizante sponso statissime[68] irritare.

Cum ergo quilibet cristianus debet esse sponsa Cristi, nec votum tale sibi privatum cedat ad[69] commodum nec sponso ecclesie ad honorem, videtur, quod auctorizante domino debet citissime irritari, et specialiter ex hoc, quod diminuit caritatem ad Cristum et ecclesiam, sponsam suam, sic superflue onerare.

Similiter, ut patet ex fide scripture ad Gal.[h] ceremonie legis veteris, que sunt longe maioris auctoritatis, cessare debuerunt,[70] ut cedant ewangelio Iesu Cristi, ergo multo magis tradiciones ceremoniales hominum cessare debent propter hoc ewangelium, cum plus ab ipso distrahunt, quam[71] observancie[72] legis veteris, que ordinate sunt a deo, ad sensum ewangelicum preparandum.

Et sic obviandum[73] est aliis erroribus contra fidem scripture, dato[74] tamen semper,[75] quod si[76] hic obvians[i] erraverit, wlt errorem suum humiliter revocare.

Et ista indigesta materia balbutita[77] potest movente dei gracia esse medium ad ecclesie prodessendum, etc.[78]

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[h] *cp. cap. 3, 25; 4, 3; 10—11; 5, 1* [i] *i. e. Wiclif, the Author, cp. above, note c p. 287*

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[65] sic *ACγ* est *E* [66] petita *E* petito *ACγ* [67] cederet *ACγ* cederent *E* [68] statissime *Cγ* strictissime *AE* [69] s. p. c. ad *AC* p. s. c. ad *E* p. c. s. ad *γ* [70] debuerunt *Cγ* debuerant *AE* [71] quam *AE* quoniam *Cγ* [72] observancie *CEγ* abservancie *A* [73] obv. *AC* humiliter obv. *Eγ* [74] dato *Cγ,E, but. in mar. is add.* docto *E*[1] docto *A* *in C is add. in mar.:* Protestacio [75] t. s. *ACγ* s. t. *E* [76] si *CE* *om. Aγ* [77] balbutita *C* balbucita *AEγ* [78] prodessendum etc. *CE* prodessendum, Amen *Aγ, in A is add. in mar.:* hic deest capitulum. *This notice is not correct: (1) in all the codd. only these 12 chapp. are given, (2) cp. the beginning of chap. XII, p. 284:* restat finaliter tangere; *cp. the same form, for instance, De nova Praev. Mand. cap. VIII above, p. 145 and in some other places, (3) cp. the concluding words:* Et sic obviandum est aliis erroribus contra fidem scripture, *which by* sic *and* aliis *reproduce the total impression, and are meant as the conclusion of the piece. I believe A was deceived by its original, in which, as in E, another shorter work was closely connected with the present Tract (in E the short* Sermo pulcher: Dominus vobiscum *follows).*

De quatuor sectis novellis et de eorum erroribus ecclesie infectivis.[79]
Pilexct sutrcatat de orquaut Seicts livenols & ed oeurm buerirros eclsiece feinticuis diesut mgiastaro haionem Wcliffe.[80]

[79] *this note only in C* [80] *i. e.* Explicit tractatus de quatuor sectis novellis et de eorum erroribus ecclesie infectivis editus a magistro Johanne Wicleff Explicit tractatus de quatuor sectis novellis et eorum erroribus ecclesie infectivis *A* Sermo pulcer *E (here the text goes on without any interruption) without Expl. γ., here after leaving a small blanc space De Fundacione Sectarum follows.*

VII.

PURGTAORIUM SECTAE CHRISTI.

PURGATORIUM SECTAE CHRISTI.

I. Division.

Introduction: Christ did not found the Sects; their introduction is a sin, cap I—II.

Argument: Confirmation of this thesis by the Author, who gives a description of the Sects as they really are, cap. III — XII.

Conclusion: The noble hearted and pious members of the Sects should quit them, and join the true Sect of Christ: this would be a benefit to the Church, as well as to the State, cap. XII.

II. Summary of Contents.[1]

Chap. I. *Jesus Christ, as God-Man, almighty, all-bounteous and all-wise, has, in His divine providence, provided for His Church in every respect, p. 298; but nowhere can it be proved from the Scriptures that Sects are founded by him to promote the welfare of the Church, p. 299. On the contrary, He shows repeatedly that they are burdensome and useless. Even if the Sects appeal to the holy men of the Old Testament (Elijah and Elisha), they cannot in any way shield themselves under their authority, as these, at least by inference, taught the imitation of Christ, p. 299—300.*

Chap. II. *The introduction of Sects, therefore, can be called nothing but a sin, because it can be proved that the Patrons, Priors and Superiors of Orders hinder their subordinates from following the teaching of Christ, p. 300. This, however, is the first duty of a Christian.*

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[1] *Wiclif has two purposes in view in this Tract: on the one hand, it is an incitation to the temporal authorities to set aside the Sects; on the other, an exhortation to the better elements of the Sects to leave their orders, and, by joining the simple Sect of Christ, to promote the welfare of the Church.*

For this reason, neither John the Baptist, nor St. Paul, nor the other Apostles founded new Sects, p. 302.

Chap. III. *For better would it be, if within their own order the* '**obediencia resistiva**' *were exercised against the worldly and irreligious tendencies of their leaders, and if the orders themselves joined the pure Sect of Christ, p. 301. He who has the sun daily, will not run the expense of costly dials; for as these involve a certain outlay, so are the Sects a burden to the country, and, with the priors at their head, impoverish the kingdom, especially the Poor of the land, p. 302. The attainment of dignities and rich benefices, self-interest, and greed of worldly honours, is their only aim etc. etc., p. 303.*

Chap. IV. *Every one, therefore, who upholds and defends the Sects, takes his part against Christ, p. 303. He would undoubtedly have given them a place in His Gospel, if He had approved of their practises. Thus they cannot appeal to Him. With as little reason can they cite the holy men who formerly belonged to their order, p. 304. For the most part such claims are not true, and where they are true, it must be said that these men were not holy because they belonged to the Sects, but because they rather belonged to the Sect of Christ — a better, easier and safer brotherhood than the Orders, excelling them in its patron, rules and members, p. 304. So long as the Orders have existed, the welfare of the Church has been diminished, errors and false doctrines having been introduced by them; they have mixed vain, worldly ceremonies with the service of Christ, thus furthering, not the welfare of the Church, but their own ends, p. 305.*

Chap. V. *Neither Faith, nor Hope, nor Charity is fostered by them. In the place of these, unconditional obedience to superiors is taught as the first and most meritorious of good works, and is made to surpass in value every other work of a layman, however good, p. 305—306.*

Chap. VI. *But since the Sects cannot prove this importance of obedience from the Bible, they seize on all kinds of deception, legends of the Saints etc., p. 307; forgetting thereby, that obedience is only to be rendered so far as it is in accordance with the commands of God. It may, therefore, become a duty to deny it to superiors, p. 307. Obedience resting on God's Word is the right obedience pleasing God, and therefore to be adopted by every Christian. They would then no longer*

yield obedience to the Pope, who leads a worldly life in wealth and luxury, although he ought to belong to the poorest. — As to themselves, they have been guilty of spoiling the land, and thus becoming traitors to their country, p. 307—308.

Chap. VII. *The Sects are not only wanting in the three Christian virtues, but also in many other respects. It is, therefore, a proof of love to the Church to oppose them, and give up all communicatlon with them.*

Chap. VIII. *Not the honour of God and the salvation of their fellow-christians, but their own honour, is their principal aim, p. 309. This may be gathered from the lying and ludicrous sermons by which they amuse their hearers, and violate the three chief requisites of every (real) sermon* (intencio, devocio *and* propositum). *That, which if used in a truly evangelical manner, may be the greatest blessing to the people, thus becomes the reverse, p. 310—311.*

Chap. IX. *As the Sects deprive the people of temporal as well as of spiritual benefits, the English should (1) refuse to pay taxes to the Pope and his adherents, especially as he wishes to force these payments, p. 311; (2) they should withdraw the tithes from the unworthy clergy, and only support the deserving; (3) they should make no more grants to the Sects and Mendicant Friars, as they are neither poor nor helpless, but practised in plundering country and people, p. 312.*

Chap. X. *If the Mahometans (who in many respects are more faithful to the commands of Christ than the Sects) are shunned and despised as children of the devil, then all communion with the Sects must be broken off, p. 312. That their thoughts are only directed towards temporal advantages, is proved by their striving after rich bishoprics and livings, p. 313. Not one of them would leave the Order for the sake of a poor living, for rich endowments of bishoprics are their only and chief attraction; the better an office is endowed, the more perfect they say it is, but they despise the poor life of the Apostles, p 313.*

Chap. XI. *Therefore the honest and upright among their members ought to leave their Orders, and join the simple Sect of Christ, in order to preach the gospel to the people, p. 313. If they are not willing to do this, the secular authorities are plainly commanded to make them do so, in order that the influence of the Church may not be still further lessened, p. 314.*

Chap. XII. Excursus on the question, whether a priest enter, a new spiritual state, when he becomes a bishop, p. 314. The question is generally answered in the affirmative, by referring to the fact that the Pope, when he becomes Pope, enters into a new state, that the papal decrees determine it thus, otherwise every priest could become Pope without re-consecration, and, as a further consequence, every layman could become a priest; but then what would become of the seven Sacraments? p. 314. — Against this may be urged that Holy Scripture, as well as the history of the primitive Church, and the fathers (St. Jerome) teach the contrary, p. 315.

Conclusion. If a monk have the right to leave his Order for the sake of a bishopric, it is also the right and duty of good and able members to leave their Order and enter the pure Sect of Christ. In this way a grave danger would be averted from many kingdoms, whose stability is threatened by these Orders, p. 315.

III. Date of Composition.

There is no certain date, by which to decide the period at which this Tract was written. The notice on the Holy Eucharist: **nam ex** tempore, quo eucharistia fundata est, *etc, page 304, line 26 ff., in itself not very precise, seems to indicate at least, that Wiclif had already begun his doctrinal conflict on the Holy Supper with Rome; therefore after 1381. — In general the ideas of the Author move in the same path, as those of the Tract De Fundac. Sect., in which some striking parallels to the present Tract occur. The tone employed against the orders is certainly not so violent. I am, therefore, inclined to place the date of its composition near that of De Fundac. Sect. viz. about 1383, but for want of positive evidence I have arrived at no certain conclusion.*

IV. Genuineness.

(a) External evidence:

(1) Wiclif-Catalogues of the Vienna codices, compare above, page 7.

(2) Walden, Doctr. Fid. capp. 23; 24.

(3) Shirley, Catal. p. 51 No. 33.

(b) Internal evidence:

(1) Compare above, General Introduction, V, e.

(2) Compare its almost verbal agreement with W.'s genuine writings; cp., for instance, De nova Praev. Mand. above, p. 103 with p. 306, where the same thoughts are carried out; further, the passages on the relation of the Saints to the Orders; on "the more easy, better and safer Sect of Christ"; on the abuses of the vestments of the Orders; on the secta Machometica *etc. etc. etc.; as for particulars, cp. cap. II note c; III, b; c; d; f; IV, a; b; c; e; h; V, b; VI, a; X, a; b; c; XI, c*

V. *Not heretofore printed. The Tract was supposed to be lost. Compare Shirley, Catal. p. 50 and 51.*

VI. *Extant in cod. Ashburnham XXVII c, fol. 49[a] to 54[a]; printed from the copykin dly lent me by F. D. Matthew, Esqu. of London. Matthew has also done the collation, and I have every reason to rely on his conscientiousness. Whether any Correctors and Glossers have been at work at the Tract, is not shown by Matthew's copy.*

JOHANNIS WICLIF

PURGATORIUM SECTAE CHRISTI.

CAP. I.[1]

|| *Cod. Ash fol. 49a*

|| Sepe assumptum est ut fides catholica, quod Cristus deus et homo | sit potentissimus, sapientissimus et amantissimus, | et ex hoc illatum est, quod Cristus dedit doctrinam saluberrimam tam ad regendum personam quam populum pro hoc seculo et futuro.

Et ex ista radice invectum est contra sectas vel ordines sine auctoritate domini introductos, et conclusio, inculcata sepius in ista materia, stat in isto, quod bonum esset ecclesie, quod omnes iste novitates forent penitus pretermisse, cum idem esset, cum isti sadulterinis ordinibus taliter desponsari et dimittere immaculatam legem et ordinacionem domini Iesu Cristi. Sed quis dubitat, quin hoc redundat in blasphemam parvipencionem domini dei nostri?

Dictum est secundum evidencias dantes fidem, quod, cum Cristus non auctorizat istas tradiciones novas et sit summe potens, summe sapiens et summe diligens sponsam suam, in dimittendo istas tradiciones docet, quod nichil aut modicum prosunt sue ecclesie.

Unde sicut est dare substanciam operis et alia, que ipsum accidentaliter comitantur, sic est dare regulam huius viacionis et alia, que ipsam accidentaliter consecuntur, ut mandatorum conservacio, thesaurizata in anima, est basis vel fundamentum religionis

[1] *There is no division into chapters in the cod.*

vel ordinis cristiani. Sed quomodo cristianus induetur vel comedet, et sic de aliis ritibus sensibilibus, est accidentaliter concomitans viatores. Et sic obligari ad istud vel desponsari cum istis adulterinis tradicionibus est de tanto derelinquere legem dei. Quis, rogo, sapiens foret affectus color*(e)*[1] vel alio accidenti sui iumenti et substanciam roboris eius dimitteret?

Unde, quia cristiani cognoscunt naturaliter, quod non valet religionis regula, nisi fundata fuerit in sapiencia domini Iesu Cristi, ideo alique secte colunt Eliam[a], alie Eliseum, et alie Baptistam vel alium pro patrono.[b] — Sed certum est, quod omnes iste ficciones istorum novorum ordinum sunt false et contrarie sibi ipsis.

Quantum autem ad istos prophetas legis veteris, patet, quod non sunt confederati ad invicem cum istis ficticiis suorum ordinum, sicut secte iste sunt hodie obligate. Nam ut patet IV Reg. 2[c] Elias pater monuit Eliseum ipsum dimittere, Eliseus autem, credens esse de voluntate domini, quod ipsum sequeretur usque ad raptum, non consensit Elie monitis, quando dixit[d]: sede hic; sed secundum piam obedienciam fecit contrarium illi, quod magister suus preceperat, ac si intenderet, quod pia resistiva obediencia est, facere oppositum illius, quod mandat superior, dum non fundatum fuerit racione. Elias autem, volens per quater[e] ab isto discipulo separari, videtur innuere, quod solum Cristum discipuli debent consequi ut patronum.

Et idem videtur de Baptista et patronis aliis legis gracie. Nam Baptista laboravit sollicite ad magnificandum Cristum et parvipendendum se ipsum suis discipulis, ut patet Matth. 11[f] et Ioh. 1,[g] sed secte iste non servant hanc doctrinam, cum magnificant suas *Ash fol. 49b* regulas super Cristum. Et sic cum secta cristiana manebit perpetue, et necesse est, istas sectas periculosas deficere, videtur esse presumptivum peccatum ipsas introducere sine auctoritate domini Iesu Cristi.

CAP. I. [a] *The Carmelites, cp. Trial. 436; 362* [b] *cp. Trial. 361 ff.; 436; also 273 ff.* [c] *v. 2 ff.* [d] *v. 2; 4 and 6* [e] *cp. II Kings 2, 2; 4; 6; 10* [f] *v. 2 ff.; 11 ff.* [g] *v. 19 ff.*

CAP. I. [1] colori *MS.*

Iterum nullus patronus vel capitaneus prodest in ecclesia domini Iesu Cristi, nisi de quanto docuerit directe consequi hunc patronum; sed omnes capitanei vel patroni istarum sectarum vel regulariter vel in maiori parte impediunt hanc sequelam. Ergo omnes illi capitanei nedum quoad istum finem superfluunt, sed ecclesie sunt nocivi. Assumptum ex hoc evidet, quod nulli cristiani in viando proficiunt, nisi de quanto secuti fuerint dominum Iesum Cristum. Ideo tolle profectum huius sequele, et ponitur nocivum devium et superfluitas ordinis sic servati.

CAP. II.

Cum ergo isti capitales istorum ordinum observant principaliter signa sensibilia, que dominus parvipendit, videtur, quod sequendo ipsos et doctrinam eorum receditur a regula domini Iesu Cristi. Et hoc movebat Baptistam nolle perpetuare suum ordinem, sed ruditer disponere ad suscipiendum ordinem domini Iesu Cristi. Ideo misit discipulos suos ad Cristum, ut vivaci voce Cristi magis proficiant, quam suis verbis quasi mortuis profuerunt, ut patet Matth. 11[a].

Cum ergo totum, quod Iohannes fecit, sonuit ad extollenciam domini Iesu Cristi, videtur, quod horum patronorum regula non foret utilis, nisi de quanto sonat effectualiter in extollenciam domini Iesu Cristi.

Sed quis dubitat, quin extollencia Cristi et regule sue per hoc dissolvitur? Ideo istorum ordinum induccio ostendit, quod sua servacio est prophana, nec licet fideli discredere in assumpto, quin sequela Cristi sit per se adequata causa, quare homo aliquis est beatus. Ymo de quanto ad illam promovetur vel ab illa receditur, de tanto est vita sua meritoria vel culpanda. Nemo enim potest beatitudinem consequi, nisi de quanto secutus fuerit dominum Iesum Cristum, nec potest aliquis sequi ipsum, nisi attingat beatitudinem vel a disposicione habita retrocedat; ymo nichil fidelius, quam quod capita istorum privatorum ordinum de tanto proficiunt, de quanto

CAP. II. [a] *v.* 2

disponunt ad imitandum dominum Iesum Cristum. Unde Baptista, ut dicitur Ioh. 1,[b] fundavit se in Iesaia,[1] quod fuit vox clamantis in deserto ad dirigendum viam domino. Isti autem capitanei non asserunt, quod sunt voces vel fistule domini Iesu Cristi, sed fundatores authentici regule plus compendiose, quam dominus adinvenit. Sed ubi maior blasphemia?

Tales evidencie movebant Paulum et ceteros Cristi apostolos non audere fundare novos ordines supra sectam vel ordinem domini Iesu Cristi.[c] Unde Paulus, quando docuit populum sequi ipsum, fuit perante securus, quod in hoc secutus fuit caput ecclesie, dominum Iesum Cristum. Imitatores, inquit, mei estote, sicut et ego Cristi, *(I)*[2] Cor. 11,[d] ubi videtur docere fideliter, quod precise de tanto debet homo sequi quemcunque alium, de quanto ipse secutus fuerit dominum Iesum Cristum, quia aliter seduci potest per devium sequendo Cristi adversarium, anticristum.

CAP. III.

Et hec racio, quare in istis || novis ordinibus[a] necessaria est obediencia resistiva,[b] quia, dum capitanei affectant honores mundanos vel lucrum seculi aut difficultant suos subditos a lege domini, lex Cristi docet ab illis fugere ut veneno[c]. Et cum omnes capitanei novorum ordinum in hiis tribus deficiunt, lex Cristi docet, quomodo dissolvi debeant iste secte[d]. Principium autem fidei est, quomodo obedire oportet magis deo quam homini, ut dicitur Act. 5[e]. || *Ash fol. 60a*

Iterum ars sequendi sectam veniendo ad beatitudinem debet racione librari, eligendo meliorem sectam plus facilem et securam. Sed illa est secta Cristi pura sine talibus putaciis[1] adinventis. Ideo

[b] *v. 23* [c] *this idea is frequently made use of by W. against the Sects: cp. above, p. 97* [d] *v. 1*

CAP. III. [a] *viz. of the Mendicants* [b] *W. frequently recurs to this idea, cp., for instance, above, p. 140 and 141; also Matthew, 131, 416* [c] *cp. above, p. 140 l. 1 ff.; also 185* [d] *as to this, cp. above, p. 101 ff.* [e] *v. 29*

CAP. II. [1] ysa[a] *MS.* [2] *(I) om. MS.*

CAP. III. [1] *So Matthew has copied: the Vienna and Prague codd. read as a rule* pictac.

illa ad puritatem [et][2] caritatem prudenter a cunctis cristicolis est colenda; est, inquam, securior tam discipulo quam magistro. Discipulus enim facilius posset obedienciam magistri primi facere secundum puram regulam Cristi, quam secundum istas regulas adinventas. Et ex parte pedagogi est securior, quia et notfidelis omnia bona spiritualia, que talis capitaneus facit suo conventui et videbit, quod secundum regulam Cristi posset humilius et, quoad superbiam blasphemam, securius tantum bonum vel maius facere.

Et sic racio necessitaret ad cunctos istos novos ordines fugiendum et manu duci potest grossus viator ad isti sentencie adherendum. Si enim sol naturalis foret continue nocte et die in presencia viatoris, superfluum foret sibi orologium sumptuosum et fallax construere. — Conformiter est de sole iusticie, domino Iesu Cristo, eo, quod tam vita sua quam regula deberet esse cristianis cunctis nocior, quam talis privatus capitaneus vel patronus, et talis secta privata est onerosa ecclesie et multipliciter defectiva. Que igitur foret securitas ipsam construere sive defendere pro viacione ad beatitudinem consequendam?

Possunt enim corde laxari in isto orologio adinvento, et sumptuosum ac onerosum est, ad cursum solis attendere pro principio ad motum istius orologii inchoando. Et istud grossum exemplum medullitus prosecutum moveret racionales homines ad sectas istas racionabiliter fugiendum.

Sunt, inquam, ista orologia sumptuosa, quia attendat homo, quid iste secte de bonis reipublice consumunt,[f] et tantum sunt ecclesie onerose et pauperibus Cristi secundum legem, quam ipse dederat, dampnifere et moleste, quia elemosinas, quas Cristus pauperibus suis limitat, ipse spoliant sophisticatis mendaciis, et magnates depauperant ac ipsos necessitant ad pauperes suos tenentes et subditos insuetis talliagiis onerandum.

Et sic priores istarum sectarum novarum, sicut et sui subditi ac eorum consentanei, sunt utrimque stolidi, et nichil ex hoc lu-

[f] *as to this, cp. above, De tripl. Vinc. Am. p. 193 note k; De Fundac. Sect. 28; also p. 103; Trial. 369*

[2] *om. MS.*

crantur nisi ypocrisim et peccatum. Stulticia quidem est in affectando huiusmodi prioratum, quia, cum nesciunt dignitatem sui subditi quoad deum, eleccionem accipiunt contra divinum iudicium propter vanam gloriam quoad mundum. Cum enim tantum obligantur de lege dei subditis istis proficere, quantum || possunt, et || *Ash fol. 50b* racione istius prioratus amplius obligantur, videtur, quod in accipiendo hunc prioratum obligantur stolide super vires. Stolide dico, quia per hoc incitantur ad capessendam inanem gloriam. Et cum hoc sunt ambigui, si Cristi iudicio et suo beneplacito sint rebelles. Deus enim secundum suum beneplacitum summe racionabile libravit modum et ordinem, quo voluit a quacunque persona in ecclesia sua deserviri. Cum autem hoc sit secretum deo absconditum, patet presumptiva superbia istorum prelatorum, qui astringunt illos, quos nesciunt ad eandem specialem regulam conservandum. Illud enim, quod est utile uni persone, est nocivum alteri[g].

Quis igitur deus est ille, qui wlt confundere tam dispares naturas hominum in unam vanam regulam adinventam? Et patet stulticia capitalis, cum posset liberius, securius et efficacius instruere istas oves, dum hanc sectam et regulam istam dimitteret et tamquam adiutor dei in secta sua pure secundum legem suam instrueret.

CAP. IV.

Ex istis patet conclusio sepius inculcata, scilicet quod persona intrans vel defendens istos adinventos ordines est ut sic stolida, quia facit partem contra dominum Iesum Cristum, quia, si Cristus approbaret hos ordines, cum sunt tam alte et tam necessarie partes ecclesie, ut false innuitur, ipsos alicubi in scriptura sacra instrueret ad edificacionem ecclesie sic vivendum; sed cum hoc sit manifeste falsum,[a] patet, quod Cristus non approbat, sed reprobat istas sectas. Nam nec status nec persona potest huic domino esse neutra, quia, sicut qui non est cum ipso contra ipsum est, sic statum, quem ipse

[g] *an assertion very often made use of by W., cp. e. g. above, p. 286 l. 16*

CAP. IV. [a] *The falsity of this assertion was proved by W. in De Fund. Sect. more accurately: cp. above, p. 13 ff.*

non approbat, indubitanter reprobat. Quomodo igitur non est stulticia intrare vel defendere talem statum? Religio igitur dilecti Cristi foret servare status et officia in ecclesia, que Cristus instituit, et destruere illa, que iste dominus non invenit.

Et quantum ad patronos et sanctos, qui fuerant de hiis sectis, patet, quod totum hoc est apocrifum citra fidem.[b] Et supposito, quod sit verum, patet, quod hoc est eo, quod libere servaverant legem Cristi, et non quia sic aliene servaverant istos ritus. Et sic illi sancti fuerunt valde extranei ab istis ordinibus, quia cum ordo vel secta sit res inanimata, que generatur vel corrumpitur ad generacionem vel corrupcionem partis sue, patet, quomodo iste secte novelle pluries innovant.

Est igitur secta Cristi melior, facilior atque securior.[c] Est inquam melior, quia deus eius patronus ex summa sapiencia ipsam instituit.

Et est facilior, quia non obligat ad hos ritus sensibiles[d], sed ad virtutes anime et opera caritatis. Unde nemo potest spoliare hominem ab hac secta, nisi gratis voluerit ipsam deserere, et hoc || *Ash fol. 51a* iugum fideliter trahentibus est suave et onus leve Ymo doctum est, quod in patrono, in regula et in militibus, in secta cristiana militantibus, ipsa excellit ordines istos novos. In cuius signum longe plus profecit ecclesia per sectam Cristi, quam per istos ordines adinventos, cum a tempore, quo introducti fuerant, decrevit ecclesia[e].

Notet igitur fidelis ritus et regulam, ad quos se obligant iste secte, et videbit, quomodo omnia, que preter legem Cristi observant, sunt ludicria ad onus ecclesie per dyabolum introducta. Nam ex tempore, quo eucharistia fundata est infideliter esse color vel figura, iste secte in istis accidentibus sensibilibus floruerunt[f].

Et est secta Cristi securior, quia impossibile est fidelem sub ista vita usque ad vite terminum militare, nisi eo ipso perpetuo

[b] *as to this assertion, cp. above,* De nov. Praevar. Mand. *cap. VII p. 144* [c] *this assertion is very often and stringently repeated by W. against the Sects, cp., for instance, above, p. 22; 34; 73; 97; 139* [d] *as to these, cp., for. inst., above, p. 143* [e] *cp. the same passage above, p. 230* [f] *as to the spiritual relation of the Mendicant Orders to the Roman doctrine of Transubstantiation, cp. Lechler I, 588 ff.*

sit beatus. Iste autem secte non habent auctoritatem vel probabilitatem talis meriti, sed ex hoc, quod implicant se multis erroribus, probabiliter sunt dampnande, quia hoc non dicit dominus, ut taliter ecclesiam suam edificent, cum ad onus eius sine sua licencia sunt quasi hillaratores subdoli introducti, et ad istud deserviunt, quod ad onus ecclesie consumendo eius cibaria tam spiritualia quam corporalia sine Cristi licencia in sua ecclesia ociantur. Si igitur aliquid boni faciunt, hoc est, de quanto perficiunt ministerium, quod Cristus mandaverat; sed cum sepe commiscent aliud ministerium dyabolice adinventum, patet, quod deficit securitas in hiis sectis. In cuius signum papa vendicat, se esse harum [sectarum][1] patronum et regulas earum instituere et postmodum pro precio confirmare et sepe inventos defectus corrigere. Sed iste religiosarcha[g] in v ta et opere suo ostendit, quod est mendaciter et capitaliter contrarius Iesu Cristo[h].

CAP. V.

Ex istis patet stulticia eorum, qui acceptant hos graves ordines et deserunt libertatem ordinis Iesu Cristi, cum omne opus meritorium facere possent liberius in secta domini Iesu Cristi et a multis impedimentis liberantur, ut noverunt experti ex hoc, quod ab istis ordinibus sunt exuti.

Cum ergo, quamtumcunque diuturnus fuerit labor in istis ordinibus et penalis, anima illius religiosi potest dampnari in inferno, antequam corpus eius fuerit frigefactum, et secta Cristi est securitatis contrarie, fidelis extra laqueum harum sectarum potest dicere: laqueus contritus est et nos liberati sumus. Benedictus dominus, qui non dedit nos in capcionem dentibus eorum[a]. Quamvis autem mordent mendaciis cristianos extrinsecos, cum non ipsos incarcerant vel necessitant ad legem domini deserendum, sed possunt planius servire secundum legem domini, sua gracia protegente.

[g] i. e. the Pope [h] this is proved more accurately by W. below in De Christo et suo Adv. Antichristo.
CAP. V. [a] cp. Ps. 124, 6—7

CAP. V. [1] sic in MS.

Et sic attendendo ad has sectas novellas patet, quod ex earum fructibus inclinantur in fide, spe et caritate deficere.

In fide quidem, quia certum est, quod suppositis eorum ficticiis de bonitate suorum ordinum supra Cristi ordinem, Cristus vel foret impotens, insipiens vel invidus, qui tam necessarios ordines *Ash fol. 51b* et utiles ecclesie || usque ad tempus solucionis sathane expectavit, et tunc nec illas scriptura sua nec verbis propheticis promulgavit, sed permisit illas suboriri in ecclesia sine officio vel regula limitata per ficta mendacia et sompnia, cum, si fratres vel secte alie haberent alia fundamenta, illa detegerent ad honorem sui ordinis, cum tam in scola, quam extra ad hoc crebrius sunt pulsati. — Et talis veritas de quanto magis ostenditur, de tanto ad bonum ecclesie plus splenderet.

In spe autem hee secte deficiunt, cum sperant, quod propter irregularem onustacionem ecclesie introductam fideles pauperes, quos modo spoliant, in die iudicii iudicabunt. Et tantam vim virtutis ponunt in suis habitibus, quod sperant, si persona aliqua, vir vel femina moriatur in ipsis non dampnabitur ad infernum.

Et in caritate signanter deficiunt, cum non ex caritate simplices pauperes contra auctoritatem domini spoliarent, sed pocius exhonerarent ecclesiam in paucitate numeri, et manuale cum apostolo laborarent, et cum tota sua caritas consistit in obediencia, quia, ut inquiunt, in hiis tribus consistit perfeccio sui ordinis, in paupertate, castitate et obediencia.

CAP. VI.

Sed extra illos ordines congregacio eciam secularium in duobus primis poterit istis ordinibus coequari. Ymo restat illis, quod in sua obediencia sua caritas singulariter consequetur. Unde tantum magnificant obedienciam, quam faciunt preposito sui ordinis, quod dicunt, ipsam excellere omne opus meritorium,[a] quod secularis posset facere. Ideo necesse est ipsos in beatitudine non so-

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[b] *cp. the very same idea above p. 143 note b.*

CAP. VI. [a] *As to this, cp. above p. 140 ff.*

lum misceri cum beatis ordinibus, sed situari supra omnes illos ordines cum Maria.

Et quia deficit illis fundacio istius obediencie, sicut et fundacio istorum ordinum, ideo fingunt vel sompniant miraculum de vitis patroni, quod unus virtute istius obediencie rigavit cottidie ligna pure putrida et postmodum floruerunt. Ymo, fingunt sibi principium, quod virtute obediencie faciende tali preposito, dimittenda est predicacio verbi dei et quodcunque opus meritorium, quod exprimitur in scriptura, et colligenda sunt stramina, excorianda vel riganda ligna, aut facienda quecunque opera, que prepositus ille mandat. Et sic inventa est una obediencia per hos novos ordines, quod quidquid Cristus per suos fideles precipit, non est sub tam meritoria obediencia faciendum, sicut faciendum est opus irracionabile et stultum, quod dyabolus illis mandat.

Constat quidem ex fide scripture Ioh. 6[b], quod prelatus de possibili prescitus, quod probabiliter sepe evenit, est unus dyabolus sicut Iudas, et antequam orta fuit hec obediencia, tale opus fuisset irracionabile, et vel ipse facit illud esse meritorium preter dominum Iesum Cristum, vel inclinat deum atque necessitat ad dignitatem illius operis meritoriam faciendum. De obediencia autem declaratum est alias, quod nulla obediencia facienda est homini, nisi de quanto sonat in obedienciam factam ex caritate mandato domini Iesu Cristi. Quod si contra ipsum sonuerit, resistendum est tali prelato viriliter, virtute obediencie || resistive, cum omnis creatura dicit hanc veritatem, et per consequens talis prelatus secundum omnes eius partes mandat naturaliter, quod talis veritas compleatur. Cum ergo prelatus tam sollicite et ex tanta auctoritate domini mandat istud et aliud contra racionem, non mandat nisi ut devius et insanis: in isto debet sibi obediri precipue, et in alio debet fidelis sibi in nomine dei repugnare. Et istam obedienciam vellem hos sectas novellas attendere. Tunc enim non constituerent papam dominum suarumdomorum, librorum et aliorum quorumcunque, que spoliant de regnis, que incolunt Cum ista obediencia sit luciferina et contraria racioni — papa enim debet esse pauperrimus,

|| *Ash fol. 52a*

[b] *v. 70*

et cum tantum habundat in temporalibus —, sibi non videtur elemosina esse taliter facienda, cum pauperibus debilibus, claudis et cecis secundum doctrinam Cristi Luc. 14[c] sit talis elemosina facienda. — Que ergo caritas filiorum in patrem et patronum effundere in tantum patrem venenum tam imperfectum, quod inficeret filios, si servarent. Ista ergo videtur progenies viperarum, que dirumpit in suo exitu matrem suam.

CAP. VII.

Et scrutata materia ista funditus videtur, quod non sapiat nisi ypocriticum sophisma dyaboli. Quid enim sonat in sanctitatem talis ordinis, quod tribuat pape dominium, quod in sua persona habere non poterit?

Omne quidem dominium sic collatum presupponit persone consistenciam sic donantis; si igitur hii fratres habere non potuerant istud dominium, quomodo in tam excellentem personam elemosinarie ipsum transfunderent? Sic enim transfundere possent in ipsum mendaciter omnia regna mundi, sicut supponitur, quod dyabolus Matth. quarto cap.[a] domino est mentitus. Nec dubium, quin talis spoliacio sonat in prodicionem regis et regni, quod incolunt tales fratres, colligentes de regni pauperibus in nomine pape, capitalis inimici regis et regni, bona totidem mendaci titulo, et postmodum hosti principali sine regis et regni licencia conferendo. Et facto toto ex hoc evidet sophisma dyaboli, quod sine redditu civili facto pape quiete occupant fratres omnia illa bona et tantum in foro civili quam ecclesiastico acute ipsa defendunt, sine repensione debita regibus et regnis, que incolunt. Sed que foret sophisticacio quoad deum et homines magis fallax?

Ex istis colligitur, quantum peccatum est defendere istas sectas. Illudunt enim Cristo et sue ecclesie et per consequens in defendendo ipsas contra Cristum et suam ecclesiam peccatur in deum

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[c] *v. 21ff.*
CAP. VII. [a] *v. 8—9*

et matrem ecclesiam, cum peccatum consensus[b] eque valeat peccato operis et sit aliquociens ipso maius. Fratres igitur in hoc, quod diligunt sectam suam propriam magis quam sectam domini Iesu puram, manifeste indicant, quod a caritate, quam describit apostolus, sunt expertes. Et cum necesse sit, sic deficientes in fide, spe et caritate in virtutibus aliis consequenter deficere, manifeste videtur, quod tales secte tanquam heretice sunt negande.

Et fundari potest istud auffugium ex scriptura multiplici et evidencia racionis. Nam fovendo illas ut sic fovetur Cristi proditor || et inimicus sue ecclesie. Sed que caritas stat in isto? | *Ash. fol. 52b*

CAP. VIII.

Ex istis colligitur, quomodo ex caritate communicacio negabitur istis sectis.

Clerici enim non communicabunt cum ipsis, nisi forte sectas suas catholice reprobando et ad puram sectam Cristi prudencius exhortando.

Activi autem non debent communicare cum ipsis, nisi bona fortune, que occupant, auferendo et bona corporalis elemosine subtrahendo. Ymo dicit celestis paranimphus Iohannes, qui ultra ceteros apostolos regulas didicit caritatis[a]: si quis venit ad vos et hanc doctrinam non affert, nolite recipere eum in domum nec ave ei dixeritis. Qui enim dixerit illi ave, communicat operibus eius malignis. — Et concordat racio cum ista sentencia, cum nemo gladium ministraret frenetico, quin cum illo a probabili se ipsum vel alios fratres occideret, et sic consultor ad peccatum tale consuleret. Et hec racio, quare Cristus dicit apostolis[b]: ego, quos amo, arguo et castigo, et cum ista caritas dei ad omnes servos suos, eciam quos ad dampnacionem preparat, se extendit, videtur, quod fidelis in Cristo secundum istam formam diligeret istas sectas.

Dileccio quidem secundum formam duplicem se ostendit.

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[b] *as to the five forms of assent, cp. above De Fund. Sect. p. 19; Matthew 419 and 529; Lechler, De Off. Past. 15*

CAP. VIII. [a] *cp. II John 10—11* [b] *cp. Apokal. 3, 19*

Quedam autem est spiritualis dileccio et quedam dileccio corporalis. — Spiritualis dileccio maxime consistit in spirituali pastu secundum regulas caritatis. Unde Cristus ordinavit suos apostolos non corporaliter pascere plebem suam, sed spiritualiter, et ad hoc dedit eis carismata et mandata. Et ad istam elemosinam spiritualem debent superiores ecclesie magis attendere. Sophisticari tamen potest hec elemosina, licet raro, et sic tria sunt precipue in ista elemosina fugienda: primum, quod intencio sit munda ab avaricia; quod non fiat predicacio vel dogmatizacio propter lucrum, nam Matth. 10[c] mandat Cristus: gratis accepistis, gratis date. — Secundo caveri debet pastus populi per dogma contrarium verbis Cristi, quia per illud dogma seduci posset populus, et ubi nutriretur pabulo tendente ad patriam, nutriri posset mendacio, ducente filios patris mendacii ad gehennam. Ymo mandat Petrus I Pet. 4[d]: si quis loquitur et specialiter in docendo, loquatur quasi sermones dei. Et rectificata sic intencione et purificata ministracione dogmatis spiritualiter porrigendi, videndum est tercio, quod populus, quem deus preparat ad hoc semen spiritualiter capiendum secundum duas intenciones priores, pro loco et tempore congrue fiat pastus. Sic enim apostoli post induracionem iudaicam ad gentilem populum sunt conversi, ut patet Act. 13[e].

In ista autem pastione iste secte seducunt populum, cum intencio earum sit principaliter pro temporalibus perquirendis. Et ad hoc aptant mendacia, ludicria vel prophana. Multa quidem auditoria in talibus ex malicia delectantur, et sic quamvis actus predicandi sit sensibilis, deus tamen, quem oportet cooperari cum verbis, est insensibilis, sicut sunt intencio, devocio et propositum predicantis. — Intencio autem debet ad honorem dei et non ad questum temporalium terminari; devocio debet non ad ista ludicria, sed ad verba dei vivacia terminari; et propositum predicantis debet non ad gravem populum et multum pro laude humana dirigi, sed ad populum, qui creditur a sufficienti experiencia esse capax et proficiens verbo dei.

Et servatis prudenter hiis tribus videtur, quod hec elemosina

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[c] v. 8 [d] v. 11 [e] v. 45 ff.

sit principalior inter || omnes. Debet tamen predicator attendere, gracia cuius predicat, quid auditorio suo predicat et quale sit auditorium, cui predicat. || *Ash fol. 63a*

Qui docet, attendat finem, pabulum populumque.

CAP. IX.

Corporalis autem elemosina consistit in necessariis corpori pro hac vita, cuiusmodi sunt secundum apostolum alimentum et tegumentum, alimentum in cibis et potibus et tegumentum in pannis et domibus. — Et cum sophisticatur hec corporalis elemosina, attendere debet elemosinans ad hec tria, quid ministrat, quibus ministrat et gracia cuius finis. Non enim ministrari debent lauticie sumptuose in forma elemosine, sed alimenta communia et necessaria, sicut Cristus in duobus suis conviviis populo ministravit.

Oportet secundo attendere, quod illis personis, quibus Cristus limitavit hanc elemosinam, ministretur; cuiusmodi sunt pauperes debiles, pauperes claudi et pauperes ceci, quibus Cristus talem elemosinam limitavit, ut patet Luc. 14.[a]

Finis autem intentus debet esse honor dei et merces beatitudinis possidenda, et per consequens honor ypocriticus, fama mundana et regraciacio temporalis debent ab ista elemosina removeri.

Ex quo videtur primo, quod populus Anglicanus non debet solvere suas decimas vel aliud pedagium pape, cardinalibus vel aliis curatis forinsecis, qui non rependent beneficia spiritualia a domino limitata. Talia enim non debent dari nisi titulo elemosine corporalis, sed dicti prepositi a recepcione talis elemosine et repensionis debite sunt inepti. Et omnino detestanda foret condicio, quod papa et prelati necessitent ad dandum tales elemosinas contra regulam legis Cristi.

Ex eodem videtur secundo, quod nec excommunicacio nec alia machinata censura debet parochianos astringere ad dandum curato indigeno, noto ab experimento inhabili, decimas, oblaciones

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CAP. IX. [a] *cp. v. 21 ff.*

vel alia corporalia suffragia, cum quibus est curatus ydoneus sustentandus, cum Paulus precipit in nomine domini II Thess. ultimo[b]: qui non laborat, non manducet.

Et tercio videtur, quod nec fratribus nec sectis istis novis est ista corporalis elemosina ministranda, quia hoc esset contra Cristum ipsos defendere et suis peccatis et gravamini ecclesie consentire. Cum autem non sunt pauperes debiles, claudi vel ceci, sed mendicantes tam validi et habentes tot bona superflua[c], esset opus contrarium elemosine ipsis talia ministrare.

CAP. X.

Unde iste secte defraudant Cristi ecclesiam in ista elemosina corporali, cum furtive auferunt de Cristi pauperibus has elemosinas ipsis specialiter limitatas.

Secundo spumant libidinem, edificia sumptuosa[a] et alia tam verba quam opera, que regnis, que incolunt, sunt nociva.

Et tercio videtur, quod isti ypocrite miscendo malum cum bono post istam mixturam mendaciter denominant totum bonum, ac si quis misceret venenum cum vino et totum poculum quasi potum salutiferum populo propinaret.

Ash fol. 63b || Scimus quidem, quod secta Saracenica multis fidei nostre articulis auctoritate legis dei consenciat[b], et multos ritus honestos atque laudabiles ultra has sectas observat[c]. Sed quia in necessariis secundum legem Cristi deficiunt nec autoritatem ab ipso accipiunt, ideo sunt infideles filii dyaboli fugiendi, quare ergo non iste secte, que Cristi ecclesie magis nocent?

Et sic videtur baptista intendere suos discipulos, tamquam discentes literas fidei ad scolam domini tamquam superiorem scienciam preparare. Quid autem sonat aliud, quod baptista Ioh. 1[d]

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[b] *v. 10* [c] *as to their wealth, cp. above p. 47*

CAP. X. [a] *These are made by W. a reproach to the Sects very frequently, cp. for instance De Fund. Sect. p. 47 note c* [b] *as to this, cp above De Fund. Sect. p. 25; Matthew 301* [c] *as to these, cp. above p. 30* [d] *v. 27*

dicit, se non esse dignum corrigiam calceamenti domini dissolvere, quid et aliud sonat illud Ioh. tercio cap.[e]: qui de celo venit, super omnes est, cum aliis verbis commendatoriis ibi dictis? Cur et Baptista mitteret suos discipulos ad Iesum Cristum Matth. 11[f] ad noscendum septem miracula[g], que ultra potestatem hominum Cristus fecit? — Vel ergo oportet concedere, quod Baptista erravit in fide, vel quod suos discipulos ad sectam domini preparavit.

Quare igitur non sic facerent iste secte, tum tamen, quando exeunt istas sectas, hoc est gracia secularis dominii, ut patet de religiosis factis episcopis vel curatis; sed tunc in signum sue cupidinis suos habitus secum ferunt, ac si in facto dicerent, quod appetunt lucrum temporalium et non pauperiem domini Iesu Cristi, quia tunc exirent illum ordinem propter episcopatum non dotatum. Quod cum non faciunt, nisi talis graduacio foret pingwis, manifestum est, quod innuunt statum illum, sicut statum papalem esse perfecciorem propter mundanas divicias. Et sic ponunt in facto statum apostolicum sub non gradu. Non enim audent presumere, quod status episcoporum dotatus sit in superiori perfeccione quam status apostolicus, quin sic dotans ecclesiam fundaret statum perfecciorem, quam habuerunt apostoli Iesu Cristi; et de quanto dotantur amplius, de tanto est status perfeccior. Sed quid magis hereticum?

CAP. XI.

Ex istis videtur, bonus sacerdos et episcopus forent idem, ut dicit Hieronymus et ponit lex in Decret., 95 dist. cap. 'Olym'[a], et sic omnes persone habiles in hiis sectis, exirent illas de lege communi ad statum cure pastoralis, cum hoc foret perfeccius. Quod si corporalis habitus vel temporalis dotacio retardat ab isto exitu, ostenditur, quod diligunt sectas novas vel prelacionem cesaream plus quam ordinem domini Iesu Cristi. Fratres enim et omnes

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[e] *v. 31* [f] *v. 2* [g] *cp. Matth. 11. 5*

CAP. XI. [a] *cp. Corp. iur. can., ed. Richter-Friedberg, p. 332; cp. above p. 100 note e*

sacerdotes scioli plus sequerentur vitam apostolicam ewangelizando debite sine iurisdiccione vel possessione, que modo adiacet prelatis ecclesie, quam prelacias istas cesareas acceptando. Quomodo ergo salvant suas consciencias, meliorem statum tam vecorditer dimittendo? Et sic persone istarum sectarum, dum sunt habiles, debent compelli exire hos ordines et intrare sectam liberam domini Iesu Cristi. — Ad quod multum prodesset, quod secte iste forent pure exproprietarie et non cecis elemosinis defensate. Tunc enim necessitate forent intrare puram sectam domini Iesu Cristi, et ita videtur, seculares dominos et infideles clericos resistere verbis Cristi Luc. 14, quando dicitur[b]: ait dominus servo suo: exi in vias et sepes et compelle intrare, ut impleatur domus mea. Cum autem sunt vie iste infidelitates gentilium et sepes sunt religiones private[c], iste due partes, que debent esse unus servus domini, sicut unite debent concurrere, ut perficiant hoc mandatum, non compellunt
Ash fol. 54a intrare hanc sectam Cristi, sed per cautelas dyaboli compellunt exire.

Et ista est causa, quare sic Cristi ecclesia minoratur, et omnino pape et prelati cesarei debent compelli ad istum introitum per dominos seculares.

CAP. XII.

Et hic mussitant infideles, si sacerdos promotus ad episcopatum cesareum recipit novum ordinem. Et videtur, quod sic, tum quia papa recipiendo papatum recipit novum ordinem, tum et quia verba pontificalia hoc exprimunt sicut in aliis ordinibus. Et aliter posset quilibet sacerdos sine nova consecracione occupare episcopatum et papatum et per idem a statu laicali possit ascendere ad officium sacerdotis. Sed ubi forent tunc septem sacramenta, cum sit necessarium ordinem esse unum?

In oppositum videtur Hieronymus, qui dicit, ut recitatur in

[b] *v. 21* [c] *as to this term which W. frequently applies to the Sects, cp. above De Ord. Frat. p. 102 and De nov. Praev. Mand. p. 137*

Decretis, 95 dist. 'Olym', dicit[a], quod idem est episcopus et sacerdos. In cuius signum fides scripture habet ipsos generaliter pro eodem, nec aliam consecracionem meminit fides ewangelii de istis gradubus. Et fingendo consecracionem novam propter dotacionem foret novum ludicrium, ac si quis coniuracionem statueret vel consecracionem armorum episcopi, ac si foret notabile sacramentum. Sed quis crederet istis deliramentis a dyabolo fictis ex hoc, quod illicite placent infidelibus?

Ideo videtur, Cristum compendiose procedere dando graciam et efficaciam operandi. Nec vertitur fideli in dubium, quin status apostolicus sit perfeccior, quam episcopum[1] cesareum post dotacionem, quantumcunque fuerit augmentatum.

Et ex isto videtur, quod sicut religiosus egreditur ordinem suum privatum, acceptando tanquam perfeccius episcopale officium vel curam aliam, dum sit pingwis, sic quilibet habilis debet compelli egredi has sepes[b], in quibus includitur et servare liberam sectam Cristi. Racio quidem est patencior; et tunc cum suis diviciis defendi possent partes finitime regni nostri, et instanter predicato ewangelio infra regnum et evacuatis adulterinis legibus regnum vivere posset secure conformiter legi Cristi. Sed dampnabilis vecordia et stulta omissio secularium est causa, quare hoc peccatum preparat ad ruinam regni et ad mala alia sequencia post hanc vitam.

Regnum autem crederet sacerdotibus, qui ex lege domini clamant cottidie istum sensum, et nemo, maior vel minor, potest ipsum, cum sit catholicus, impugnare.

Et quantum ad argucias factas in oppositum, relinquo illi, qui coniuracionem dyaboli acceptat tamquam consecracionem sanctissimam, cum a fundacione istorum statuum defuit racionis vel fidei fundamentum.

CAP. XII. [a] *cp. Corp. iur. can., ed. Richter-Friedberg, p. 332*
[b] *i. e. the Sects, cp. above p. 314 l. 13 and note c*

CAP. XII. [1] *MS.:* episcopm̄

Et sic omnes secte novelle preter sectam Cristi cum suis appendiciis sunt a regnis fidelium expellende. Et cum humanitatis Cristi opera sunt sopita secundum potenciam patris et sapienciam filii, regna et specialiter clerici ex spiritus sancti clemencia sunt purganda. Et ista operacionis omissio minatur ruinam et destruccionem irremissibilem multis regnis.

Explicit purgatorium secte Cristi.

VIII.

DE NOVIS ORDINIBUS.

DE NOVIS ORDINIBUS.

I. Division of the Tract.

I. Theoretical Part: Whether the monkish principle, that no individual member of the Order is responsible for the actions of the whole, be right, chap I—II.

II. Practical Part: This principle is brought to bear on the actual and individual defects of the Orders, chap. III.

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. *A conflict is taking place in the Militant Church with God on one side, and the devil on the other, p. 323, the former being represented by Christ, the latter by the Antichrist, i. e. the Pope, p. 323. The army of the Antichrist is composed of two wings, the wealthy and the poor Orders, p. 324, their chief weapon being their lie, that no individual part of them may be blamed for the wrongdoing of the rest, while, on the other hand, what is praiseworthy in the one is counted to the honour of all, p. 324. — Evidence as to how far this principle ought to be defended (by Scripture, Philosophy, Reason and History) p. 325—327.*

Chap. II. *Limitation of this principle in Scripture, according to which no one will be sentenced by God to everlasting punishment except for his own sins, p. 327—329. On the other hand, a man makes himself to a certain extent guilty of the sins of others by a conscious or unconscious acquiescence in them, p. 329—330. The individual will be punished only in comparison to this acquiescence, with the exception of Christ, who suffered for all, p. 340—331.*

Chap. III. *To make practical use of this in connection with the Orders, it is evident, that individual members, who serve their Order rather than the Gospel, may certainly be made responsible for the transgression of the whole Order, p. 331; proved by the conspiracy against the life of the Duke of Lancaster, p. 332. Taken as a whole their life is a vain and meaningless service; for rejecting Christ, they render almost slavish obedience to the Roman bishops and neglecting the Gospel, give themselves up to an outward and ridiculous form of worship, p. 332. Daniels prophecy of the abomination, of the defilement of the holy places, is therefore fulfilled, p. 332—334. — Conclusion: The shortest way to establish the ancient unity of the Church, commanded by Scripture, would be to abolish all Sects, though with toleration, p. 334—336.*

III. Date of Composition.

I have not been able, notwithstanding diligent enquiries, to determine a fixed date from accounts in contemporary chronicles of the plot of the friars against Lancaster's life, mentioned in chap. III, p. 332. From the allusion made to it in De septem don. Spir. San., see p. 227 (also p. 95), I am inclined to place the conspiracy in the year 1377, so that the composition would have its date some time after. We may also conclude from the general tone of the Tract against the Pope, that the work belongs to the last period of W.'s controversy (see Lechler I, 575 ff.) and had its birth therefore after 1382.

IV. Genuineness.

(a) External evidence:

- *(1) Wiclif-Catal. of cod. B fol. 195 ff. and cod. 3935 fol. 223 ff.*
- *(2) cod. E, Index of the front cover*
- *(3) cod. β, Index on the fly-leaf of the cod.; as to (2) and (3), cp. above General Introd. IV, Description of the codices*
- *(4) Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, 1438*
- *(5) Shirley, Catal. No. 87 S. 28*
- *(6) Lechler, J. v. W., II, 568*

(b) Internal evidence:

(1) cp. above General Introduction V, e.

(2) the passage on the conspiracy of the Friars against the Duke of Lancaster, cp. de sept. Don. Sp. S., above p. 227.

(3) cp. cap. II, note f; III, a; b; c; h.

V. *Not yet printed.*

VI. *Extant in*

cod. 1337 = E fol. 33^a—35^d $\begin{cases} E^1 = \text{Corrector} \\ E^2 = \text{Glosser (red hand)} \end{cases}$

in the Imperial Library at Vienna

cod. III. G. 11.[1] *= β fol. 56^b—60^a β^1 = Glosser and Corrector*

cod. XI. E. 3. = γ fol. 12^a—13^b γ^1 = Glosser and Corrector

these in the University Library at Prague.

VII. The Manuscripts.

Only after I had formed my text from the Vienna codex alone, and after I had finished my manuscript for the printer, both Prague MSS. became for a short time accessible to me. After having collated them I became aware, that also in the present Tract E, the inferiority of which I have proved in many former cases, is not all trustworthy. I have, therefore, so far as I was allowed to do so, corrected my text from the two Prague MSS, and taken E simply as a help for the external arrangement of my text.

As to the value of the text in the three single MSS, I can give only a few hints. I believe γ to be relatively the best of them; of the 155 different readings in question, γ gives the correct reading in 105, β in 100, E in 55 cases; akin to γ is β and the corrector of E, E^1.[2]

From the lacuna corpore zonam *III, 56;* debite *etc. III, 74 and* et corrig. *III, 61 it is evident, that E and β belong to a family of codices*

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[1] *Shirley, in his Catal. p. 28 No. 87, has not added this codex.*

[2] *The material is too slender to decide whether E^1 has corrected from β or γ. All his corrections agree with γ and β except* principem *I, 8 which is of no value in deciding his origin.*

different from γ, for here the passages in question are given in full. — I believe, that also between E and γ a certain relationship exists, cp. vestr. *etc. I, 15;* sic eccl. mal. *I, 34;* in moribus *(om.) I, 60;* est *(om.) I, 61;* exerc. p. l. p. *I, 24;* prothopl. *I, 77;* cum t. p. c. *II, 22; 23;* summ. est *II, 60. In no case γ has been copied from E, cp.* corpore zon. *III, 56;* et corr. *III, 61;* deb. *III, 74.*

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE NOVIS ORDINIBUS.

Explicit tractatus de triplici vinculo amoris
Et incipit de novis ordinibus.[1]

CAP. I.

‖ [2]Secundum apostolum | ad Ephes. 6[a] non est nobis | colluctacio adversus | carnem et sangwinem, sed adversus principes et potestates, adversus mundi rectores[3] tenebrarum harum, contra spiritualia nequicie in celestibus. — Ex qua fide cum aliis fideles accipiunt, quod quamdiu ecclesia[4] hic militaverit in terris, sunt duo exercitus, dei et[5] dyaboli, compugnantes.[6] Ideo in libris propheticis vocatur deus communiter dominus[7] exercituum.[b] Habet autem uterque istorum principum[8] suum capitaneum sive vicarium, ut deus humanitatem Cristi cum aliis membris suis et dyabolus anticristum cum aliis membris suis. — Armature autem istorum duorum[9] exercituum sunt diverse, cum armatura exercitus dei sint[10] sex

| *E fol. 33a lin. 13*

CAP. I. [a] *v. 12* [b] *cp. for instance Ps. 103: 21; I Sam. 1, 3; Isai. 8, 9; 2, 12 and frequently in Jerem., Zachar., Malach.*

CAP. I. [1] Explicit tract. *etc. E om. βγ* [2] *cod. β fol. 56ᵇ lin. 13 cod. γ fol. 12ᵇ lin. 1* [3] mun. rect. *Eγ* rect. mun. *β* [4] ecclesia *βγ* accipiunt *(cr. out and ud.)* ecclesiam *E* [5] et *E* atque *βγ* [6] *in β is add. in mar.:* Exercitus duo sunt in terris compugnantes *β¹* [7] dominus *Eβ* deus dominus *γ* [8] principum *β* principem *γ om. E, but* principem *in mar.* [9] duorum *βγ om. E* [10] sint *E* sunt *γ* sint *β corr. from* sunt

genera virtutum, ut patet ad[11] Ephes. ultimo[c]: accipite, inquit, armaturam dei, ut possitis resistere in die malo[12] et in omnibus perfecti[13] stare. State ergo[14] succincti lumbos vestros in veritate et induti[15] lorica[16] iusticie[17] et calciati pedes in preparacione ewangelii pacis, in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis || *E fol. 33b* [18] omnia tela nequissimi ignea extingwere et galeam salutis assumite et gladium spiritus, quod est verbum dei. — Armatura autem exercitus dyaboli[19] est genus ypocrisis cum aliis commentis mendacii. Et habet antichristus, dux[20] sui exercitus, duas alas[21] sive brachia de istis novis[22] ordinibus, dexterum[23] brachium religiosos possessionatos et sinistrum brachium exproprietarios. Dux autem istius exercitus ponitur esse papa. Et habet iste[24] exercitus multos alienigenas stipendiarios, qui de prima professione[25] debent esse de exercitu[26] cristiano.

Habent autem dicte[27] ale pro commento mendacii istud principium, quod nulla pars eius[28] debet puniri pro delicto alterius, et sic non redundaret[29] in penam tocius, quod una pars eius transgreditur. Sed quidquid una pars eius[30] fecerit commendandum, illud, ut fingunt, est toti ordini principaliter tribuendum.[d]

Et contra istud sophisma dyaboli inveheret fidelis aspere per sagittas acutas[31] verbi domini, quia supposita veritate istius sophismatis faciliter posset dyabolus cristianismum[32] conquirere et

[c] *v. 13—17* [d] *cp. the same assertion below p. 351; also Trial. 371 ff.; above p. 224 and below p. 344 l. 20 ff.*

[11] ad $E\gamma$ *om.* β [12] in die m. $E\gamma$ in tempore vel in die ma. β [13] perfecti β perfecte $E\gamma$ [14] ergo $E\gamma$ igitur β [15] vestros — induti β vestros et induite $E\gamma$ [16] lorica $\beta\gamma$ loricam E [17] iusticie $\beta\gamma$ iusticie *corr. from* iusticiam E [18] *below col. 33a is add. without a mark of ref.:* Armatura exercitus dei sunt 6, *the last two words being blotted out and nearly illegible* [19] *in E is add. in mar.:* Armatura dyaboli E^2 [20] dux $E\beta$ *om.* γ [21] *in* β *is add. in mar.:* Ale due antichristi β^1 [22] novem, *above it* novis β novem E novis, *corr. from* novem (!) γ [23] dexterum β dextrum γ et dextrum E [24] exercitus p. e. p. e. h. i. $E\gamma$ *om.* β [25] professione $\beta\gamma$ perpessione E [26] exercitu $E\gamma$ exercitu *corr. from* exercito β [27] dicte $E\beta$ *om.* γ [28] eius $E\beta$ eorum γ [29] redundaret $E\gamma$ redundat β [30] eius $\beta\gamma$, E *in mar.* *om.* E [31] acutas $\beta\gamma$, E *in mar.* *om.* E [32] faciliter p. d. c. $E\gamma$ p. d. faciliter c. β

dei exercitum superare. — Suppono autem arguendo contra istud sophisma dyaboli, quod sicut ecclesia dei[33] est unum corpus, sic ecclesia malignancium, que est exercitus dyaboli, est quodammodo unum corpus.[34] Patet assumptum[35] ex fide militanti. Nam ad Ephes. primo[e] sic scribitur: ipsum Cristum[36] deus dedit[37] caput super omnem ecclesiam, que est corpus ipsius. Et ad Coloss. primo[f]: adimplebo, inquit Paulus, ‖ ea, que desunt passioni[38] Cristi in ‖ *E fol. 33c* carne mea[39] pro corpore eius quod est ecclesia. Ymo philosophus ethnicus Porphyrius consentit[40] isti sentencie. Participacione, inquit,[g] speciei plures homines sunt unus homo.[41] Ista autem fide supposita[42] patet per locum a sufficiente[43] similitudine, quod membra dyaboli sunt partes exercitus sui, qui est quodammodo unum corpus.

Istis suppositis[44] faciliter impugnatur hoc[45] sophisma dyaboli. Nam eo ipso, quo pars alicuius corporis facit opus aliquod sive laudabile[46] sive culpabile, ipsum opus est toti[47] corpori tribuendum. Sed quilibet istorum novorum ordinum est unum corpus, ergo quodlibet opus membri sui[48] est toti illi corpori tribuendum. Nam ista ficcio caret racionis colore, quod totum hoc corpus pro quocunque opere laudabili partis sue a populo sit laudandum et non pro quocunque opere culpabili partis sue apposito sit culpandum,[49] et nisi assumptum[50] pecierint, numquam habebunt,[51]

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[e] *v. 22* [f] *v. 24* [g] *see Porphyrii Introductio cum aliis commentariis in Aristotelem scriptis, ed. Venet. 1562: de Genere, cap. 2 vol. I, 2b; cp. also Trial. II, cap. I, p. 78; again Matthew, E. W. h. u. 447*

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[33] ecclesia dei γ ecclesia *E, but in mar.* dei ecclesia β [34] sic eccl. m. q. e. e. d., e. q. m. u. c. *E*γ *om.* β [35] assumptum βγ assertum *(?) E* [36] ipsum Cristum *E, but in mar.* idem *with mark of ref. to* ipsum Ipsum i*(nquit)* Christum βγ [37] deus dedit *E*γ dedit deus β [38] passioni E possessioni *(cr. out)* β passionum γ, β[1] *in mar.* [39] mea *E*γ *om.* β, *but corr. into the text by* β[1] [40] consentit *E*β consensit γ [41] homo *E*γ homo β *a corr. word* [42] supposita *E*γ sppta β, *(compend. om.)* [43] sufficiente *E* sufficienti βγ [44] suppositis *has in E undergone a correction, therefore repeat. in mar.* [45] hoc βγ hoc *(cr. out) E* [46] laudabile *E*γ laudacione, *above* cione *is corr.:* bile β [47] toti βγ totum *E* [48] sui β *om. E*γ [49] sit culpandum β est cul *(cr. out and ud.)* sit culpandum *E* est culpandum γ [50] assumptum βγ assuptum *E* [51] habebunt *E*β habebitur γ

quod totus ordo[52] a deo vel homine sit laudandus, quia non tantum conveniunt, quod quidquid una eius pars[53] fecerit, quelibet pars concurrit et concorditer facit idem. Sicut[54] ergo homo est culpandus propter hoc, quod culpabiliter percutit cum pugno, ex hoc,
|| *E fol. 33d* quod sic[55] facit secundum partem, ita isti ordines sunt || culpandi ex hoc, quod sic faciunt secundum partem. — Similiter iuxta fidem tota nostra operacio debet ab[56] operacione domini exemplari. Nam Luc. 6[h] scribitur: estote ergo[57] misericordes, sicut et[58] pater vester misericors est. Aliter enim non essemus filii dei,[59] nisi patrem nostrum sequeremur in moribus[60] patrisando. Et hec est[61] racio, quare Cristus deus et homo est optimum medium possibile, per quod possimus dominum[62] imitari.[63] Cum ergo deus punit et premiat[64] totum pro opere, quod pars eius facit proprie,[65] videtur, quod nos debemus in hoc deum[66] specialiter imitari. Nam Gen. 18[i] promittit deus Abrahe, quod non delebit illum totum[67] populum propter decem. Ex quo convincitur, quod[68] tam in merito[69] quam in pena totum participat dignitate operis sue[70] partis. Et istud patet de diluvio et aliis vindictis et premiis communibus, que deus tribuit racione[71] partis ipsis[72] totis. Sic ergo[73] dampnati participant pena suarum parcium, sicut salvati participant premio suarum parcium. Et[74] isto modo deus iudex iustissimus punit sepe populum propter unius persone demeritum, ut patet de Achan,[75] Jos. *(7)*[76k]. Similiter Cristus docuit istam

[h] *v. 36* [i] *v. 32* [k] *chap. 7 v. 1*

[52] ordo *γ* mundus *Eβ* [53] e. p. *E* p. e. *βγ* [54] sicut *βγ* sic *E* [55] sic *βγ* *om. E* [56] ab *Eγ* ex, *above it* ab *is corr. β* [57] ergo *Eβ* *om. γ* [58] et *Eγ* ergo *(cr. out)* et *β* [59] f. d. *Eγ* d. f. *β* [60] in moribus *β* *om. Eγ* [61] est *β* *om. Eγ* [62] possimus dominum *E* possumus deum *γ* possumus deum dominum *β* [63] imitari *βγ* in imitari *E* [64] premiat *Eβ* puniat *γ* [65] quod p. e. f. pr. *Eβ* quod f. e. p. pro opere *(the last two words being cr. out)* proprie *γ* [66] in hoc deum *E* deum in hoc *βγ* [67] i. t. *Eγ* t. i. *β* [68] quod *βγ* quia *(cr. out) E, above it* quod *is corr.* [69] in merito *βγ* in vita *(cr. out) E, but in mar. is add.* in merito [70] sue *βγ* sui *E* [71] racione *βγ* et onere *E* [72] partis ipsis *γ* parcium ipsius *Eβ* [73] ergo *β* enim *Eγ* [74] Et *Eγ* Sed *β* [75] achan *Eγ* achor *(a corr. word) β* [76] 6to *Eγ* 4o *β*

iusticiam in persona propria, cum faciendo se ipsum hominem passus fuit pro toto delicto humani generis,[l] quia totum ipsum humanum genus secundum multas partes et specialiter secundum prothoplastum deliquerat.[77] Ideo oportet, quod ipsum[78] idem secundum partem sue condicionis[79] contrarie satisfaciat.

Tales sunt multe evidencie ex fide elicite, || ex quibus capimus a divina iusticia, quod consonum est, ut totum premietur quandoque[80] pro parte et pro parte alia[81] puniatur; et istud capitur ex fide, qua oportet credere communionem sanctorum. || *E fol. 34a*

CAP. II.

oacum secundum apostolum Gal. ultimo[a] unusquisque onus suum portabit, et videtur in multis casibus racioni dissonum, ut unus puniatur pro reliquo, ideo videtur tractandum ulterius de pistSedrticipio.

Quamvis enim salvati et dampnati[1] sint unum genus hominum, et tamen salvati non puniuntur in gaudio celesti pro reprobis, nec dampnati in inferno gaudent vel sunt hilares[2] pro beatis,

[1] *see II Cor. 5, 14: κρίναντας τοῦτο, ὅτι εἰ εἷς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, ἄρα οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον; — Rom. 5, 19: ὥσπερ γὰρ διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἁμαρτωλοὶ κατεστάθησαν οἱ πολλοί, οὕτως καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς τοῦ ἑνὸς δίκαιοι κατασταθήσονται οἱ πολλοί; v. 15: εἰ γὰρ τῷ τοῦ ἑνὸς παραπτώματι οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ δωρεά ἐν χάριτι τῇ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπερίσσευσεν; Matth. 20, 28: ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθεν διακονηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν, cp. also Isai. 53, 11; 12*

CAP. II. [a] *v. 5, cp. also I Cor. 3, 8: unus quisque propriam mercedem accipiet secundum suum laborem*

[77] prothopastum delinquerat *Eγ* prothoplastum de linquerat *β* [78] ipsum *βγ* ipse *E* [79] secundum partem sue condicionis *β* secundum suam condicionis *E* secundum partem suam condicionis *γ* [80] consonum est u. t. p. q. *βγ* *om. in E's text, but add. later above in mar.* [81] alia *β*, *corr. from* alias alias *Eγ*

CAP. II. [1] s. et d. *Eγ* d. et s. *β* [2] hilares *βγ* hylares *E*

sed pocius e contra gaudium unius est pro pena[3] alterius. Quare ergo non sic foret generaliter loco[4] a sufficiente[5] similitudine laborare?[6]

Hic dicitur, quod propter subtilitatem materie oportet fidelem diligenter attendere et aciem mentis secundum philosophiam[7] et eciam theologiam[8] alcius elevare. — Suppono ergo[9] imprimis, quod invidia dyaboli mors intravit in orbem terrarum,[10] et sic sunt aliquo modo duo principes sive reges.[11] Primus est[12] dominus Iesus Cristus, quem oportet necessario esse summum, cum sit deus; et[13] secundus est nuncupatus[14] et falsus, cum sit dyabolus, pater mendacii. Iste autem secundus, licet false usurpet condicionem Cristi et dei, verumtamen oportet ipsum finaliter superari, quia Esdre quarto[15] scribitur 6[b]: super omnia vincit veritas.

Secundo oportet supponere, quod multipex est unitas[16] in corpore, scilicet unitas naturalis et unitas superaddite[17] affeccionis[18] secundum unitatem naturalem. — Omnes homines dampnati vel || salvati sunt unus homo, sicut membrum putridum[19] et sanum constituunt unum[20] corpus. Sed loquendo de unitate secunda invidia dyaboli introducta facit, quod dampnati et salvati, presciti et predestinati, non constituunt adequate unum corpus, quod est universitas creata vel maximum corpus mundi ut aliqua pars eius superaddite affeccionis, cum nec deus nec dyabolus facit aliquam talem colligenciam[21] harum parcium. Partes enim tales,[22] sicut in natura

|| *E fol. 34b*

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[b] *cf. IV. Esdr. cap. VI (there is no division into verses): florebit autem fides et vincetur corruptela et ostendetur veritas, quae sine fructu fuit diebus tantis*

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[3] pro pena *E* ad penam *βγ* [4] loco *β* *om.* *Eγ* [5] sufficiente *Eβ* sufficienti *γ* [6] laborare *γ* laborate *β* libia *(cr. out)* laborate *E* [7] philosophiam *Eγ* propheciam *β* [8] theologiam *Eγ* etheologiam *β* [9] ergo *Eγ* igitur *β* [10] terrarum *in β corr. word* [11] *in E is add. in mar.:* Duo principes [12] est *Eγ* enim est *β* [13] et *Eβ* *om.* *γ* [14] nuncupatus *E* nuncupatius *βγ* [15] Edre IIII° *β* tercio Esdre *E* secundi Esdree *γ* [16] *in E is add. in mar.:* Unitas duplex, *this is the last marginal note by the texthand; from the following one* (ad) *a new hand (E¹) in blacker ink seems to begin writing* *in β is add. in mar.:* Unitas multiplex est in corpore *β¹* [17] superaddite *βγ* superaddita *E* [18] affeccionis *βγ* affecciones *E* [19] putridum *βγ* pudet *(cr. out)* putridum *E* [20] unum *Eγ* adequate *(cr. out and ud.)* unum *β* [21] colligenciam *E* colliganciam *βγ* [22] partes enim tales *β* cum tales partes *Eγ*

conveniunt,[23] sic participant in communicacione[24] universitatis[25] et faciunt naturaliter ad pulchritudinem universi, nec dyabolus potest impedire aliquam partem mundi, quin[26] secundum ordinacionem dei[27] proficiat beatis, sicut[28] omnes dampnati ad integritatem mundi proficiunt et beatis. Et de tali unitate affeccionis[29] loquitur apostolus II Corinth. 6[c] dicens, quod nulla est communicacio Cristi[30] ad belial. Nam secundum summas virtutes, hoc est voluntates, sunt Cristus et dyabolus summe[31] contrarii.

Et per hoc dicitur particulariter ad obiectus.[32] Ad primum conceditur fides apostoli,[d] quod unusquisque onus suum portabit, cum omnes peccatores secundum[33] gradum, quo peccaverunt,[34] punientur, ut peccantes in spiritum sanctum[e] secundum gradum, in quo finaliter impenituerunt, dampnabuntur, et peccantes venialiter secundum gradum, quo liberati sunt a malo, temporaliter punientur. Et sic duplex est portacio oneris[35] ad propositum, perpetua scilicet[36] et eciam[37] temporalis.

Fides autem docet concedere, quod nemo perpetue[38] punietur nisi secundum peccatum proprium, quo ingrate peccaverit in spiritum sanctum. Non negamus tamen, sed concedimus, quod tam penis perpetuis quam temporalibus || pro aliorum criminibus homines || *E fol. 34c* punientur, cum presciti, sicut peccatis,[39] participarunt, sic[40] et penis

[c] *v. 15* [d] *cp. Gal. 6, 5* [e] *cp. Matth. 12, 31 ff.; Mark 3, 38 ff.; Luke 12, 10*

[23] conveniunt *Eγ* veniunt *β* [24] communicacione *Eγ* communitate *β* [25] *here ends in γ fol. 12^b; from fol. 13^a a new hand begins; though a small one it is larger than that of fol. 1—12; the ink being paler; the new hand comes down only to the end of the Tract (two folia)* [26] quin *βγ* qui *E* [27] dei *Eγ om. β* [28] sicut *Eβ* sed *γ* [29] de t. unitate a. *βγ* de t. affeccione veritate *(but transposed by marks)* affeccionis *E* [30] Cristi *Eγ om. β* [31] summe *Eβ om. γ* [32] part. ad. obi. *βγ* parti obiectus *E, but the texthand has corr.* aliter *between* p. *and* o., *and E¹ has add. later in mar.* ad [33] secundum *Eβ om. γ* [34] peccaverunt *Eγ* peccaverant *β, corr. by β¹* [35] *in β is add. in mar.:* Portacio oneris duplex *β¹* [36] p. sc. *E* sc. p. *βγ* [37] eciam *Eβ om. γ* [38] perpetue *Eγ* perpetuo *β* [39] sicut peccatis *γ* sicut *β,E, but* peccatis *is add. in mar. by E¹* [40] sic *Eγ* criminibus sic *β*

perpetuis, et predestinati[41] sicut in peccatis consenserant, sic[42] et in penis temporalibus. Et hoc acute est fidelibus ponderandum, quoniam predestinati in via communiter, licet insensibiliter consenciunt criminibus aliorum, ut alii cooperando cum illis, alii defendendo et alii consulendo.[43][f] Et sicut[44] hoc fit communiter in sacerdotibus sive religiosis, sic quartus[45] consensus, qui fit auctorizando,[46] est communiter in dominis secularibus et prelatis. — Quintus autem consensus et sextus sunt faciles et communes, ut quidam consenciunt differendo adiutorium,[47] quod[48] debent intendere. Et sic consenciunt homines peccatis presentibus proximorum[49] quantumcunque[50] distantes fuerint, dum differunt[51] spiritualiter adiuvare. Et sic iusto[52] dei iudicio puniuntur tam presciti quam predestinati, qui videntur esse iusti et omnino immunes a crimine perpetrato, et tamen propter desidiam sui spiritualis adiutorii peccant cum principaliter peccantibus plus vel minus. — Sexto vero[53] et ultimo consenciunt, qui differunt[54] reprehendere, sicut debent,[55] sicut Eli[56] consensit criminibus puerorum,[g] et ita ex fide capimus, quod non est possibile, quod aliqui[57] temporaliter vel eternaliter pro aliorum criminibus puniantur[58] nisi proporcionaliter consenserunt,[59] excepto Cristo, qui summe voluntarie et gratissime pro suorum fratrum criminibus est[60] punitus. Hoc tamen fuit iustissime, cum factus est humana species et sic genus hominum, quod peccavit.[61] Et

[f] *as to the several kinds of the consensus, cp. below p. 336 n. 99; also above p. 19 n. g* [g] *cp. I Sam. 2, 12—17; 22 ff.*

[41] predestinati $\beta\gamma$ prodestinati E [42] sic $E\gamma$ sicut et in peccatis perpetuis consenserant (*ud. by* β^1 *except* peccatis) sic β, *therefore* peccatis sic [43] *in* E *is add. in mar.:* Consensus multiplex E^2 [44] sicut β sic $E\gamma$ [45] quartus $E\gamma$ Cristus quartus β [46] auctorisando $E\gamma$ audctorisando β (*the* d *is cr. out*) [47] *in* β *is add. in mar.:* Crimini consenciunt, qui adiutorium differunt β^1 [48] quod $\beta\gamma$ in (E^1) quod E [49] presentibus proximorum $\beta\gamma$ parentibus et prox. E [50] quantumcunque γ quamcunque β quomodocunque (?) E [51] differunt β defferunt E differuunt γ [52] iusto γ in isto β in isto (*cr. out*) E, *but by* E^1 *is add. in mar.* in iusto [53] vero $E\gamma$ verbo β [54] differunt $E\beta$ differuunt γ [55] debent $\beta\gamma$ dicunt (*cr. out*) E, *but in mar.* debent [56] Helias (*cr. out and ud.*) heli E heli $\beta\gamma$ [57] aliqui E aliquid β, *corr. into* aliquis *by* β^1 aliquis γ [58] puniantur E puniatur β puniuntur γ *in* E *is add. in mar.:* Punitur quis pro peccato alterius E^2 [59] consenserunt E consenserit $\beta\gamma$ [60] summe v. et g. p. s. f. c. est β summe est $E\gamma$ [61] peccavit γ pec (*cr. out*) peccavit E spectat β

per hoc patet in parte, quomodo homines iusto dei iudicio participant penis fratrum suorum proporcionaliter ad consensum,[62] et sic multiplicantur peccata proporcionabiliter[63] || penarum, et ita iustum foret, *E fol. 34d* si quis racioni[64] attenderet, quod viator humiliter participatur penis communibus, ut pestilenciis, depopulacionibus et aliis penalitatibus, quas deus infert iustissime plebi sue, et per istam participanciam posset pena temporalis cedere[65] ad purgacionem et meritum predestinati, cum Cristus[66] elongancius pro[67] aliorum criminibus est punitus. Et sic[68] concedi debet ulterius, quod salvati et dampnati pro illis statibus non participant dictis penis. Cum iusto dei iusticio oportet e contra, quod salvati habent accidentale gaudium de iustis punicionibus dampnatorum, et dampnati habent accidentalem penam vel remurmuracionem[69] de gaudiis beatorum. Et hoc est iustissimum, cum in via predestinati paciebantur humiliter remurmuracionem[70] prescitorum contra observantes iusticiam, qui ipsos irridebant, vocando ipsos[71] ypocritas, sua merita retardantes. Ideo iustum est, quod fiat proporcionalis retribucio post diem iudicii, et sic arguens per locum a sufficienti similitudine verum[72] infert, sed[73] illa sufficiencia similitudinis discrecius est notanda.[74]

CAP. III.

Ex istis dictis de consensu et practica patet, quod fratres consenciunt crimini sui tocius corporis, quia non est aliquis frater alicuius ordinis, quin efficiat particulariter[1] in hoc, quod integrat

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[62] consensum *E*γ consensus β [63] prop. per participancia *(?* patiencia) γ*E*, *below it* perpetua, *this is again cr. out* ut particip(*an*)ancia β [64] racioni *E* *om.* β, *but* β^1 *has corr.* racione *into the text* racionem γ [65] temporalis cedere γ temporalibus *(in mar. corr. into* temporalis*)* cedere *E* temporalis cadere β [66] Cristus *E*β unus γ [67] pro $\beta\gamma$ per *E* [68] sic *E*β *om.* γ [69] remurmuracionem *E*,β, *here a correction has taken place* remuneracionem γ [70] remurmuracionem *E*β remuneracionem γ [71] ipsos *E*γ illos β [72] verum *E*β vere γ [73] sed $\beta\gamma$ quod *(cr. out) E*, *but in mar.* sed [74] notanda *E*γ notanda et cetera Sequitur capitulum tercium per ordinem et cetera β

CAP. III. [1] particulariter *E*γ parcialiter β

illum ordinem. Ex quo patet studenti, quod quelibet pars observans talem ordinem quolibet sex generum[a] consensuum[2] consentit eidem, et cum ordo ille sit quodammodo[3] ydolum tantum distans a Cristo, patet, quod inordinato amore committunt ydolatriam.[4] Plus || *E fol. 35a* enim afficiuntur suo ordini, quam || observancie[5] legis dei,[b] ut posito, quod unus istorum ordinum magis familiaris domino duci Lancastrie consenciat[6] in mortem eius[7] [c] pro amore illius ordinis, quis dubitat, quin committeret ydolatriam cum illo ordine et scelus nequissimum pro communitate Anglie, et sic non solum plus amaret suum fetentem ordinem quam dominum[8] ducem, Angliam vel se ipsos, sed eciam[9] plus quam deum, quia cum Cristus dicit Ioh. quarto decimo[d]: qui habet mandata mea et servat ea, ipse est, qui diligit me. Cristus autem dicit in lege duplici[e]: non occides. Frater, qui sic occidit dominum ducem in animo ob graciam sui[10] ordinis, postponit propter illum ordinem amorem dei sui, et cum secundum fidem I Ioh. tercio[f], omnis, qui inordinate odit[11] fratrem suum, homicida est, patet, quam spisse et communiter contingit fratribus istorum ordinum, quod sint sceleratissimi homicide. Illos autem, qui dicunt eis[12] veritatem ewangelicam et vanitatem sue religionis, magis odiunt, cum tam[13] ipsos quam[14] proximos suos in domino plus amantes magis diligerent.

Unde ista est abhominacio desolacionis, quam Daniel[g] pro-

CAP. III. [a] *Consentit operans, defendens, consilium dans,*
Ac auctorisans, non iuvans, nec reprehendens,
cp. below p. 336 n. 99 and above p. 19 n. g [b] *cp. Trial. 371* [c] *W. recurs this accusation also in different other places, cp. above p. 227 note c* [d] *v. 21* [e] *see Matth. 5, 21 and Exod. 20, 13; Levit. 24, 17* [f] *v. 15; in the Textus receptus* inordinate *is not given* [g] *Dan. 9, 26—27; cp. Matth. 24, 15*

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[2] consensuum $\beta\gamma$ consensum *E* [3] quodamodo *E*γ quod β [4] *in E is add. above the col.:* Fratres ydolatras *E*[2] [5] observancie *E*γ observacioni β, *corr. from* observacione [6] consenciat $\beta\gamma$ consenciant *E* [7] *in E is add. above the col.:* Conspiracio fratrum in mortem ducem Lancastrie *E*[2] [8] dominum ducem $\beta\gamma$ dominum quia cum Cristus dicit *(cr. out and ud.)* ducem *E, but in mar.:* Dominum, *the copier got into the wrong line* [9] eciam $\beta\gamma$ esse *(cr. out and ud.) E, but in mar.* eciam [10] sui $\beta\gamma$ suis *E* [11] odit *E*β diligit γ [12] eis *E*γ ipsis β [13] tam *E*γ tamen β [14] quam *E*γ tamquam β

phetavit, licet quelibet abhominacio istarum quatuor sectarum,[h] que non intrarunt[15] per Cristum, abhominabilis desolacio potest dici et specialiter[16] vanus cultus ac honoracio romani[17] episcopi. Et[18] sic si aliquod sit accidens sine subiecto,[19] ipsum est talis[20] religio. Nam secundum principia Augustini[i] super illud[21] Ioh. primo[k]: sine ipso factum est nichil, peccatum nichil ‖ est,[22] et nichil faciunt[23] homines, cum peccant. *E fol. 35b* Persone ergo subiectantes hos ordines ex hoc, quod sic defendunt ipsos, in nichilum sunt perversi, et ergo[24] cum talis religio vana sit accidens, potest dici accidens sine subiecto. Qua fronte[25] ergo illuderet frater[26] simplicibus, vendens sibi spirituale suffragium sui ordinis, cum ipsimet[27] fratres tantam culpam ab ipso contrahunt ex hoc[28] consensu. Et hoc sencient[29] exteri,[30] qui ordinem ipsum[31] defendunt[32] tam pertinaciter contra Cristum. — Unde quidam intelligunt, quod prepositi istarum[33] sectarum sunt similes[34] ducentibus simias in cordis. Que quidem simie in vestitu humano, zona et ornamentis aliis vestiuntur et sciunt[35] cum nutibus suis et[36] signis aliis[37] risus hominum provocare. Sed cum Cristus sit veritas odiens[38] tales iocaciones ridiculosas, patet, quod irridentes Cristum sic modo graviter puniet in die novissimo, cum in interitu[39] inimicorum suorum et specialiter ypocritarum ipsum irridencium tunc ridebit. Et hii ipsi[40] figurati

[h] *viz. the four known Sects: clerus cesareus, monachi, canonici, fratres*
[i] *cp. August. Opp. (Edit of the Benedict.) tom. VIII, contra Secundinum Manich. p. 536 E; cp. also P. I tom. III De Genesi ad literam I, 15; p. 217* [k] *v. 3*

[16] intrarunt *Eβ* intrant *γ* [17] specialiter *Eβ* precipue *γ* [18] Romani *βγ* racioni *E* [19] Et *Eβ* abhominabilis dici potest *(cr. out)* et *γ* [20] subiecto *βγ* substancia *E* [21] talis *βγ* realis *E* [22] illud *E* illo *βγ* [23] *in γ in mar. by γ¹:* Peccatum nichil est [24] faciunt *(?) Fγ* fuit *β* [25] ergo *E* si ergo *β* ideo *γ* [26] fronte *Eγ* firmitate *β* [27] frater *Eβ* *om. γ* [28] ipsimet *Eγ* ipsemet *β, below* ipse *β¹ has add.* ipsi [29] hoc *β* *om. Eγ* [30] sencient *γ* senciant *E* scientur *β* [31] exteri *β* extreme *γ* *om. E, there is a blank space* [32] o. i. *Eγ* i. o. *β* [33] defendunt *βγ* deser *(cr. out and ud.)* defendunt *E* [34] istarum *Eβ* illarum *γ* [35] *in γ in mar.:* Monachi sunt similes symeis *γ¹* [36] sciunt *βγ* sciverunt *E* [37] et *β* in *Eγ* [38] s. a. *Eγ* a. s. *β* [39] odiens *Eβ* ordines *γ* [40] in interitu *β* interitum *E* interitu *γ* [41] ipsi *Eβ* *om. γ*

sunt per pueros, Eliseum[41] ascendentem[42] in montem domini deridentes,[43] de quo IV Regum 2.[l]

Unde quidam[44] considerantes realitatem religionis Cristi, quomodo[45] non consistit in talibus signis adulterinis, sed in iusticia animi[46] et pietate quoad deum et proximum, plus odiunt videre talia signa ypocritica quam ludum estivum tortorum, quia signa eorum sunt irrisiones dei et voces et[47] mendacia; et talis ludus, cum sit illusioni ‖ dei propinquior,[48] est magis abhominabilis quam ludus[49] aliquis laicorum. Talem autem ludum non docuit Baptista, preco domini,[50] quem trinitas prenuncium Cristi eternaliter ordinavit. Et veritas[m] testatur Matth. 11,[51n] quod inter natos mulierum nemo ipso maior[52] surrexit. Iohannes, inquam, non posuit[53] religionem suam in istis habitibus vel signis adulterinis aut obedienciis factis fratri, sed in faciendo deo obedienciam solitarie in suo corpore, zonam pelliceam[54] circa lumbos cingen*(do)*[55] et veste camelina, ministrandoque[56] baptismum[57] preparatorium[58] baptismo Cristi[59] et in predicando audacter ewangelium ad populum convertendum[60] et corrigendo scribas et phariseos ypocritas, similiter regem Herodem de adulterio. Sed instans[61] introducta religio est omnino condicionis opposite. Unde sicut rudis populus iocatur[62] in nativitate vigilie Baptiste[63] ex ewangelio[64]

‖ E fol. 35r

[l] *see. II Kings 2, 23—24* [m] *i. e. Christ* [n] *v. 11*

[41] Helizeum *E* heliseum *β* *om. γ* [42] ascendentem *in β a corr. word* [43] *in β is add. in mar.:* Pueri deridentes heliseum qui sunt *β¹* [44] quidam *Eγ* quidem *β* [45] quomodo *Eβ* que *γ* [46] animi *βγ* omni *(underlined) E, but in mar. is add.* animi [47] et *β* *om. Eγ* [48] dei propinquior *β* depropinquior *E* cristi propinquior *γ* [49] ludus *βγ* ludens *(cr. out) E, but in mar. (with mark of ref. to* depropinquior) ludus [50] p. d. *Eγ* d. p. *β* [51] XI *Eβ* XII *γ* [52] i. m. *Eγ* m. i. *β* [53] posuit *βγ* posset *(cr. out and ud.)* posuit *E* [54] pelliceam *β* ciliceam *γ, above* cili *γ¹ has add.* pel *om. E* [55] *the (only) cod. γ reads* cingente [56] corpore zonam p. c. l. c. et v. c. m. *γ* corpore in ministrando *Eβ* [57] baptismum *Eγ* baptismium *β* [58] preparatorium *βγ* per preparacionem *E* [59] baptismo cristi *γ* *om. Eβ* [60] convertendum *Eγ* predicandum *(underlined in red ink)* convertendum *β* [61] et corrigendo scribas *(γ¹ has add. in mar.:* et phariseos) y. s. r. H. de a. Sed ista *γ* Sed instans *Eβ* [62] populus iocatur *βγ* plus locatu *(*loc. *ud. and cr. out)* iocatur *E* [63] baptiste *Eβ* eius *γ* *in β is add. in mar.:* Populus rudis iocatur in vigilia baptiste *β¹* [64] ewangelio *E* hoc ew. *βγ*

erronee intellecto Luc. primo[o]: multi in nativitate eius gaudebunt, sic iste secte nove et fratres specialiter sub nomine obediencie, penitencie, paupertatis[65] et alterius religiose observancie religionem sophisticam introducunt; et sicut wlgus indisponitur per vigilanciam[66] in nocte sancti[67] Iohannis, in qua tam omittendo quam committendo committit[68] multa crimina, ut in die colat[69] deum debite[70] in honore[71] Iohannis Baptiste,[72] sic dicti religiosi per studiosam observanciam religionis sue vane indisponuntur, ut[73] debite et reverenter placideque colant[74] deum. Et ita Cristi religio secundum partes plurimas[75] est eversa.

Cristus enim docuit deum colere corde puro[76] et simplici, in mente abscondita,[77] sed hodie colit[78] secta sive religio corde avaro et duplici, in[79] signis ludicrosis,[80] || mundo patentibus. Sed num- || *E fol. 35d* quid credimus irrisores tales dei evadere, quin positi in profundum infernum erunt[81] a deo eternaliter irrisi? Tales autem videntur impossibilire[82] se ipsos, ut in eis sit caritas ordinata, quia necessitantur[83] plus diligere suum privatum ordinem, quam alia meliora. Et cum hoc[84] repugnat regulis caritatis, patet, quod,[85] ut sunt[86] in talibus ordinibus, obligant se carencie[87] caritatis. Sed procul a[88] fidelibus talis ordo. Et sic deus punit et homo deberet punire personas sectarum huiusmodi[89] propter peccatum commune cum hoc, quod cedat ad utilitatem ecclesie et commodum personale.[90]

[o] *v. 14*

[65] paupertatis γ *om.* $E\beta$ [66] vigilanciam $E\beta$ in vigilanciam γ [67] sancti γ *om.* $E\beta$ [68] committit β committunt E perpetrant γ [69] colat $E\beta$ colant γ [70] debite $E\beta$ *om.* γ [71] honore E honorem $\beta\gamma$ [72] baptiste γ *om.* $E\beta$ [73] ut $\beta\gamma$ nec E [74] debite et r. p. c. γ colant $E\beta$ [75] partes pluras (plu. *cr. out*) β, *but in mar.* plurimas *is add. by* β^1 plurimos $E\gamma$ [76] puro $E\gamma$ puro *(ud.)* puro β [77] in mente abscondita β, *corr. from* abscondite in mente abscondite E mente in absconso γ, *in mar. is add.* abscondite *by* γ^1 [78] collit γ, *corr. from* collitur colitur $E\beta$ [79] in $E\beta$ et in γ [80] ludicrosis $\beta\gamma$ ludicro sed E [81] erunt $\beta\gamma$ cum *(cr. out)* E, *but in mar.* erunt E^1 [82] impossibilire $E\beta$ impossibilitare γ [83] neccessitantur $E\gamma$ neccessiutur β [84] hoc $E\gamma$ *om.* β [85] quod $E\beta$ *om.* γ [86] sunt β super E sunt γ, *above it by* γ^1: sic [87] carencie *has undergone a corr. (by* γ^1*)* [88] a $\beta\gamma$ *om.* E, *but add. in mar. by* E^1 [89] huiusmodi $\beta\gamma$ huius E [90] personale $E\beta$ personale γ, *but corr. by* γ^1 *into* temporale

Et patet, quod prudens punicio istarum sectarum quatuor ad hoc, quod illas sectas eiciant,[91] est[92] misericorditer adhibenda. Et facta unitate secte Cristi in celo predestinati de illa compulsione ewangelica congaudebunt,[93] et sic numquam debet pena[94] inferri[95] communitati vel persone nisi ad honorem dei[96] et utilitatem ecclesie,[97] quod viatores possunt[98] in parte cognoscere ex scriptura.[99]

[91] eiiciant γ exeant $E\beta$ [92] est $E\gamma$ et β [93] congaudebunt $\beta\gamma$ gaudebunt E [94] pena $\beta\gamma, E^1$ *in mar.* *om.* E [95] *in* β *is add in mar.:* Pena propter quid debet inferri β^1 [96] dei β *om.* E *and* γ, *but in the latter cod.* γ^1 *has add.* deus vel *above* et *before* util. [97] ecclesie $E\gamma$ dei ecclesie β [98] possunt $\beta\gamma$ possent E [99] scriptura E ex scriptura *(corr. on an erasure by* γ^1*)* et sic est fins huius etc. γ *then below the text the texthand, not* γ^1, *has added:* Nota sex sunt species consensus:

Consentit cooperans, defendens, consilium dans,
Ac auctorisans, non iuvans, non reprehendens.

Explicit tractatus de novis ordinibus Monachorum et cetera β *(in very big writing).*

IX.

DE ORATIONE

ET

ECCLESIAE PURGATIONE.

DE ORATIONE ET ECCLESIAE PURGATIONE.

I. Division

(compare end of the Tract).

First Part: On Prayer, chap. I—III.
Second Part: On Lying, chap. IV.
Third Part: On the reform of the Church, chap. V.

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. *On the nature of Prayer. Its division into* oracio mentalis, vocalis, vitalis *is founded on Holy Scripture I Cor. XIV; Matth. VI; Luke XVIII; I Thess. V, p. 342. The third kind especially commanded by God who has as great pleasure in real prayer as displeasure in vain repetitions, p. 343—344.*

Chap. II. *Hence it follows that we cannot rely on the prayers of others, p. 344, but that we must live according to the Gospel, p. 344. The many prayers, the much singing, the ceremonies, confessions etc. required by the Church, are not commanded in the Gospel, p. 345; it is true they are not to be entirely condemned — true prayer is undoubtedly of avail and is answered (Elijah) by God, p. 345—346; but it is false to place reliance on long prayers as a mere form, p. 346.*

Chap. III. *The sale of prayers as carried on by the* novi ordines *is a disgrace, p. 347: it not only corrupts the Church, but individual Christians are also deceived, if they rely on the intercession of the Four Sects, whose whole work rests on lies, p. 347—348.*

Chap. IV. *For lying is the peculiar sin of the Four Sects, and must, therefore, be treated more fully, p. 348. According to St. Augustine*

no lie, not even the smallest, is allowed, for it separates us from Christ, the source of truth, p. 349. Now all the Four Sects have fallen into this sin — especially the Pope who falsely calls himself the vicar of Christ, although some hold him to be the Antichrist, p. 349; by virtue of this fundamental lie, he — himself a fugitive man — publishes bulls to combat the adherents of his opponents, to deprive them of their offices and thus obstructs the source of spiritual gifts for many Christians, p. 350—351. (2) The second Sect is also guilty of lying, because, although it asserts its poverty, it tries by various means to gain wealth, p. 351. (3) The third Sect lays claim to St. Augustine as founder, and to the Saints in Heaven as patrons of their order; this also is a lie, p. 351. (4) Finally the fratres *are, as it were, covered from head to toe with lies, p. 351; for every thing they say about their orders, rests on falsehood. — Thus these Four Sects are the ruin of the Church, p. 351—352.*

Chap. V. *But as they lie not only before men, but before God, who is the father of truth, it is well to consider, how their order may be reformed, p. 352. There are two means which might be made use of: either to lead them back to the pure Gospel, or to separate them from the body of the nation, as a physician cuts away a tumour from the human body, p. 353. They are both hurtful and superfluous, are even as a pestilence to the nation etc., p. 353. As, however, their eventual assimilation with the Church appears to be a* grande miraculum, *which God alone can accomplish (as in the instance of St. Paul), there remains nothing for men to do but to use the energetic remedy of expulsion, p. 353—354.*

III. Date of Composition.

I have not arrived at any certain result on this subject. The mention of the Pope as refuga *seems to me the only notice of any value in deciding the matter. Wiclif had repeatedly styled the Pope by this term (comp., for instance, above page 128; again De Christo et s. Adv. chap. XII). It is true, the term might also refer to Clement VII. who fled to Avignon from Urban's persecution, in 1379, cp. Wals. I, 395; Lechler, J. v. W. I, 648. But the tone of the pamphlet does not suit this period, as it says nothing of the Authors vacillation between the*

two Antipopes, nor does the sharp attack on the Pope suit it (dicitur a quibusdam, quod papa est perversus antichristus, *chap. IV p. 346; comp. also p. 351, l. 1—2). W. only came to this decisive opposition to the papacy in the year 1382 (comp. above General Introduction II). Then the terminus* refuga *must be referred to Urban's flight to Naples from the Romans (comp. Ypodig. Neustriae 338) and the* bullae heretice, *repeatedly mentioned, are probably the papal ordinances concerning the Crusade, and promulgated against the adherents of Clement. With every reservation necessary, therefore, I am inclined to fix the date of the pamphlet at the end of 1383.*

IV. Genuineness.

(a) External evidence:

- *(1) Wiclif-Catalogues of the Vienna codd., see above p. 7.*
- *(2) cod. E, Index of the front cover, see above General Introduction IV, Description of the codices.*
- *(3) Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, 1439.*
- *(4) Shirley, Catal. No. 25 p. 11.*
- *(5) Lechler, J. v. W. II, 568.*[1]

(b) Internal evidence:

- *(1) cp. above General Introd. V, e*
- *(2) cp. here especially the designation of the Pope as* refuga, *the division of the Four Sects, the first of which is tacitly presumed to be* clerus cesareus ·
- *(3) cp. cap. I, note e; II, c; d; IV, b; f; g; m; n; o; p; V, a; b*

V. *Not yet printed.*

VI. *Extant only in cod. 1337 (E) of the Imperial Library at Vienna; fol.* 68^a—71^b. E^1 = *Glosser.*

The Tract is written by the same hand which copied the first part of the whole codex (fol. 1^a—73^a*). There are peculiarities in the ductus, especially in certain abbreviations to be noticed, for instance:* e^e = *ecclesie,* g^r = *igitur, compare also* tamen, tam *and* sive; diabolus *occurs usually with* i. *It is written carelessly, as may easily be seen from the list of variations.*

[1] *See also Lewis, Hist. of Life and Suff. 166 No. 47 under the title: De veritate et mendacio.*

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE ORACIONE ET ECCLESIE PURGACIONE.

Explicit de dissensione paparum
Incipit tractatus de
oracione et ecclesie purgacione.

CAP. I.

E fol. 68a lin. 35 Dicturus de oracione | suppono imprimis | eius quidditatem et divisionem | eius multiplicem. Quedam est oracio mentalis, quedam vocalis et quedam vitalis. De prima recolit apostolus I Cor. 14[a], quando dicit: orabo et mente; de secunda loquitur Cristus Matth. 6:[b] sic, inquit, orabitis: pater noster, qui es in celis; de *E fol. 68b* tercia loquitur Cristus Luc. 18[c]: oportet, inquit, || semper orare, et apostolus I Thess. 5[d]: sine intermissione orate, nam in ista vita et opera meritoria bene orant. — De ista tercia oracione patet ex fide, quod tercia amplectens ambas priores[1] est a domino maxime commendata.[e] — Et hic docet Cristus Matth. 7, quando dicit[f]: non omnis, qui dicit mihi: domine, intrabit in regnum celorum, sed qui facit voluntatem patris mei,[2] qui in celis est, ipse intrabit in regnum celorum. Ecce, oracio triplex innuitur, primo oracio mentalis et vocalis, dum dicitur: non omnis, qui dicit mihi: domine, domine, et

CAP. I. [a] *v. 15* [b] *v. 9* [c] *v. 1* [d] *v. 17* [e] *cp. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 321; 76; 190* [f] *v. 21*

CAP. I. [1] *Above the col. is add. with mark of ref.:* Oracio vitalis sive realis necessaria includens mentalem et vocalem *E*[1] [2] qui fa. vo. pa. mei *(sic) cod.*

tercio oracio realis, dum annectitur: sed qui facit voluntatem patris mei, et prestancia illius oracionis tercie a domino commendatur, dum subditur: ipse intrabit in regnum celorum. Cum enim oracio generalior a Cristo prefertur,[3] et generalius est iuste errare in opere quam animo vel sermone, patet, quod ista oracio est melior altera precedente. Multi enim sunt muti et infantes,[4] qui non habent tempus sensibile taliter exorandi, et tamen propter eorum iustam vitam a domino, cui cuncta fient cognita, sunt salvandi. Et per hoc potest intelligi sentencia scripture ut Iac. primo capitulo, quando dicit[g]: estote factores verbi dei et non auditores tantum fallentes vosmet ipsos, quia si quis est auditor verbi et non factor, hic comparabitur viro consideranti wltum nativitatis sue in speculo. Sicut enim sufficit homini ad habendum sui ipsius noticiam talis noticia specularis, sed deus alternavit gracia huius noctem et diem, estatem et hiemem, morbum et sanitatem cum ceteris contrariis, ut homo cognoscat sui ipsius fragilitatem atque miseriam,[5] sic or-|| dinavit auctor nature, quod homo non solum oret in mente et voce, sed omnino in iusto opere sive vita, quia deus est auctor realis,[6] qui non requirit cogitacionem vel vocem, sed omnino vitam sue iusticie complacentem; et hinc Iac. 2° capitulo[h] sic subiungit: sicut enim corpus sine spiritu mortuum est, ita et fides sine operibus mortua est. || E fol. 68c

Secundo potest per istud intelligi dictum apostoli I Thess. 5°[i]: sine intermissione orate. Homines enim debent continue iuste vivere, cum intercisa illa iusticia vivunt dyabolo,[7] et nisi peniteant, dampnabuntur. Et per hoc patet dictum Matth. 6, quando dicit[k]: orantes autem nolite multa loqui, sicut ethnici faciunt; putant enim, quod in multoloquio suo exaudiantur; nolite ergo assimilari eis. Scit enim pater vester, quid opus sit vobis, antequam petatis eum. Cum enim ex fide deus scit omnia presencia, preterita et futura,

[g] *v. 22—23.* [h] *v. 26* [i] *v. 17* [k] *v. 7—8*

[3] *in mar. is add.:* Generalior est realis oracio *E¹* [4] *in mar. is add.:* Infantes muti orant vita *E¹* [5] *in mar. is add.:* Miseria, fragilitas humana *E¹* [6] *in mar. is add.:* Deus est auctor realis *E¹* [7] *in mar. is add.:* Intercisa iusticia peccatur *E¹*, *again above the col. with mark of ref.:* Orat continue, quod iuste vivit assiduo *E¹*

et non solum scit, sed preparat et disponit, quid est utile viatori, patet ex eadem fide, quod homine vivente iuste[8] deus propter suam iusticiam dabit sibi, quid racionabiliter postularet. Unde, cum sepe ignoramus in talibus particularibus secundum apostolum, quid petamus,[1] patet perplexitatis exclusio[9] per hoc, quod vivamus bonam vitam,[10] et deus omnipotens dabit nobis utile, quod ab eo vocaliter expostulamus. Et hec racio, quare deus non wlt nos esse in oracione vocali nimis prolixos,[11] sed omnino, quod iusticie vite vel operis intendamus.

CAP. II.

Ex istis colligitur, quod nemo speraret de nuda oracione alterius, ‖ sed omnino in propria iusticia vite sue, quia de fratre conversante cum eo ignorat, si in dei presciencia sit dampnatus, et si hoc, sua oracio non meretur beatitudinem sibi vel alteri. Et totum hoc ordinat deus, ut homo non stulte confidat in oracione proximi meritum proprium dimittendo, et loquitur apostolus Gal. sexto cap., quando dicit[a]: unusquisque onus suum portabit. Nam ex fide cognoscimus, quod deus intimetur vitam cuiusque et secundum dignitatem suam ipsam remunerat quoad premium sive penam; et sic, qua(*ntu*)mcunque[1] sedule quis orat pro alio, nisi ipse se ipsum dignificet, ut sit meriti proximi sui particeps, vel percipit de eodem, sed secundum dignitatem sui participii percipiet a domino, sive orator de ipso cogitet, sive participacionem ipsam noluerit in effectu.

E fol. 68d

Unde in ista fide errant plurimi, ac si cum sacerdotibus Baal audirent, III Reg. 18 verbum Elie talibus stolidis eis dictum[b]: clamate voce maiore; deus enim vester forsitan cum alio loquitur, aut in diversorio est aut[2] in itinere, aut certe dormit, ut excitetur.

[1] *cp. Rom. 8, 26*
CAP. II. [a] *v. 5* [b] *I Kings 18, 27*

[8] *in mar. is add.:* Homine vivente iuste elicitur *(?) E*[1] [9] *below the col. is add. with mark of ref.:* Oracionis perplexitas excluditur, dum est vita bona *E*[1] [10] *in mar. is add.:* Bona vita orat ut decet *E*[1] [11] *in mar. is add.:* Prolixa oracio *E*[1]
CAP. II. [1] quamcunque *(?) cod.* [2] autem *cod.*

Ex isto considerant fideles, quod multe oraciones prolixe[3] et cantaciones cum variis ritibus in ecclesia ordinantur, et tamen non est fides, quod earum quantitas vel qualitas placet deo, ymo prolixitas orandi et cantus altus, qui uni competunt, ab altero dissonant. Et hinc conventus plurimi congregantur contrarii domini voluntati. Et ista creditur causa, quare deus elegit Scarioth cum aliis sanctis undecim, et non ordinavit eos concinere, sed ad edificacionem ecclesie operari.

Et hinc quidam accipiunt Usus in ecclesia introductos, ut Usum *(Sarum)*[4 c] || et alios, non ut ewangelium nec omnimode contempnendos, sed cum prudencia, de quanto utenti proficiunt, sic tamen, quod lex domini et operacio ex ipsa procedens non propter Usum huiusmodi dimittantur. Unde errant quidam satrape,[d] qui dimissionem oracionis aut cantus huiusmodi tantum ponderant, quod putant satisfaccionem pro illis non fieri, nisi reiteretur oracio Usus talis, et dimissionem illius magis ponderant, quam prevaricanciam mandatorum. Usus autem talis non est contempnendus vel omnino gener*(aliter)*[5] dimittendus, licet quibusdam prosit et debeant omnes tales oraciones prudenter dimittere et operacioni ewangelice cum libertate dei intendere, cum sepe operacio ewangelica est melior quam oracio talis Usus.

|| *E fol.* 69[a]

Ideo dictum est de confessione. Videtur, quod generalis obligacio sub tanta pena ad Usus talis observanciam non est prudens,[6] cum apostoli longe magis profuerunt ecclesie sine observancia talis Usus. Ideo obligare tam generaliter et tam stricte homines ad oracionem huiusmodi videtur libertati domini derogare, et ita multi novorum ordinum orarent melius manualiter operando quam tam sollicite in claustro, in basilica vel loco alio abscondito sic orando. Non negatur tamen, quin multum valet deprecacio iusti assidua, cum Iac. ultimo[e] sic habetur: Elias, inquit, homo erat similis

[c] *cp. above p. 262 note f* [d] *a favourite term of W.'s for the Pope and the Prelates* [e] *cap. 5, 17*

[3] *below the col. is add. with mark of ref.:* Oraciones prolixe, cantus cum ritibus tanguntur *E*[1] [4] sacrum *cod.* [5] generatur *cod.* [6] *above the col. (69[a]) is add.:* Prudencia necessaria in ritibus ecclesie *E*[1]

nobis passibilis et oracione oravit, ut non plueret super terram, et non pluit annos tres et menses sex, et rursum oravit, et celum dedit (| E fol. 69b) pluviam, et terra dedit fructum suum,[f] et Luc. 6[g] || de Cristo legimus, quem cristiani singuli debent sequi, quod exiit in montem orare et erat pernoctans in oracione dei. Et multe sunt auctoritates huiusmodi moventes homines ad orandum.

Sed caveat hic fidelis arguciam gulosorum[7] et intendat prudenti operi non deceptus per istam arguciam: oracio vocalis multum prodest iusto et populo, pro quo orat, igitur oracio in duplo diuturnior plus prodest. Sic enim posset stultus dimittere opera meliora et intendere oracioni vocali, ac si necessitaret deum ad dandum homini id, quod petit. Sed pauci sunt tales oratores, qui evidenciam istam applicant ad ieiunium salvatoris. Cristus enim ex fide ieiunavit quadraginta diebus et quadraginta noctibus, ut patet Matth. 4[h] et Luc. 4[i]: Iesus autem agebatur in spiritu in deserto quadraginta diebus et temptabatur a dyabolo et nichil manducavit in diebus illis. Multi autem oratores assidui excedunt virtuosum medium ieiunandi[8] et propter dimissionem oracionis talis ieiunii multis petulanciis se involvunt. Et tamen cognoscimus, quod multis talibus plus prodesset oracio taliter abstinendi quam usitata mocio labiorum.

Ideo necesse est, fidelem duci a dei spiritu[9] docente, quante et qualiter debet in talibus operibus alternare, ut patet de sompnio, ieiunio et cibariis, que omnia homo debet capere conformiter racioni et dimittere istam prudentem agitacionem ac liberam spiritus sancti, et stulte obligari ad opus humanitus limitatum nocet multis in ecclesia militante.

CAP. III.

(|| E fol. 69c) Ex istis colligitur, quod nemo debet oracionem suam vendere pro possessionibus, prediis aut bono alio temporali, et per idem

[f] *cp. I Kings 17, 1; 18, 1 ff.* [g] *v. 12* [h] *v. 1—2* [i] *v. 1—2*

[7] *in mar. is add.:* Argucia gulossorum *E*[1] [8] ieuniandi *cod.* [9] *in mar. is add.:* Libertas spiritus *E*[1] [10] *in mar. is add.:* Obligari stulte *E*[1]

CAP. III. [1] *Below the col. is add. with mark of ref.:* Oracio non venderetur *E*[1]

nullus secularis debet cum presbyterio vel aliquo taliter commercari. Et hic erubescerent novi ordines fundantes suam dotacionem vel possessionem in oracione tali, quia solide illam vendunt. Nesciunt enim — credunt aut sperant —, utrum oracio sua p*(ro)*ficiat[2] vel noceat sic mercanti, et in casu, quo proficiat, cum p*(ro)*fectus[3] sit spiritualis, non comparabilis numismati, numquam processit ex dei ordinancia taliter commercari. Ideo probabile est multis, quod tales conventus istorum novorum ordinum plus officiunt ecclesie quam proficiunt precando,[4] cum ex fide cognoscimus, quod nichil valet talis oracio, nisi de quanto ipsa a domino est accepta, et mirum foret, quod propter tam stultam deliracionem a lege domini deus oracionem talem ad tantum commodum acceptaret.

Ideo tales stulte mercantes cum oracionibus sunt simil*(e)*s[5] stolidis mercantibus cum suis umbris sole ad vesperam declinante. Nam secundum apostolum[a] nos sumus, in quos fines seculorum devenerunt, et sol iusticie declinat a perpendiculo irradiando multos viantes et specialiter ypocritas sacerdotes. Unde dicunt quidam presbyteri dominis, qui rogant oracionum suarum suffragia, quod vivant iuste servando dei mandata, et erunt oracionum suarum et meriti tocius ecclesie participes.[6] Velint, nolint et quantumcunque orando clamaverint, sine tali iusticia secularis domini privata oracio nichil valet.

Et sic necesse foret, ypocritas istarum sectarum || quatuor dicere fideles, quos defraudant. Blasphemant quidem, cum oracionibus suis ypocriticis decipiendo multos stolidos cum specie vana in ipsis imprimunt causa lucri. Nemo enim mercaretur cum aliquo emendo aliquid, nisi commerio sit securus.[7] Cum igitur nullus talis fictus orator securare potest aliqua, quod propter suam oracionem deus vitam alterius acceptabit, non habundet aliquis tanta desidia, quod debet precium commercii, antequam de illo, quod emitur, || *E fol. 69d*

CAP. III. [a] *I Cor. 10, 11*

[2] perficiat *cod.* [3] perfectus *cod.* [4] *above the col. is add.:* Mercantes cum oracionibus salutantur acute *E*[1] [5] similis *cod.* [6] *in mar. is add.:* Particeps oracionum quis *E*[1] [7] *above the col. is add. with mark of ref.:* Emere volens querit assecurari, ideo oraciones non emerentur *E*[1]

si*(t)*[8] securus, sicut quilibet habet proprietates aliquas personales, que ex natura rei vel vite hominis consecuntur. — Sic est de premiis meritorum; unde Apoc. 14[b] dicit propheta: opera illorum secuntur illos. Sicut enim umbra sequitur in vespera ad currentem hominem versus solem, si*(c)*[9] premiorum dignitas infallibiliter et proprie consequitur hominem apud solem iusticie promerentem. Sicut enim non proficit emere a proximo statum suum, ut magisterium, dedecus vel honorem, sic non prodest ab ipso emere meritum vel peccatum. Et in ista metaphysica atque theoria[10] deficiunt multi ypocrite istarum sectarum quatuor per dyabolum introducti. Unde licet moderni multi senciant ad tempus pruriginem in istis novitatibus[11] signorum sensibilium propter hoc, quod sunt pauperes veritatum fidei solidarum, tamen necesse est, quod in fine mendacia in vita, verbis et opere seducant stultos in ipsis pueriliter confidentes. Unde dicunt quidam, quod quatuor sunt, que seducunt ecclesiam, correspondencia istis sectis,[12] videlicet humane tradicionis autorizacio, quoad primam,[c] || *E fol. 70a* specialis || propiciacionis ficta oracio, quoad secundam,[d] ypocritarum variata larvacio, quoad terciam[e] et novissimorum pseudofratrum mendax mendacio, quoad quartam.[f] Mendacium quidem in istis quatuor necessario seducit stolidos in ipsis temere confidentes.

CAP. IV.

Cum secundum sanctos multos[a] omne peccatum est mendacium[b] et e contra eo, quod quelibet res dicit se ipsam, deo et per consequens peccans in quantum huiusmodi dicit defectum a correspondencia veritatis et sic mendacium, de mendacio aliquid est dicendum.

Supposito autem, quod assumptum premissum sit verum,[c] vi-

[b] *v. 13* [c] *i. e. the clerus cesareus* [d] *i. e. the monachi* [e] *i. e. the canonici* [f] *i. e. the fratres*

CAP. IV. [a] *cp. I John 2, 21—22; 3, 8; Apoc. 22, 15; John 8, 44; Ephes. 4, 25; Gen. 3, 4; Prov. 21, 28; Wisd. 1, 11* [b] *cp. Trial. 435, 436* [c] *viz. omne peccatum est mendacium*

[8] sic *cod.* [9] sibi *cod.* [10] theorica *cod.* [11] nonovitatibus *cod.* [12] *below the col. is add. with mark of ref.:* Quatuor sunt per que seducitur ecclesia, attende que *E*[1]

detur ulterius inferendum, quod omne mendacium, quantumcunque leve fuerit, est cavendum.[1] Et hinc Augustinus declarat,[d] quod inter octo genera mendaciorum mendacium levissimum ut officiosum vel iocosum, cum sit peccatum, non est propter bonum aliquod committendum.[e] Et ex istis infertur, cum cristianus quilibet debeat sequi Cristum, quod nemo, in quantum mendax ipsum sequitur, cum ipse sit prima vel omnis veritas, ymo quod omnis mendax, in quantumcun*(que)*[2] mentitur, a Cristo declinat.[3] Et sic discerni potest, qui homines auffugiunt salvatorem, et patet, quomodo istud auffugium fuit per multas novitates supra fidem scripture multipliciter introductum non solum nunc novissime, quod scriptura sacra et specialiter ewangelium sit falsissima. Sed omnes iste secte quatuor super mendacio sunt fundate,[f] ut papa dicit, quod est summus Cristi vicarius, et ex isto mendacio multiplicat indulgencias, excommunicaciones[4] et mendacia alia infinita. Et cum sit grave ‖ sic mentiri in domin*(um)*[5] inducendo totam ecclesiam militantem, patet, in quantum periculum inducit homines p*(rima)* secta.[6] Nam mentiri super terrenum magnatem in concernentibus famam suam est magnum periculum et peccatum; quanto magis mentiri super (domini) dominum veritatis in illis, que concernunt salutem ecclesie militantis![7] ‖ *E fol. 70b*

Ideo dicitur a quibusdam, quod, sicut papa perversus est anticristus atque dyabolus, sic est mendacium in abstracto et pater mendacii contrarius veritati; nec excusantur homines militantes, qui mendacio isti consenciunt, quibuscunque[8] sex modis[g] consenciunt. Et sic videtur, quod peregrinantes isti consenciunt uno

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[d] *cp. August. Opp. Tom. IV Enarr. in Psalm. V p. 18 G; cp. also Tom. VI De mendacio* § *25 p. 435 E, F ff. and ibidem p. 419 D* [e] *cp. August. Opp. 2 p. III Tom. De mendacio p. 445 B, C* [f] *cp. Trial. 436; 437* [g] *with ref. to them, cp. above p. 19 note g*

CAP. IV. [1] *Above the col. is add. with mark of ref.:* Mendacium quantumcunque leve precavendum *E¹* [2] in quantum cum *cod.* [3] *below the col. is add. with mark of ref.:* Mendaces qualitercunque non secuntur Cristum *E¹* [4] excommuniacaciones *cod.* [5] domini *cod.* [6] p secta *(sic) cod.* [7] *above the col. is add. with mark of ref.:* Mentiri in dominum grave, sed in deum gravissimum *E¹* [8] *in mar. is add.:* Consenciens non excusatur *E¹*

modo vel alio. Quis enim est, qui non omittit vel iuvare vel reprehendere istum patrem mendacii, ymo presumendo temere illud, quod ignorat, mentitur domino et homini manifeste. Et sic quando dat indulgenciam, maledicciones vel alia talia propter pecuniam,[9] mentitur, eciam licet cum isto mendacio verum dicat. Sic enim docet Augustinus,[h] quod dicendo verum presumpcione temer*(ari)*a[10] homo peccat et per consequens mentitur.[11] Sic iste refuga, quando dicit verbis vel scripto, quod facit conformiter legi dei, et talis diccio est temeraria, cum talia bona fieri debent abscondite, manifestum videtur, quod ex presumpcione temeraria est mentitus. Et sic patet, quod tota vita prelati cesarei est mendacium manifestum[12] veritati, et ad gravandum mendacium ipsum in scriptis asserit sive bullis. Sicut enim iudex mundanus sedendo et scribendo fert iu-
E fol. 70c dicium dicendo tacite, sed deo manifeste, quod ipsum in veritate est solidum, sic in scribendo tales || bullas dicit manifeste deo et hominibus, quod sua sentencia est consona legi dei. Et cum sentencia sua sit veritati prime[i] et ecclesie sue contraria, manifestum est, quod ista bullaris sentencia gravat mendacium et per consequens peccatum.[13] Cogitet, rogo, fidelis, quot bulle heretice sunt in ecclesia, quod tales, qui de facto sunt inhabiles per istum refugam, in tali beneficio sunt prelati et per consequens, quod conferunt tamquam dei vicarii eis beneficia tamquam dignis. Et totum istum est plenum mendaciis scripture sacre contrariis quoad deum, cum nec deus prefert tales indignos, nec ipsi possunt, sed presumpcio bullata est scripture sacre contraria.[14] Manifeste videtur, quod bulle tales heretice sunt per istum refugam in ecclesiis seminate, et cum cristianus non debet verbis dei addere sive minuere,[15] ut patet Deut. 4[k] et 12,[l] patet, quam graviter iste refuga deo et sue

[h] *cp. August. Opp. 2 P. Tom. III De mendacio p. 422 B,C,D*
[i] *i. e. to Christ cp. p. 349 l. 6* [k] *v. 2* [l] *v. 32, cp. Prov. 4, 2*

[9] *below the col. is add. with mark of ref.:* Indulgencie ficte *E*[1] [10] temera *cod.; it should be, I believe,* temeraria, *cp. a little on l. 9* diccio temeraria *and* ex presumpcione temeraria *l. 10* [11] *below the col. is add. w. mark of ref.:* Verum dicendo quandoque peccat homo *E*[1] [12] *in mar. is add.:* Vita tota quandoque mendacium *E*[1] [13] *above the col. is add. w. mark of ref.:* Bullaris sentencia gravat mendacium quando *E*[1] [14] *in mar. is add.:* Presumpcio bullata *E*[1] [15] *in mar. is add.:* Addere non licet legi *E*[1]

ecclesie publice est mentitus. Nec sufficiunt lingwe nostre, mendacia istius curie publicare.

Et idem videtur de secunda[m] secta, quod in verbis quam opere est mentita. Dicit enim in appropriando sibi redditus seculares sive ecclesias, quod eget omnibus illis ad suam egenciam secundum dei bene placitum relevandum. Et cum totum istud sit manifestum mendacium quoad deum, patet, quam publice mentitur deo in inicio vite sue. Et cum continuat in tali diccione mendacii usque ad finem multarum vitarum, patet, quomodo in ista secta[16] mendacium est sepultum. Quid igitur valet talis oracio secte mendacis porrecta deo veritatis?

Et idem patet de tercia secta,[n] que noviter ex impetracione a patre mendacii impetravit habitum atque || claustra. Fingit enim *E fol. 70d* licet mendaciter, quod Augustinus, patronus suus, talem sectam docuit atque vitam et sic de sanctis in celo, quod fingit mendaciter esse patronos suos, seminat multa mendacia. Numquid bene? Nam mentiri super proximo suo superstite est grave peccatum, et longe gravius peccare super sancto in celo[17] et per consequens super deo et tota ecclesia triumphante.

Quantum ad quartam sectam,[o] videtur, quod ipsa in habitu et cunctis, que religioni sue pertinent, a planta pedis usque ad verticem, mendaciis est operta, et breviter, quidquid de ordine suo mundo dixerit et quidquid a fidelibus mendicaverit, est mentita.

Et necesse est, quod tales secte sic seminantes mendacia de regibus, de ducibus et populis simplicibus menciantur, quia tales minere[18] mendacii in suo inicio non quiescunt, sed germinant ad nocumentum ecclesie mendacia ampliora. Sicut enim ex vi communionis sanctorum sancti in merito se iuvant reciproce,[19] sic ex vi communionis[20] peccati tales mendaces participant malo suo, sicut in inferno omnes dampnati participant gravedine pene sue.[p]

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[m] *i. e. the monachi* [n] *i. e. the canonici; as to this, cp. De Christo etc. cap. II* [o] *i. e. the fratres, cp. ibidem* [p] *cp. De novis ordin. p. 326*

[16] fecta *cod.* [17] *above the col. is add.:* Mendacia dicuntur super sanctos a quibus prima E^1 [18] iminere *cod.* [19] *below the col. is add. with mark of ref.:* Sancti se mutuo iuvant et dampnati nocent E^1 [20] communiconis *cod.*

Iste igitur quaternarius[q] mendax est radix mendacii ecclesie militantis, nec dubium, quin prodeat usque ad sempiternum mendacium dampnatorum. Oportet enim mendacium terminari in reprobis in inferno, sicut oportet vitam veracem terminari ad partes veritatis, que in celestibus sunt beate.

CAP. V.

Ex istis videtur ulterius, quod iste secte quatuor taliter mencientes et alii ipsis consencientes contra veritatis dominum et totam ecclesiam menciuntur. Sicut enim nemo potest quidquam
|| *E fol. 71a* dicere, nisi domino dicat illud, sic non potest mentiri, nisi || *(domino)*[1] veritatis menciatur, et cum veritati prime sit necessarium, odire mendacium, cum omne tale sit sibi contrarium, patet multiplicacio testium falsorum in hoc seculo contra Cristum. Et ideo sicut contra apostolos fuerunt multe secte Cristo contrarie,[2] sic contra apostolos sunt hodie multe secte per dyabolum introducte.

Et contra illas inveheret fidelis prudenter, ut ad puram sectam Cristi per suam graciam convertantur. Sic*(ut)*[3] enim corpus peccare poterit *(tam)*[4] in superfluitate parcium quam defectu, sic peccatum potest contingere corpori ecclesie et legi dei tam ex presumpta superfluitate vocatarum parcium quam ex defectu parcium, que ex[5] primaria ordinacione domini requiruntur. Ideo sicut medicus[6] evacuat superfluitates intrinsecas, sanando homines educit apostemata et putrefacciones, que partes naturales corrumperent, sic spiritualis medicus[7] ad sanacionem corporis ecclesie niteretur. Sic enim Saraceni et secte alie a cristianis fidelibus sunt seiuncti; et sic racionabiliter iudaizantes a cristianismo fuerant separati.

Vel igitur convertat ecclesia has sectas quatuor ad sectam simplicem cristianam, vel illas evacuet propter sanitatem corporis

[q] *i. e. the Four Sects*

CAP. V. [1] *om. cod.* [2] fuerunt multi f secte per Cristo contraric *(sic) cod.* [3] sic *cod.* [4] *om. cod.* [5] quam ex defectu *(ud.)* ex *cod.*, quam *is corr. into* que [6] mendicus *cod.* [7] *above the col. is add.:* Secte evacuare *(? -antur)* nisi quasi apostema 1ma *E*[1]

ecclesie conservandam. Sicut enim sidus animalium nocivorum debet destrui in radice, ut patet de muribus, serpentibus et aliis, que inferrent rei publice nocumentum, sic debet esse de istis sectis nocivis, ut Cristus docuit in exemplo de phariseis et sectis aliis, contrariis lege sue. Sicut enim potest esse error personalis, sic potest esse generalis et error, inquam, huius debet corrigi, et eo diligencius, quo plus || periculosus. || *E fol. 71b*

Et ad discernendum errores harum sectarum scrutetur fidelis radices earum,[8] ex quibus fuerant introducte, et quomodo veritati corporis ecclesie Cristi sunt consone, et inveniet omnes istas sectas quatuor esse superfluas et nocivas et ex falsitate mendacii germinantes, ut fratres ostendunt de fundacione suorum ordinum, de necessitate sanctitatis suorum operum et de mediis fallacibus, que exercent ad pauperes ex mendicacione blasphema et ypocritica spoliandum.[a] Sic*(ut)*[9] enim membra ecclesie Cristi fundantur in veritate,[10] que est dominus Iesus Cristus, sic membra sinagoge sathane fundantur in falsitate patris mendacii.[b]

Sed sunt due vie, per quas fideles ecclesie debent in partes istas superfluas operari, silicet convertendo illas vel assimilando partibus, veris corporibus ecclesie Cristi, quod foret grande miraculum propter innatum toxicum.[11] Et ideo opus istud foret deo proprium, sicut convertit Paulum a secta pharisaica ad cristianismum.

Sed sanacio secunda rudis,[12] ad quam omnes tres partes ecclesie[c] poterint operari, foret, has sectas educere negando eis communicacionem et sustentacionem secundum regulas legis Cristi. Gravacio autem mendaciorum in vita et verbis acuit ad maturiacionem talium apostematum,[13] ut postmodum educantur. Veritas autem

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CAP. V. [a] *as to this, cp. Trial. 361 ff., again above p. 20; 44; 189—190; 253* [b] *cp. Trial. 436* [c] *i. e. ecclesie militantis; with ref. to this, cp. De Christo et adv. suo Antichristo, cap. I, commencement*

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[8] *above the col. is added:* Radices sectarum scrutande *E¹* [9] sic *cod.* [10] *in mar. is add.:* Veritas fundat ecclesie membra *E¹* [11] *in mar. is add.:* Toxicum innatum *E¹* [12] *below the col. is added:* Sanacio rudis sectarum attenderetur *E¹* [13] *in mar. is add.:* Maturiacio apostematum *E¹*

legis dei est patula, que numquam erit totaliter per sophistas dyaboli obfuscata.

Et sic dictum est leviter[14] de sophisticacione oracionis istarum sectarum quatuor, et quomodo in mendaciis sunt fundate, ac tercio, quomodo sunt ab ecclesia expellende. —

Incipit (fol. 71c) Exhortacio doctoris cuiusdam.

[14] beniter *cod.*

X.

DE DIABOLO ET MEMBRIS EIUS.

DE DIABOLO ET MEMBRIS EIUS.

I. Division.

Introduction: Definition and Classification of the term dyabolus, *cap. I.*

Thesis: The Friars are dyaboli,

(a) the arguments of the Friars against this thesis refuted, cap. II.

(b) positive argument that they really are membra dyaboli, *cap. III—V.*

(α) their poverty, cap. III—IV.

(β) their lies, cap. V.

Conclusion: Having intruded into the Church lawlessly, they ought to be done away with, cap. V.

II. Summary of Contents.

Chap. I. *The thesis:* nemo dampnabitur nisi fuerit dyabolus *although attacked by a Friar, is Catholic doctrine (John VI), p. 361; the exact notions of the term* dyabolus *ought to be taken into account: there are* dyaboli incarnati *and* dyaboli spiritus, *the former and more pernicious being represented on earth by the Friars, p. 362—363.*

Chap. II. *All arguments raised against this thesis ought to be refuted, p. 364—365.*

Chap. III. *That the Friars really are* dyaboli incarnati, *may be seen from certain characteristics, p. 366; (1) their so-called poverty being a*

mere pretension, and nothing else than a diabolical lie, p. 366; it is based on sin, on greediness for wealth and robberies, and is an invention and inspiration of the devil, p. 366; (2) In like manner their pretension that their begging is after the example and by the command of Christ, is another diabolical lie, p. 367; for (3) in strong contrast to this command of Christ, stands their longing after beautiful houses and churches, p. 368.

Chap. IV. *Thus it is easy to prove how in many cases they are in sharp contrast to the disciples of Christ (according to Luke X), p. 369. This proof is made by the Author, p. 369—371.*

Chap. V. *Again, inasmuch as they scatter calumnies against the poor simple priests of the Gospel, they are in a special manner called ministers of the devil, p. 371. They persecute the poor priests, whose simple preaching they replace by ornate, jestful and buffoon-like sermons, p. 372. — They have lawlessly taken possession of the Church, p. 372; every Christian, therefore, should refuse them his help, and take from them all donations, as they are in no way authorised by Christ to accept them, p. 373—374.*[1]

III. Date of Composition.

No suitable allusion for fixing the date of the Tract conclusively is to be found in the text. From the contrast between the Friars and W.'s simplices sacerdotes, *we may, perhaps, conclude, that the Tract was not written before 1382: cp. Introduction to De Ordin. Fratr., above p. 84*

IV. Genuineness.

(a) External evidence:

(1) Walden, Doctr. Fidei III, cap. 27; IV, cap. 6.

(2) Epist. Univ. Oxon. apud Wilkins, Conc. M. Brit. III, 348 ff., where three passages of the Tract are printed verbatim, tho' Shirley is in doubt whether the quotations are correct.

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[1] As to this Summary of Contents, cp. the erroneous view Shirley entertains on the Tract, Catal. p. 12. The English Tract to which Shirley refers, is in no way connected with the present one; there is merely a similarity in the title: 'How Anticrist and his clerkis traveilen to destroy holy writ', cp. Matthew, E. W. h. s. 254 ff.; also Arnold, S. E. W. III, No. 19.

(3) *Wiclif-Catal. of the Vienna codd., cp. above p. 7.*

(4) *Bale, Summ. fol. 156, also Lewis, Hist. of Life and Suff. 153, No. 65 under a different title: Dialogus de fratribus; but the Incipit is correct.*

(5) *cod. C, Explicit, cp. p. 373.*

(6) *cod. J, Index on the front cover.*

(7) *cod. β, Index of the fly-leaf; as to (5) (6) and (7), see above, General Introduction IV, Description of the coda.*

(8) *Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, 1444; 1473.*

(9) *Shirley, Catal. No. 29 p. 12.*

(10) *Lechler, J. v. W. II, 568.*

(b) *Internal evidence:*

(1) *cp. above, General Introduction V, e.*

(2) *a number of ideas peculiar to W., cap. I, note c; II, a; d; g; III, c, d; e; IV, c; d.*

V. *Not yet printed.*[1]

VI. *Extant in*

cod. 4527 = C fol. 181^a—184^a { C^1 = *Corrector (in red ink)*; C^2 = per citratras }

cod. 1338 = J fol. 26^c—29^c *no Corrector*

in the Imperial Library at Vienna

cod. (Prag) III. G. 11 = β fol. 170^b—173^b β^1 = *Glosser*

the latter in the Univers. Library at Prague.

VII. The Manuscripts.[2]

A. **Their relationship.** *In the first sentence of the Tract the predicate is wanting in all codices; from this it is evident, that they all are to be derived from a common archetype, however remote it be, which is spoiled by this omission; cp. also* si ecclesia defect. sacerd., *where in like manner a participle, perhaps 'habens', is lost. — But from their extensive disagreement in the remaining passages, we must conclude, that they are not taken immediately from this archetype.*

[1] *except three short passages, printed by Wilkins, Conc. M. Brit. III, 368.*

[2] *The criticiseable material of the Tract is so slight, that I can give only a few hints.*

Class C—J: in about 100 variants, which are to be noticed here, C—J agree in 59 cases (C—β only in 6 against J, and β—J in 20 against C); but cp. also fidei c. e. sp. *II, 10 and* fitoniam *III, 15.* —

J—β are also closely connected. This may be proved from their close common agreement, just mentioned, and from the following lacunae, cp. nec *I, 29;* omnino m. et i. *III, 10;* virg. *IV, 13;* in dom. *IV, 26;* quam *IV, 27; auch* nunc *V, 12;* amen *V, 14;* part. *V, 4. These readings are so characteristic for both codd., that I am inclined to presume that β has been copied from J; all its readings disagreeing with J, can be reduced without any difficulty to small graphical errors.*

B. **The best Codex.** *β, which is very probably taken from J. cannot enter into the competition. As to the betterness of C or J, I have not arrived at a definitive result. Among the 62 readings which are decisive, C gives the correct readings in about 50 cases, J in 43 (but I will not forget to draw attention to cap. II note 3; III, 2; 11; 16; 20 which are characteristic for J). This number alone would not be sufficient to give C the preference before J (cp. also cap. I, note 9; 20; 22; 27; II, 14; III, 23 and some others); but because of its completeness, I shall take C as the basis of my text, supplementing it, in doubtful cases, by the readings of J.*

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE DYABOLO ET MEMBRIS EIUS.

CAP. I.[1]

‖ [2] Fertur quendam fratrem inflatum superbia graviter *(ferre)*[a] ‖ istam sentenciam or|thodoxam,[3] quod nemo dampnabitur nisi fuerit dyabolus. *C fol. 181a lin. 13*

Istud autem | est catholicum, et sic multi sunt modi dyaborum cum fidelibus in ecclesia con|versantes. Fundatur autem ista sentencia ex testimonio veritatis Ioh. 6:[4b] nonne vos duodecim elegi, et unus ex vobis dyabolus est. Si ergo ex veritatis testimonio Scarioth fuit dyabolus, et non potest[5] esse personarum accepcio apud deum, per locum a sufficienti similitudine infertur sciolis, quod quilibet prescitus sit in facto dyabolus,[6] et concordat

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CAP. I. [a] *In all the codices the verb is lost. 'ferre' has been conjectured by myself; cp. a similar use of this verb in De tripl. Vinc. Am. p. 178 l. 16; De quat. Sect. nov. above p. 262 l. 20; 264 l. 12; 'impugnasse' is also possible, cp. De quatuor Sect. nov. p. 287 l. 6—7 and* Responsiones ad 44 questiones sive ad argucias monachales, *in cod. 1338 (Vienna) fol. 123c; cp. also C fol. 46b:* quidam doctor nititur impugnare sentenciam quam sacerdotes fideles predicant tamquam fidem [b] *v. 70*

CAP. I. [1] *Title not given in C* Explicit speculum secularium dominorum De dyabolo et membris eius et quod nemo dampnabitur nisi fuerit dyabolus *J title wanting in β: above the Tract is added by the texthand:* Nemo dampnabitur nisi fuerit dyabolus incarnatus [2] *β fol. 170b lin. 5 J fol. 26c lin. 15* [3] orthodoxam *in β a corr. word* [4] 6° *CJ* 5° *β* [5] per *(cr. out.)* potest *C* potest *Jβ* [6] *in β is add. in mar.:* Prescitus quilibet est dyabolus *β*[1]

condicio aut interpretacio, quam fideles imponunt dyabolo. Habet enim dyabolus istam blasphemam condicionem contra viam[7] veritatis, quod sit dyabolice finaliter induratus. Et ista[8] proprietas, que connectitur[9] cum dyabolo, infert de omnibus prescitis, quod sunt dyaboli secundum testimonium veritatis.[c]

Sic[10] enim omnis predestinatus est bonus angelus; nam Malach. 20[d] et sepe alibi[e] vocat fides scripture predestinatos angelos, et non dubium, quin sunt boni angeli, — quare ergo non sunt presciti missi a dyabolo ad seducendum ecclesiam, mali angeli et sic dyaboli? Cum ergo quelibet persona hominis sit spiritus, patet, quod quilibet predestinatus sit bonus spiritus et quilibet prescitus malus spiritus.

Et concordat interpretacio nominis cum hoc sensu. Dicitur[11] enim dyabolus a dya, quod est duo, et bolos morsellus, quasi mordens usque ad consummacionem corpus et animam.[12] Cum ergo prescitus sic mordet proprium corpus et animam, cum iuxta testimonium Chrysostomi[f] nemo sic leditur, nisi principaliter[13] fuerit lesus a se ipso, patet ex sufficienti testimonio, quod omnis prescitus est dyabolus, et sic nemo dampnabitur, nisi fuerit dyabolus incarnatus.

Et sic dicunt theologi, quod duplex est dyabolus,[14] scilicet dyabolus incarnatus, cuiusmodi est omnis homo prescitus, licet ad tempus fuerit pure spiritus, nec fidelis dubitat, quin malus spiritus. — Alius autem est spiritus dyabolus, qui non naturaliter, licet quandoque accidentaliter, fuerit incarnatus, cuiusmodi sunt spiritus, qui consenserunt primo apostate. Et primi dyaboli habent maio-
C fol. 181b rem || condicionem superbie quam secundi, sicut primi spiritus

[c] *cp. the same idea in Lechler, J. v. W. I, 550; a similar one in W.'s Festival Sermons XXIV. No. IV cod. 3928 fol. 130c* [d] *v. 7* [e] *for instance, Gal. 4, 14* [f] *I have not been able to verify the quotation, the reference to St. Chrysostom being too general*

[7] viam *a corr. word in β* misericordiam *CJ* [8] ista *CJ* ita *β* [9] connectitur *J* convertitur *Cβ* [10] sic *CJ* sit *β* [11] dicitur *Cβ* dya *(cr. out)* dicitur *J. in mar. is added by the texthand* dyabolus [12] *in β is added in mar.:* Dyabolus unde dicitur *β¹* [13] principaliter *Jβ* *om. C* [14] *in J is added in mar. by the texthand:* Duplex dyabolus *in β is added in mar.:* Dyabolus est duplex *β¹*

beati, qui sunt homines predestinati,[15] habent maiorem condicionem bonitatis,[16] quam alii, qui pure spiritualiter sunt creati, ut patet de Cristo, omnes angelos excellente,[g] et, ut probabiliter dicitur, beata virgo et ceteri sancti excedunt bonos angelos. Unde angelus Apocal. ultimo[h] dicit Iohanni: conservus[17] inquit, tuus sum et fratrum tuorum, quando Iohannes cecidit ad pedes angeli, ut ipsum dulia adoraret. Et sic dicitur, quosdam incarnatos dyabolos esse iuvenes[18] dyabolos vel larvatos, et quosdam inveteratos dyabolos suam maliciam detegentes, ut carentes gracia predestinacionis, antequam de facto indurati fuerint,[19] sunt iuvenes dyaboli, cum peccatum presciti[20] sit infinitum peius quam peccatum predestinati ad gloriam. Illi autem possunt vocari larvati dyaboli,[21] qui ex simulata nova religione, licet presciti, per ypocrisim sunt inducti.[22]

Et isto modo supponitur, multos fratres esse dyabolos licet adhuc nobis incognitos. Domesticari vero non possunt, in filios lucis cum sint necessario filii sicut[23] lupi.

Inveterati vero[24] dyaboli[25] sunt cuiusmodicunque presciti, qui sunt in sua malicia indurati, ut sunt presciti istorum novorum ordinum vel quicunque[26] extra ipsos, qui sunt in sua heresi insolubiliter involuti, et specialiter in hoc, quod ingrati et infideliter deserentes religionem et sectam Cristi ut minus bonam[27] religiones ac sectas hominum tamquam meliores et magis utiles amplectuntur.[28]

Tales enim multi dyaboli sive dyaboli sunt in[29] mundo, et cum in ista heresi putant, se patrare deo obsequium, verisimile est, nisi ex maiori gracia, quod[30] in ista heresi sunt insolubiliter involuti.

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[g] *cp. Hebr. 1, 4* [h] *v. 9*

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[15] predestinati *CJ* beati *(cr. out)* predestinati *β* [16] bonitatis *Jβ* superbie *(cr. out)* bonitatis *C* [17] conservus *CJ* conversus *β* [18] *in β is add. in mar.:* Dyaboli iuvenes β^1 [19] fuerint *CJ* fuerunt *β* [20] presciti *Jβ* *om. C* [21] *in β is added in mar.:* Dyaboli larvati β^1 [22] inducti *Jβ* induti *C* [23] sicut *CJ* sive *β* [24] vero *CJ* non *β* [25] *in β is added in mar.:* Dyaboli inveterati β^1 [26] quicunque *CJ* cuiuscunque *β* [27] bonam *CJ* bonas *β* [28] amplectuntur *CJ* amplectantur *β* [29] in *Jβ* nec in *C* [30] quod *CJ* quam *β*

CAP. II.

Restat swadere evidencius[1] contra has sectas et specialiter fratrum; verumtamen citra demonstracionem topice, quod fratres sunt dyaboli,[a] evidencius, quam frater iste[b] scit ostendere, hoc esse hereticum, quod omnes presciti sunt dyaboli, quia numquam auditum est, racionem ad istud procedere, nisi forte talis racio moveat fratrem istum. Si omnes presciti sunt dyaboli, tunc sunt pure spiritus, sicut sunt illi, qui in tartaris sunt dampnati sed ista fallacia consequentis numquam eximet fratrem istum a sorte dyaboli, cum videtur innuere, quod dictum Cristi de Scarioth sit[2] heresis manifesta.

Secunda evidencia, quam audivi contra istud, quod omnes presciti sunt dyaboli, stat in isto: iuxta istud homines possunt estimare, omnes fratres et religiosos istorum ordinum esse dyabolos, et sic aufferre ab illis subsidium temporale, et periret ordo tam sanctus, qui a tam sanctis patronis est fundatus et a tam sanctis papis tam multipliciter confirmatus.[3]

Sed moveat ista racio iuvenem et iuvenem dyabolum, quia verisimile est, quod moveret inveteratum dyabolum induratum, sic non moveret fundare novum ordinem super mendacio, quia Petrus incepit[4] iurare et anathematizare, quod non novisset hominem, ut dicitur Matth. 26,[c] quia constat, quod Petrus ex vi gracie predestinacionis tunc fuit melior hiis patronis.

C fol. 182a Tercia evidencia || movet[5] aliquos, quod tunc quilibet viator foret dubius vel perplexus, an ipsemet[6] sit dyabolus, et sic non acciperet eucharistiam, vel faceret bonum opus de genere, quia nescit, si ex condicione dyaboli cedet[7] sibi ad malum anime, sed istud interimeret[8] omnia opera bona viatoris.

Quantum ad istud patet noscentibus fidem et distinccionem

CAP II. [a] *cp. the same idea, in a milder form, in* **Trial.** *367* [b] *cp. above p. 361 l. 1* [c] *v. 72*

CAP. II. [1] evidencius *CJ* evidenciam *β* [2] sit *C* est *Jβ* [3] confirmatus *Cβ* confirmatis *J* [4] incepit *CJ* inceperit *β* [5] movet *Jβ* monet (!) *C* [6] ipsemet *Cβ* ipse *J* [7] cedet *a corr. word in C* [8] interimeret *CJ* intimeret *β*

inter virtutes[9] theologicas,[d] quod non est color in ista argucia. Licet enim viator nesciat, quod non sit dyabolus, debet tamen sperare de ipso, et de aliis supponere, quos videt bona facere, quod sunt de numero salvandorum. Ista tamen debet supponere citra fidem, licet fides spei[10] et supposicioni virtualiter sit coniuncta. Fides autem isti spei vel supposicioni connexa stat in isto, quod fidelis debet credere, quod si in mandatis et preceptis finaliter perseverat, tunc salvabitur, et ad hoc omnis fidelis citra hos ordines est dispositus credere tamquam fidem. Isti autem ordines ex ingratitudine sue professionis preter sectam Cristi sunt dispositi arraliter,[11] ut incurrant ingratitudinem maximam vel peccatum longe plus quam Petrus fuit indispositus, Matth. 16,[e] quando dixit: absit hoc a te, domine, unde Cristus vocavit eum non dyabolum, sed sathan[12]: vade, inquit,[f] post me, sathan,[13] quia voluit voluntati divine adversari.

Iste autem secte videntur pertinaciter ita velle, quia nolunt de secta Cristi et regula contentari, sed unam novam in multis frivolam et legi Cristi contrariam machinantur. Ideo videtur non solum esse sathanas, sed ipse dyabolus, tamquam Iudas, quia in sua innata[14] malicia finaliter perseverat. Ideo si aliquos moveret ista argucia, moveret fratres ex sua ingratitudine antiqua.[15] Nos autem credimus, quod Cristus concessit libertatem suo ordini, in signis sensibilibus et habitibus variari,[g] sic tamen, quod servent virtutes in anima, cum in signis huiusmodi non sit virtus[16], et ex ista gratitudine religionis Cristi, quam speramus nos finaliter observare, speramus, quod salvabimur, nec ex aliqua evidencia in oppositum dubitamus. Ideo dubitent illi, qui peccato ingratitudinis sunt infecti.[17] Nos scimus quidem, quod velle adiacet, et speramus, quod ex dei gracia assistet dei adiutorium hoc consummans.

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[d] *fides, caritas, spes, cp. Trial. 128; 133 ff.* [e] *v. 22* [f] *v. 23*
[g] *cp. Trial. 431 ff.; De Ordinat. Fratr. cap. III p. 96*

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[9] virtutes *CJ* veritates *β* [10] fides spei *J* fides i. spei *(sic) Cβ* [11] arraliter *J* araliter *Cβ; perhaps* 'naturaliter' *is meant, cp. however Du Cange* s. v. aralis, *and Wilkins, l. l.* [12] sathan *CJ* sathanam *β* [13] sathan *CJ* sathana *β* [14] innata *Jβ* ingrata *C* [15] antiqua *Jβ* antiquata (ta *ud.) C* [16] virtus *CJ* litus *(?) β* [17] infecti *CJ* infecti *corrected from* infecto *β*

CAP. III.

Superest videre aliqua signa dyabolica, que istos ordines et fratres specialiter consecuntur.

Sunt enim in mendicacione et mendaciis generaliter multiplicati,[1] et sic videntur innuere, quod vellent, omnes homines, sicut ipsi eligunt, mendicare. Et videtur, quod ista sit condicio dyaboli, quia dyabolus wlt inpossibiliter omnes homines sicut se ipsum perpetuo condempnari. Licet autem angeli boni velint viatores, quos adiuvant, ipsis[2] in beatitudine simulari, ista tamen condicio est celestis et lege[3] domini recta, sed volucio[4] est condicionis contrarie, ut patet de statu innocencie, ubi non forent aliqui mendicantes, sicut nec erit in beatitudine, sed in dampnacione videntur *C fol. 182b* dyaboli perpetuo || mendicare, cum Luce 16[a] spiritus dicit condempnatus[5] Abrahe: mitte Lazarum in domum patris mei, habeo enim quinque fratres, ut[6] testetur illis, ne et ipsi veniant in hunc locum tormentorum. Ex quo videtur, quod iste spiritus sepultus in inferno racionabiliter mendicavit.[7]

Ideo quoad statum innocencie et statum benediccionis patet, quod in illis non est consonum mendicare, et quoad statum viacionis misere patet, quod nulla est talis mendicacio, nisi fuerit ex peccato. Ex peccato quidem vel[8] mendicantis validi, cui non est necessarium taliter mendicare, vel ex populi peccato, qui mendicacionem huiusmodi preveniret. Ideo deus precipit Deut. *(15)*[9b]: omnino indigens et mendicus[10] non erit inter vos. Ex quibus colligitur, quod omnis huiusmodi mendicacio sit a malo, et est talis, mendicacio instinctu dyaboli introducta[c] et quod fratres noluerint[11]

CAP. III. [a] *v. 27—28* [b] *Deut. 15, 4* [c] *cp. the same idea in Trial. 342*

CAP. III. [1] *in β is add. in mar.:* Mendicacio fratrum multa mala facit β[1] [2] ipsis *C* ipsos *Jβ* [3] lege *CJ* legittime *β* [4] volucio *CJ* volicio *β (a corr. word)* [5] condempnatus *CJ* condempnatis *β* [6] ut *Jβ* uti (i *ud.) C* [7] mendicavit *CJ* mendicat *β* [8] vel *Cβ* est *(cr. out)* vel *J* [9] 3° *CJ* 23° *(?) β in mar. in C is* 3° *corr. later by C*[1] [10] omnis indigens et mendicus *C* quod omnino mendicus et egenus *β* omnino mendicus et egenus *J* [11] noluerint *CJ* noluerunt *β*

innuitive[d] populum mendicare, ex hoc evidet, quod velint pauperem populum usque ad egenciam ex suis temporalibus spoliare. Sed quid superest populo ad laborandum indisposito, nisi postmodum mendicare?

Secundo videntur ex hoc velle mendicacionem huiusmodi, quod volunt iuvenes filios divitum[12] et magnatum in artem sue mendicacionis inducere, nec habet volucio sua finem in istis, ac si velint contra dominum omnes alios mendicare.

Et tercio volucio fratrum ex hoc innuitur, quod imponunt[13] Cristo blasphemum mendacium, quod ipse taliter mendicavit,[e] et cum omnes cristiani debent sequi Cristum, quantum sufficiunt, quid innuunt, nisi quod omnes cristiani deberent taliter mendicare?

Ex istis et aliis dicendis colligitur, quod fratres in mendicacione huiusmodi induunt condicionem dyaboli, quia volunt illud[14] malum a deo prohibitum eciam singulos habundare. Ideo quidam catholici coniurant tales dyabolicos taliter mendicantes. Unde dicitur, quod capiunt a dyabolo artes suas ad perficiendum mendicacionem huiusmodi, ut nigromanciam, philomanciam, fitoniam,[15] augurium, aruspicium cum ceteris falsis a*(r)*tibus,[16] a magistro mendacii introductis.

Secundam condicionem[17] dyaboli habent fratres, quod extolluntur supra Cristum, sicut dicit apostolus II Thess. 2[f] esse proprium anticristo. Cristus enim non elegit nisi duodecim apostolos et tamen unus eorum ad confusionem sequentis dyaboli, scilicet Iudas Scarioth, fuerat anticristus. Numquid[18] credimus, fratres in isto excessu Cristi in eligendo tot fratres eligere aliquos anticristos et sic de domibus, de vestibus et aliis infinitis condicionibus, a patre nostro Cristo vel superficialiter non fundatis, in quibus putant esse laudabile, quantum excedunt mensuram, quam trinitas approbaret. Et ista indubie est condicio dyaboli manifesta.

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[d] *in contradistinction from 'declamatorie', cp.* Trial. *341 ff. and above, p.187 ff.* [e] *cp. the very same objection in* Trial. *341; also above, p.192* [f] *v. 4*

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[12] divitum *Cβ* ad nutum *J* [13] imponunt *in J a corr. word* [14] illud *CJ* id *β* [15] ffitoniam *C* sittoniam *β* fitoniam *J* [16] actibus *CJβ* [17] *in C is add. in mar.:* Secundo condicio [18] numquid *CJ* numquam *β*

Et eodem modo[19] tercio dicitur[20] de numero collegiorum sic, quod in una provincia sunt fratrum collegia[g] in numero monstruoso, sic quod minor numerns sufficeret pro personis edificantibus[21] ecclesiam legi Cristi, ut patet de apostolis et suis discipulis, qui edificaverant[22] cristianismum, postquam totaliter fuerat[23] | *C fol. 183a* infidelis. Et sic ubi increata trinitas || cuncta disposuit in mensura, numero et pondere, iste secte ex instinctu sui patroni laborant, ut extra mensuram dei, extra numerum mensurantem, extra pondus amoris ecclesie statuantur.

Ideo certum videtur, quod pater mendacii docuit eos irregulariter mendicare. Non enim possunt[24] fingere, quin iste secte novelle fuerunt[25] propter defectus sacerdotum de secta Cristi, licet stolide introducte,[26] nec dubium, quin anticristus in ista fundacione defecit dupliciter, primo[27] in hoc, si ecclesia defectum[28] sacerdotum de secta Cristi fuerat adiuvanda, ergo ipsis manentibus in suo crimine sunt secte alie introducende,[29] que secundum humanas regulas sunt fundate.

Secunda infamis anticristi argucia stat in isto : adiutores ecclesie loco sacerdotum insolencium,[30] qui pretendunt, se esse de secta Cristi, sunt prudencius inducendi, ergo infinitus numerus fratrum est ad onus ecclesie inducendus, et sic utrobique peccatur contra trinitatem divine essencie et per consequens contra quamlibet creaturam.

CAP. IV.

Cum autem anticristus cum omnibus membris suis sit manifestus dyabolus, videtur, quod secta fratrum, tam manifeste in men-

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[g] *as to this, cp. Vaughan, J. de W., a monograph, 83; Supplem. Trial. 444. Matthew, E. W. h. u. 490. Trial. 364*

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[19] eodem modo *C* ex eodem *β* eodem *J* [20] dicitur *CJ* videtur *(underlined with red ink)* dicitur *β* [21] edicantibus *in β, but above it,* fi *is corr. by the texthand* [22] edificaverant *CJ* edificarunt *β* [23] fuerat *C* fuerit *Jβ* [24] possunt *CJ* possent *β* [25] fuerunt *CJ* fuerint *(?) β* [26] introducte *J* introducta *Cβ* [27] primo *CJ* ideo *β* [28] defectum *CJ* de fratrum *(?) β* [29] introducende *CJ* introducte de *β* [30] insolencium *CJ* insolenciam *β*

dicacione et aliis Cristo contraria,[1] sit patulus anticristus. Cristus enim limitavit[2] cunctis eius discipulis, ut patet Luc. 10[a]: nolite, inquit, portare sacculum[3] neque peram, neque calciamenta et neminem per viam salutaveritis; in quamcunque domum intraveritis, primum dicite: pax huic domui, et si ibi fuerit filius pacis, pax vestra super illum requiescet, sin autem, ad vos revertetur. In eadem autem domo manete, edentes et bibentes, que apud illos sunt. Dignus enim est mercenarius mercede sua. Nolite transire de domo in domum.

Et ex isto textu ewangelico patet, quod, si alicubi isti novi ordines sunt fundati tamquam illi[4] septuaginta duo discipuli subintrant, sed videamus, quomodo primo in ipsis ultimis correspondet.

Illi autem discipuli, sicut et apostoli, non habuerunt domos proprias. Isti autem ordines habent habitaciones proprias,[b] a Cristi ewangelio discordantes. Ideo in principio induunt habitum anticristi, cum Cristus noluit suos apostolos sive discipulos habere hic manentem civitatem sive habitacionem, ut patet opere quam sermone. Ubi autem precepti sunt, non portare sacculum neque peram, invenies irregulariter fratrem circuentem[5] ad officium mendicandi ferentem sacculum ad inferendum spolia de[6] pauperibus mendicata. Lex autem Cristi precipit, ubi supra:[c] omnino indigens et egenus non erit inter vos. Fratres autem dando[7] dant occasionem ad libere mendicandum, et sic necessitant tam se quam alios, quos depauperant, aliud ab aliis contra legem domini mendicandum.

Et quantum ad peram[8] vix vel numquam invenies, quin vel in persona propria habeat peram, vel loculum ad pecuniam colligendum, cum ypocrite,[9] qui non tangunt monetam cruce domini figuratam, circueuntes[10] per patriam unum Scarioth habent secum.

Et quantum ad calciamenta, patet, quod verbum intelligit, quod

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CAP. IV. [a] *v. 4—7.* [b] *as the property of the Order* [c] *cp. Deut. 15, 4; also above cap. III note b*

CAP. IV. [1] contraria *C,J, here corr. from* contrariis contrariis *β* [2] limitavit *CJ* limitat *β* [3] sa. *C* neque sa. *Jβ* [4] illi *CJ om. β* [5] circueuntem *Cβ* circumeuntem *J* [6] de *CJ om. β* [7] dando *CJ om. β* [8] peram *(?) β* personam *CJ* [9] ypocrite *β* ypocritice *CJ* [10] circueuntes *Cβ* circumeuntes *J*

|| C fol. 139b non habeant quidquam, quod ipsos[11] || impediat ab ewangelizacione vel spirituali edificacione ecclesie.

Ideo confidentes in deo non debent se in dorsis vel birris[12] vel calciamentis induendis postmodum onerare. Nunc autem dicitur, quod fratres habent unum excedentem Scarioth, qui cum arcu et sagittis deferat bona fratris. Et sic multi in persona propria habent non solum virgam[13] in manibus, sed baculos[14] cum instrumentis aliis habiles ad pugnandum. —

Et quantum ad salutacionem per viam,[15] patet, quod ubicunque supponunt[16] personam vel domum esse, ubi per mendacia mendicacionis proximum spoliarent, ibidem dimisso ewangelizacionis[17] officio immorantur. Iste enim est finis, gracia cuius[18] circueunt[19] per[20] contratas.[21]

Et quantum ad pacem dicendam domus incolis, patet, quod raro vel numquam intrant[22] domum in patria nisi gracia mendicandi. Et cum temporalium ablacio sit gracia tocius dissensionis nter homines, patet, quod in facto dicerent domibus, quas visitant, non pacem,[23] sed discordiam, domum illam a suis temporalibus spoliando.

Et propter istam discordiam ab ewangelio patet, quod raro vel nunquam pax dei ad fratres huiusmodi revertetur, cum fratres non solum in diversis ordinibus sepe pugnant, sed sepe fratres eiusdem ordinis occidunt fratres suos simplices, qui vellent eos ad vitam apostolicam emendare.

Ubi autem Cristus precepit: in eadem domo manete[24] edentes etc., fratres nedum volunt[25] in alciori loco domus tamquam domini ministrare, sed vel de piscibus, qui non sunt in domibus[26] illis communiter, vel de aliis sumptuosis lauticiis, plus quam[27] domus domini volunt pasci. Cristus enim wlt discipulos suos esse domesti-

[11] ipsos *C* eos *βJ* [12] birris *C* byrris *J* biris *β* [13] virgam *C* *om.* *Jβ* [14] baculos *CJ* loculos *β* [15] viam *CJ* foris viam *β* [16] supponunt *CJ* supponit *β* [17] ewangelizacionis *C* ewangelico tunc *βJ* [18] cuius *CJ* eius *β* [19] circueunt *Cβ* circumeunt *J* [20] per *J* *om.* *C* p *β* [21] per contr. *Jβ* *om.* *C*, *but in mar. is add. by* C^2 per citratas [22] intrant *J*, *also C*, *but here* intrant *was first corr. into* intrauit, *then this correction was abolished* intrauit *β* [23] non pacem *CJ* non pacem non pacem *β* [24] manente *C*, *but the second* n *ed. by* C^1, *therefore* manete manere *Jβ* [25] nedum volunt *CJ* volunt nedum *β* [26] in domibus *C* *om.* *Jβ* [27] quam *C* *om.* *Jβ*

cos et de omnibus cibariis sufficientibus suo officio contentari. Ideo dicit apostolus I Timo. 6[d]: habentes alimenta etc.[28]; non dicit: preciosa cibaria, scarletum[29] etc.

Ultimo ubi Cristus precepit[30]: nolite transire de domo in domum, fratres mendicantes habent pro regula, quod, postquam predicaverunt dispositive ad mendicacionem vel melius ad spoliacionem populi principaliter intentam, eligunt unam personam graviorem parochie et transeunt de domo in domum, pauperes ypocritice spoliando.[e] Nec dubium, quin de fratribus, in domibus propriis irregulariter conglobatis, sunt multa mendacia seminata.

Istis autem modis impediendo, ne ewangelium Cristi currat, fratres ewangelio contradicunt.

Quod autem fratres fingunt quemcunque sensum, quem ipsi aptare voluerint, esse sensum ewangelii,[31] est verbum meridiani demonii,[f] quia sic possent sensum Cristi abscondere, et sensum nigromanticum,[32] in quo delectant,[33] introducere. Sed ubi foret heresis magis placens?

CAP. V.

In istis autem versuciis Iudas non dormit ponendo offendiculum ewangelio Iesu Cristi, sed fratres fideles sacerdotes, qui ipsis non congregant stercora temporalium et applaudunt istis mendaciis, scandalizant et nequiter persecuntur. Et sic ubi sancti probant pro regula, quod non pro toto mundo salvando aliquis mentiretur, fratres volunt pro opere vel verbo ewangelico || ad vindicandum propriam suam iniuriam multa scandalosa mendacia seminare. Et sic ubi simplices sacerdotes habent sensum ewangelicum divinitus eis[1] datum, fratres improperando eis dicunt, quod sunt || *C fol. 184a*

[d] *v. 8* [e] *as to this bad habit, which is often reproached by W., cp. Thom. Wright Polit. Poems, London 1859, I, 253 ff.* [f] *as to this expression, cp. Ps. 91, 6*

[28] etc. *CJ* *om.* *β* [29] scarletum *CJ* starletum *β* [30] precepit *Cβ* precipit *J* [31] ewangelii *CJ* ewangelicum *β* [32] nigromanticum *Cβ* *om.* *J* [33] delectant *CJ* declinant *β*

CAP. V. [1] eis *CJ* eum *β*

heretici ydiote, cum ipsi non sciunt sensum scripture, sed thesaurus sensus domini est absconditus apud fratres. Et sic cum clamosis[2] et ornatis sermonibus[a] superant fideles,[3] qui dicerent sensum dei, et ubi deus wlt habere simplices et mites adiutores dicente apostolo I Cor. tercio[b]: dei adiutores sumus, iste secte invide, contra caritatis regulas querentes lucrum proprium, machinantur, quomodo substernerent sacerdotes fideles, qui volunt esse secundum formam ewangelii dei adiutores, discipuli anticristi, et adiutores dyaboli, vel verius proditores dei et partim[4] dyaboli depravatores, quia augendo qualitatem partis dyaboli nocent sibi. Et sicut subvertunt ewangelizacionem, contrarii legi et ordini Iesu Cristi, sic sunt contrarii toti ecclesie, eciam sibi ipsis, et multos[5] fautores habent, qui ut sic sunt discipuli anticristi vel ignari. Ipsi autem stulti discipuli anticristi nocent insensibiliter sibi ipsis, cum dicant[6] partem dyaboli et fortificant contra Cristum. Nam fideli non est dubium, quin militans ecclesia sit domus domini specialis.

Querat ergo fidelis a fratribus, ex cuius licencia et[7] auctoritate in domum domini subintrarunt, cum simplex pater familias graviter ferret, quod extranei intrarent cenam suorum comedencium illicenter.[8]

Quomodo ergo introducti sunt tales fratres hillerantes[9] inurbane et sophistice, cum consumunt temporalia et sophisticant spiritualia ecclesie militantis. Viator ergo fidelis non conferret[10] illis elemosinas temporales, nec diceret illis ave, antequam fundarent

CAP. V. [a] *as to this, cp. p. 97, also* Suppl. Trial. *436. W. makes frequently this kind of preaching a reproach to them; they made in their sermons use of jokes and drolleries, went into a sort of buffoonery, told scandalous stories ('chronicles' cp. Matthew 16; 26; 50; 59; 104; 124; 153) and sometimes preached verses, cp, Matthew 438: God axiþ not dyuysiouns ne rymes of hym þat shulde preche; see also Exposition of Matth. XXIII (cod. Ashburnh. fol. 75) the passage: fratres predicant verba ficta et poemata ripinisata* [b] *v.* 9

[2] clamosis *CJ* clamerosis *β* [3] fideles *CJ* fides *β* [4] partim *C* partem *Jβ* [5] multos *CJ* iustos *(?) β* [6] dicant *CJ* dicunt *β* [7] et *CJ* vel *β* [8] illicenter *CJ* illicens *(a corr. word, not clear) β* [9] hillerantes *CJ* hillevantes *β* [10] conferret *CJ* conferens *β*

licenciam sui introitus atque officii et docerent ecclesiam, quod Cristus, *(qui)* dedit semet[11] ipsum sub forma panis in hostia consecrata, taliter mendicavit. Et sic finaliter tota talis innovacio in Cristi ecclesia per discipulos anticristi de cristianorum stulticia atque desidia inolevit. Ideo non dubium, quin ex peccato illo punientur finaliter in hoc seculo vel futuro.

Examinet ergo fidelis responsionem sophisticam, quam anticristi discipuli sophisticant contra Cristum, et videbit cum deliberacione prudencie, quod non est nisi sophisma dyaboli contrarium veritati, ut religiosi possessionati et sacerdotes dotati fingunt nunc[12] non noviter, quod omnia illa habent ex donacione[13] secularium cottidie innovata.[c]

Sed queratur ab illis, si habent ad illorum donacionem licenciam domini capitalis, quia ut fidem capimus, quod non valet donacio, nisi fundari poterit licencia et nisi fiat per deum, qui est dominus capitalis.

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[c] *A reproach very frequently made by W. to the rich clergy; with reference to the preceding remark, cp. a passage, which is characteristic for the doings of the rich clergy, Matthew, p. 62: But lord, who is nowe so coueitous abouten worldly lordschipis and temporal goodis as oure prelatis, for comunly alle here visitacion, alle here sacramentis and blissyng is don for coueitise and worldly pride and dignyte; alle here preve spekyng and prechyng and techyng in scolis is for coueitise and magnyfyynge of here worldly staat: who is more idel in goddis seruyce, more in glotonye and wastynge of pore mennus goodis in schynynge vesselis and othere costis! and ȝif þei preyen, þat is wiþouten deuocion to plese þe peple, and comunly for offrynge, and cotidian distribucion, and stynkyng lif of lecherie, robberie, pride, coueitise, glotonye; etc. These donations, the clergg said, were well merited; by prayers for the laity there was acquired the „dispositio, quae Canonicis fit quotidie". In an ordinance for the Church of St. John at Ghent the passage occurs: Vice-curati de distributionibus, corpore praebendae, aliisque praerogativis praenarratis non gaudebunt, sed illorum portio absentiae cedit Quotidianae, i. e. cum absentes fuerint, nihil precipient eorum, quae praesentes recepissent, sed id ad Quotidianam redibit, seu ad eam, quae quotidie fit Canonicis, distribucionem, cp. Du Cange s. v. dispos.*

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[11] semet *CJ* se *β* [12] nunc *Jβ* *om. C, but added by the texthand in mar.*
[13] donacione *CJ* dotacione *(!) β*

Et constat ex fide ewangelii de particione temporalium facta discipulis a domino Iesu Cristo, quod sophista dyabolus potest faciliter decipere mundi divites in particione temporalium datis ypocritis. Ideo distribucio horum stercorum est magis periculosa quam carencia eorundem, et ideo Cristus nec in persona propria nec per suos apostolos voluit fieri talium distributor.[d]

Rogemus ergo, quod non prevaleat versucia dyaboli contra fideles de ecclesia Iesu Cristi.[14]

Pexlicit tratuscta de lobrady te brsimem suie Ih. Winclevi.[15]

[d] *cp. for instance Luc.* 12, 14

[14] Cr. *C* Cr. amen *Jβ* [15] *i. e.* Explicit tractatus de dyabolo et membris eius Johannis Wi(n)clevi tractatus de magisterio *β* Explicit hoc. De fundacione religionis *J*

XI.

DE DETECTIONE PERFIDIARUM ANTICHRISTI.

DE DETECTIONE PERFIDIARUM ANTICHRISTI.

I. Division.

Thesis: The Church demands unity.
First Part: The Four Sects are in opposition to this unity.
Second Part: They are, therefore, te be abolished.

II. Summary of Contents.

The Apostle says that the Church demands unity, unity of Faith, Hope and Charity, p. 380; but the Friars are in every respect against this unity, especially what regards Faith, keeping the people of the realm in a perfidious manner in doubt and uncertainty on the Sacrament of the Altar, p. 381. Publicly they teach other things than in their schools, (1) by distinguishing one faith for the clergy, another for the people, (2) by entertaining and encouraging false hopes as to eternal recompensation, and (3) by offending against Charity (of this there is no proof given by W.), p. 381. — But it must be said that the temporal lords have not without good reason received from God authority against these disturbers of the Faith, p. 382; they should, therefore, take measures against the Friars, p. 382; on the other hand it is to be regretted that also among them christian love is nearly extinct, p. 382. The wealth and the welfare of the land would flourish again, if these seducers of the people were done away with, who are more obnoxious to the country than open attacks of robbers etc., p. 382—383; for they deprive the people of their christian faith, p. 383—384.

III. Date of Composition.

From a mere glance on the Tract it is evident that the disputation on the Roman doctrine of the Eucharist is over (Summer of 1381, cp. Fasc. Ziz. 104 ff.). Therefore after 1381. I am not able to fix the date more exactly. But I will not forget to mention that from the passage Sed heu, amor *etc., p. 382, Wiclifs confidence in the help of the temporal lords appears to be a very small one; this seems to have been the case in the month of May 1382, if I am right, cp. Lechler, J. v. W. I, 675—677. I should also think that the concluding words:* de ipsa hostia questio est ventilata, *p. 384, from which it is evident that the dogmatical disputation on the subject is closed, were written after the composition of the Trialogus (i. e. according to Lechler, Trial. p. 2 ff., 1383 or 1384). Thus we would come down into Wiclifs last year. — But I give both dates with all necessary reserve.*

IV. Genuineness.

(a) External evidence:

(1) cp. Wiclif-Catal. of the Vienna codd., see above p. 7.

(2) cp. cod. E, index on the front cover.

(3) cod. β, index of the fly-leaf; as to (2) and (3), see above General Introd. IV, Description of the codd.

(4) Denis, Cod. MS. Theol. II, 1438; 1460.

(5) Shirley, Catal. No. 86 p. 28.

(6) Lechler, J. v. W. II, 568.

(b) Internal evidence:

(1) cp. above General Introduction V, e.

(2) cp. especially W.'s argumentation on the hostia consecrata *p. 382 l. 17 ff.*

(3) cp. in particular note c; d; e; h; i; l.

V. *Not printed heretofore.*

VI. *Extant in*

cod. 3927 = F fol. 8^b—8^d F^1 = Corrector
cod. 1337 = E fol. 36^a –36^d E^1 = Corrector
both in the Imperial Library at Vienna
cod. III. G. 11. = β fol. 55^b—56^b $β^1$ = Corrector
the latter in the Univers. Libr. at Prague.

VII. The Manuscripts.

On these I have very little to say. — As in the preceding Tracts, cod. E has been copied in a very careless manner, cp. toto *note 8;* unica *9;* fid. salt. eccl. *31;* exornari *43;* huic *46;* et ut *47;* quam *48;* memor *50;* essem *53;* et et per ist. *56;* cred. *60;* sing. *63;* ypocr. *65; a great many of graphical errors occur also in it, cp. for instance* unitali *4;* fides *7;* divis. *etc. 10;* quod est *etc. 16;* et fid. s. *36;* quidem *37;* et ut loq. *44 etc. etc. etc. On account of this corruption (and because in many former cases E has proved itself not at all trustworthy) I prefer cod. F to E. F, it is true, has also been copied in a faulty manner, cp.* valant *21;* dic. *34;* ex; et fid. *(om.) 36;* qua *51. From* quodne fid. *42 it appears, that both codices (as it was the case in some of the preceding Tracts, cp. De Fundac. Sect., De Ord. Fratr.) belong to the same family; whether they have copied from the same original, or one from another, the small number of variants does not show. From the reading:* salt. n. ip. *31;* et ut loq. *44;* ut ut *27 it appears, I believe, that F was not copied from E.*

Cod. β of the Prague series which became accessible to me for a short time after I had already formed my text, seems to belong to another family, cp. ne fidel. *42. It is not much worth, cp.* subtr. *12;* modo *(om.) 17;* spec. *23;* emit. *45;* per *52;* in fidem *57;* debent *58; but I think, it ought to be preferred to cod. E. — For forming the text of the Tract, I have taken F as my best source, β comes as second; E has not been made use of.*

JOHANNIS WICLIF

DE DETECCIONE PERFIDIARUM ANTICRISTI.[1]

Explicit tractatus de Confessionibus.[2]

|| *F fol. 8^b lin. 29* || [3] Paulus docet ad Ephes. 4,[a] quomodo Cristi ecclesia debet diligere unitatem ex unitate dei, ex unitate domini nostri Iesu Cristi et ex unitate baptismatis, quod est ecclesie medicina. Et ex hoc infertur, quod debet esse unitas[4] fidei, unitas spei et unitas caritatis.[b] Iste autem secte quatuor,[c] que ab unitate secte domini sunt divise, faciunt divisionem in his[5] tribus virtutibus theologicis et in aliis unitatibus catholicis, quantum possunt. Licet[6] autem debet esse una fides[7] credita a toto[8] corpore ecclesie, cum sit una persona et una[9] sponsa Cristi, faciunt tamen[10] divisionem in uni-

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[a] *v. 5—6: unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus et pater omnium, qui est super omnes et per omnia et in omnibus nobis* [b] *the unity of the three virtutes theologicae, cp. I Cor. 13, 13* [c] *the secular rich clergy, the Monks, the Canons and the Friars*

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[1] de deteccione perfidiarum anticristi *E high above in mar. in red ink; above the col. repeated in large red writing:* De Deteccione perfidiarum anticristi *in F in mar. opposite the first line of the Trakt:* Deteccio perfidie sectarum anticristi [2] Explicit tr. *etc. F* De unitate dei, unitate domini Iesu Cristi et unitate baptismatis Incipit tractatus *E in red ink Expl. and Inc. om. β* [3] *E fol. 36^a lin. 3 β fol. 55^b lin. 12* [4] unitas *Fβ* unitali *(ud.)* unitas *E* [5] his *F* hiis *Eβ* [6] licet *Fβ* llicet *E* [7] fides *Fβ* fides *(cr. out and ud.)* fides *E* [8] toto *Fβ, also E, but in mar. is add. by E*[1] tota, *which was afterwards corr. into* toto [9] una *F* unica *Eβ* [10] tamen *Fβ* divisionem in hiis tribus virtutibus *(cr. out and ud.)* tamen *E; the writer got into a wrong line, deceived by* faciunt divisionem

tate fidei, ut patet de hostia consecrata.[11] Ubi enim ex doctrina Cristi fuit creditum, quod est una hostia, licet in diversis basilicis et temporibus consecrata, quia omnes ille hostie et earum quelibet est unicum corpus Cristi, iste secte ex earum varietate istam perfidiam induxerunt, quod illa hostia nullo modo || est corpus || *F fol. 8c* Cristi, cum sit accidens sine abstracta[12] substancia sive nichil, et sic pro diversitate loci vel[13] temporis,[14] licet dicant populo fidem antiquam de ipsa hostia, quod est realiter corpus Cristi, tamen private in[15] scolis suis dicunt, quod ipsa hostia nullo[16] modo[17] esset[18] corpus domini Iesu[19] Cristi,[d] sed est peior quam hostia non sacrata, quia accidens sine subiecto vel unum innominabile, quod ignorant.

Et sic ubi dicit apostolus: una fides Cristi, in[20] fide variant[21] dicentes, quod una est fides subtilium clericorum, quales sunt ipsi, et alia est fides impossibilis laicorum. Nec volunt isti errori fidei contradicere, sed favere.[22]

Et sic variant in spe,[23] sperantes, quod[24] ex suis habitibus[e] et novis ordinibus sunt plus in beatitudine cristianis ceteris premiandi. Et sic vocati sunt in illam spem[25] per suum patronum

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[d] *cp. the same idea* *Trial.* *339; 365* [e] *W. here as elsewhere alludes to the known superstition of the time: et tantam vim virtutis ponunt in suis habitibus, quod sperant, si persona aliqua, vir vel femina, moriatur in ipsis, non dampnabitur ad infernum, Purgatorium Secte Christi, cp. above p. 306, also 143; unde multe sunt hereses in tali materia introducte, ut quod sint habitus fratrum tam sacri et tam virtuosi, quod nullus mortuus in istis habitibus dampnabitur ad infernum, Tract. de Matth. XXIII, cod. Ashburnh. fol. 72a. Cp. also Erasmus, Colloquia Funus et Exequiae Seraphicae; Matthew, E. W. h. 316; Arnold, S. E. W. III, 389. As to the symbolical meaning of the monks habit, cp. Suppl. Trial. 435*

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[11] *in β is add. in mar.:* Hostia consecrata diversimode creditur β[1] [12] abstracta *FE* subtracta β [13] vel *F* et *E*β [14] temporis *EF* temporibus (bu *cr. out)* β [15] in *EF* et in β [16] nullo *F*β quod est realiter corpus Christi *(cr. out and ud.)* nullo *E, the copier was deceived by the preceding* ipsa hostia [17] modo *EF* *om.* β [18] esset *EF* potest esse β [19] Iesu *EF* nostri Iesu β [20] in *EF* ipsi in β [21] variant *E*β valant *(! vatant)* *F* [22] favere β fovere *EF* [23] spe *EF* specie β [24] quod *EF* quid β [25] illam spem *EF* illa spe β

vel pium patrem et non per dominum[26] Iesum Cristum. Nec dubium, quin in caritate domini notabiliter variantur, quia vel in ipsa deficiunt, vel habent caritatem aliam, quam deus ex fide scripture docuit matrem nostram.[27]

Et iste error a prima secta[f] incipit et[28] usque ad novissimam se extendit. Cum ergo[29] seculares domini non sine causa a deo[30] habeant potestatem ad coercendum rebelles fidei, saltem non ipsos contra fidem ecclesie[31] defendentes,[32] tales domini, qui Cristum diligunt, sicut[33] tenentur sub pena anathematis, debent[34] ex suo officio pro[35] ista declaracione fidei laborare. — Sed heu! amor Cristi et fidei sue[36] ab istis contempnitur, et plus quam Cristus illud, quod[37] retardat,[g] ab isto officio infideliter preamatur.

Quomodo, queso, vigeret regnum, quod habet tot et tales hereticos, sicut sunt in istis sectis quatuor. Et[38] cum multi sunt eorum[39] legii homines regis nostri, regnum posset faciliter sub pena illis iniungere, quod dicant sub sufficienti testimonio et evidencia fidei,[40] quid credunt de ipsa[41] hostia consecrata, utrum sit corpus Cristi vel non, et si non, quid est, quodve fideles[42] adorent ydiotice, quod ignorant[h]; et si deus voluerit, per istud medium

[f] *viz. the clerus cesareus* [g] *cp. II Thess. 2, 6* [h] *cp. John 4, 21; cp. the same assertion Trial. 339; again Festival Sermons No. 47, cod. 3929 fol. 96*[b]*: nescit ista generacio, quid sit sacramentum altaris etc. This superstitious adoration of the host is very frequently made a reproach to the Sects by W.; cp., for instance, Trial. 269: ideo oportet hos fratres etc. The adoration of the Sanctissimum was not demanded in W.'s time even by the most ardent defenders of the Transubstantiation; only two hundred years later by the Council of Trent it was made an ecclesiastival law for the faithful. Sessio 13 Decr. de Sa. Eucharistiae Sacram. cap. 5: nullus dubitandi locus relinquitur, quia omnes Christi fideles pro more*

[26] dominum β deum *EF* [27] matrem nostram β *om. EF* [28] et β *in E it is later corr. into the text om. F* [29] ergo *EF* igitur β [30] a deo *Fβ,E*[1] *in mar. om. E* [31] fidei s. n. i. c. f. ecclesie *Fβ* fidei saltem ecclesie *E* [32] defendentes *EF* defendendo β [33] sicut *Fβ* sed *E* [34] debent *Eβ* dicunt *F* [35] pro *Eβ* ex *F* [36] et sue fidei β et fidei sue *E*[1] *in mar. om. EF* [37] quod *E*[1] *in mar.* quidem *FE in the text* quod vel quid β [38] et *EF* regulantes et β [39] sunt eorum *EF* eorum sint β [40] fidei *F* fideli *Eβ* [41] ipsa *EF* ista β [42] quod ve fideles *F* ne fideles β quod ne *(the latter ed.)* fideles *E*

posset regnum exonerari[43] de istis sectis quatuor, et, ut loquar[44] sensibiliter, tam in secularibus dominiis quam in bonis mobilibus secundum ordinacionem domini reditari, quia, ut a multis asseritur, tolerabilius esset regno, predari per hostes || publicos quam sic cor- || *F fol. 84* rodi subdole per huiusmodi infideles.[i] Nec est honor deo, sic filios dyaboli enutrire,[45] et omnino debet fidelis populus prudenter examinare istos hereticos in hac parte, quia per subtilitates dyaboli sedant hinc[46] per verba sophistica scrutinium veritatis, ut[47] unus dicit, quod ibi est corpus Cristi, sed non illud. Contra quem[48] dictum est sepius, quod hoc non queritur, sed quid est illud album et rotundum, quod ewangelium dicit tam esse panem, quam eciam[49] corpus Cristi, et scitur ex fide, quod natura melior[50] corpore Cristi sit ibi, cum deitas sit ubique.[k] — Et eodem modo dicitur ad aliam responsionem sophisticam, quam[51] heretici fingunt laicis, quod propter[52] subtilitatem materie non est de illa ipsis laicis disserendum, sed satis est illis credere, esse in[53] ibi corpus[54] Cristi. Laici quidem credunt, ut debent, quod ipsa[55] sit virtute verborum domini corpus Cristi suum, et per ista[56] tollitur excusacio tercia infidelium[57] in hac parte. Dicunt[58] enim generaliter sine specificacione[59] ulteriori, quod credunt de ipsa hostia, sicut ecclesia sancta credit; sed cum communitas fidelium a tempore ascensionis domini credidit,[60] ipsam hostiam esse corpus domini nostri[61] Iesu Cristi,

in catholica ecclesia semper recepto latriae cultum, qui vero Deo debetur, huic sanctissimo sacramento in veneratione exhibeant, Conc. Trid. Canon. et Decr., ed. G. Smets, fourth ed., Bielefeld 1854, p. 58 [i] *W. frequently in his polemical works speaks of the heavy yearly expenses the Four Sects put the country to. He generally mentions the sum of 40,000 Mark, in one passage 60,000 Mark, see above p. 192- -193; 98; 103; Trial. 369*
[k] *as to this, cp. Lechler, J. v. W. I, 633*

[43] exonerari *Fβ* exornari *E* [44] Et ut loquar *Fβ,E¹ in mar.* *om. E* [45] enutrire *EF* emitire *β* [46] hinc *F* huic *E* hic *β* [47] ut *F* et ut *E* et *β* [48] quem *Fβ* quam *E* [49] eciam *EF* *om. β* [50] melior *Fβ* memor *E* [51] quam *E* qua *Fβ* [52] propter *EF* per *β* [53] esse in *Fβ* essem *E* [54] corpus *EF* esse *(cr. out)* corpus *β* [55] ipsa *EF* ipse *β* [56] et per ista *Fβ* et et per ista *E* [57] infidelium *EF* in fidem *β* [58] dicunt *EF* debent *β* [59] specificacione *β* specimine *(?) EF* [60] credidit *Fβ* credit *E* [61] nostri *EF* *om. β*

queratur ab ipsis hereticis, si hoc credant, et non credatur persone[62] singulari[63] in ista materia, quousque tota secta sub sigillo suo generali dederit fidem suam.

Et tali evidencia[64] utendum est cum istis ypocritis,[65] qui sub verbis sophisticis ascendunt ad corpus Cristi in natura sua secundum naturam, qua corpus domini est in celo. Sed de ipsa sacrata[66] hostia, que sensibiliter tractatur cottidie in altari, senciunt heretici ut priores, et de ipsa hostia questio est ventilata.[67] [1]

De Gradibus cleri.[68]

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[1] *as in this place, also in the Trial. 366, the position of the Friars in the disputation on the Holy Eucharist is styled their 'primus error'; W. looks upon it as a first experiment to falsify the pure faith of the Church.*

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[62] pers. *EF* isti pers. β [63] singulari β,*F*[1] *in mar. repeated, illegible in the text* singuli *E* [64] evidencia *EF* prudencia β [65] ypocritis *F*β yppocriticis *E* [66] sacrata *EF* consecrata β [67] ve. *EF* ve. amen β [68] de gradibus cleri *F* de gradibus cleri ecclesie *E* Secundum Apostolum ad Eph. 6 non est nobis *etc. (commencement of De novis ordinibus, see. above p. 223)* β.

☞ *The Society's first Issues for* 1882 *and* 1883 *are now ready, and will be sent forthwith to those Members, and only those, who have paid their Subscriptions. The Subscriptions for* 1883 *became due on Jan.* 1, *and should be paid at once to the Hon. Sec.* **J. W. Standerwick, Esq., General Post Office, London, E.C.** *Cheques to be crosst 'London and County Bank.'*

The Wyclif Society.

First Report of the Executive Committee, 1882-83.

1. The Wyclif Society was founded in March, 1882, "to remove from England the disgrace of having left buried in manuscript the most important works of her great early Reformer, John WYCLIF," and to ensure that the 500th anniversary of his death,[1] the year 1884, should see at work a Society which would keep on foot until all his most important genuine writings should be "given to the world through the press."

2. At least 300 Members were called for: 230 responded. Forty of these were askt to pay five years' subscription in advance, in order that Manuscripts might be copied, and forty-two did so.

3. The following Treatises have been copied, those starred (*), wholly; those daggered (†), partly; (the numbers are those of Shirley's Catalogue):—

*11. De Actibus Animae (in Shirley: De Anima).
†12. De Incarnatione Verbi (all the Oriel MS.: part of the Vienna MS.).
*14. De Dominio Divino. (In three books.)

[1] Any one having any hints to give as to the celebration of the Quincentenary, or how best to get the Wyclif Society its £1000 towards printing WYCLIF'S Works, should write to the Hon. Sec., Mr. J. W. Standerwick. The Luther Commemoration Committee will help in the Quincentenary arrangements. Wyclif died on Dec. 31, 1384.

†15. Summa Theologiae.
* Book I. De Mandatis Dei (in Shirley : De Mandatis Divinis).
* " II. De Statu Innocentiae.
* Books III.-V. De Civili Dominio. (In three books.)
* Book VI. De Veritate S. Scripturae.
* " VII. De Ecclesia.
* " VIII. De Officio Regis.
† " IX. De Potestate Papae.
* " XII. De Blasphemia.
*23. De Eucharistia et Poenitentia.
*39. Sermo Pulcher.
*47. De Oratione Dominica.
*48. De Salutatione Angelica.
*54. Contra Magistrum Outredum.
*55. Contra Willelmum Vynham.
*59. Responsiones ad xliv quaestiones.
*60. Responsum ad decem quaestiones.
*61. Epistolae octo.
*77. De Ordine Christiano.
*92. De Praelatis Contentionum.
*94. De Graduationibus.
*95. De Gradibus Cleri Ecclesiae.

Commissions have been given for the copying of the rest of the *Summa* (namely Books X. and XI., *De Simonia* and *De Apostasia*), and of all WYCLIF's other Latin works except the Philosophical ones and the Sermons.

4. The work of the first copiers employed was not satisfactory, and the Committee found that there was no chance of producing any independent Society book till 1884. They therefore arranged with Dr. Rudolf BUDDENSIEG, of Dresden, —whose appeal to English students had in great measure led to the foundation of the Society—that the edition of *Wyclif's Polemical Works*, which he had undertaken in Germany, should be issued also here, with an English Introduction, Notes, etc., as the Society's first Publication, vol. i. for 1882, and vol. ii. for 1883, each volume consisting of about 500 pages. This work, the arrangement of which is, of course, after the German manner, is now ready, and contains —besides a very valuable appreciative account of WYCLIF and his work, critical apparatus, a list of the Vienna MSS., and full Index—the following twenty-six Polemical Tracts (Shirley's numbers are added) :—

A.—Against the Sects.

De Fundatione Sectarum. (91.)
De Ordinatione Fratrum. Shirley's (84) De Concordatione Fratrum cum secta simplici Christi, sive De Sectis Monachorum. In four chapters.

De Nova Prævaricantia Mandatorum. In eight chapters. ('A very interesting Tract against the Regulars, written after the Great Schism of the West,' A.D. 1378.) (79.) Shirley's '31. De Purgatorio' is part of this Treatise.
De Triplici Vinculo Amoris. In ten chapters. (49.)
De Septem Donis Spiritus Sancti. In 9 chapters. (27.)
De Quatuor Sectis Novellis. (1. The Priests endowed with lands and lordships; 2. The landed Monastic Orders; 3. The Canons; 4. The Begging Friars.) (85.)
Purgatorium sectæ Christi, sive contra Religiones Privatas, Ashburnham MS. xxvii. c. ff. 49–54. This is not in Shirley's Catalogue. It is an exhortation to put down the sects of Friars.
De Novis Ordinibus. In three chapters. (87.)
De Oratione et Ecclesiæ purgatione. In five chapters. (25.)
De Diabolo et Membris ejus. In five chapters. (29.)
De Detectione Perfidiarum Antichristi. (86.)
De Solutione Satanæ. (30.)
De Mendaciis Fratrum. (88.)
Descriptio Fratris. (89.)
De Daemonio Meridiano. (Written after 1376.) (73.)
De Duobus Generibus Hæreticorum. (96.)
De Religionibus vanis Monachorum, sive De Fundatore Religionis. (80.)
De Perfectione Statuum, sive De Minoribus Fratribus se extollentibus (against the boasting of the Franciscans). (78.)
De Religione Privata, I., II. (81, 82.)

B.—Against the Pope.

De citationibus frivolis et aliis versutiis Antichristi. (72.)
De Dissensione Paparum, sive De Schismate (A.D. 1378). (Also in English, Shirley, No. 59, p. 48. Printed in Arnold, iii., 242.) (74.)
Cruciata. Shirley's 75. Contra Cruciatam Papæ. In nine chapters. (On the Crusade of the rival Popes against each other during the Great Schism.) (75.)
De Christo et suo Adversario Antichristo. In fifteen chapters. (76.)
De Contrarietate duorum dominorum suarum partium ac etiam regularum. In eight chapters. (A sharp attack on the Popes and Friars.) (83.)
Quatuor Imprecationes. (Four conclusions about the state of the English Clergy.) (93.)

The two volumes, with binding, etc., will cost about £280; and in order to pay this sum, the Subscriptions for 1883 are wanted at once.

The Committee hope to add to the issue of 1883, WYCLIF's *De Incarnatione Verbi*, now at press, edited from the Vienna and Oriel MSS. by the Rev. Edward HARRIS, M.A. But until the 1883 Subscriptions come in, no decision can be arrived at about the issue of books. A sum of £200 is still wanted for copying and other non-printing expenses. Of

the Society's small income, only about £150 a year is available for printing, and this means only one volume a year. (To prevent any lowering of price of the Society's books, the number printed is limited to 500, of which 50 are given to the Editor of each Text.[1])

5. For 1884, the first volume (Books i and ii) of the *De Civili Dominio* is at press, edited by Reginald Lane POOLE, M.A., Oxford.

Mr. F. D. MATTHEW has nearly ready for press the *De Mandatis Dei* (*Divinis*, Shirley) and *De Statu Innocentiae.*

Dr. BUDDENSIEG is preparing for press the *De Veritate Sanctæ Scripturæ.*

Prof. LOSERTH of Czernowitz has in hand the *De Ecclesia*, and Mr. Poole the *De Dominio Divino.*

Mr. J. H. HESSELS of Cambridge is preparing the *De Actibus Animæ*; but it is a very difficult treatise, and he wishes to give it the time necessary for a satisfactory understanding of the scholastic philosophy involved in it.

Now if the Members of the Society will only bestir themselves and raise £1000 for the Quincentenary of WYCLIF'S death, all these works, and more, can be printed and issued next year. The truest honour that can be paid to WYCLIF'S memory, is to print his words, the records of his thoughts, which, to the disgrace of every Englishman, have been left unheeded in foreign libraries for now five hundred years. The monument '*aere perennius,*' which Germany is now erecting to the memory of her LUTHER, is a new critical edition of Luther's Works, of which the first volume was issued on the day of the Luther Centenary, November 10, 1883. And till all *our* great Reformer's most important Treatises are in print, no question of monument or other memorial to him need be raised. The Committee therefore repeat from the Society's Prospectus their "appeal to all who care for the Religion, the Freedom, the Language, and the History of England, for aid in the work they have undertaken. No party feeling whatever enters into the Society's plan. The only desire is, to do England's long-neglected duty to the memory of a great English Worthy."

6. The Committee wish to express their thanks, and those of the Society, to Dr. BUDDENSIEG for his admirable edition

[1] If any Subscribers to the Quincentenary Fund wish, in return, for the Society's books, the Committee will increase the number of books printed to the amount necessary for that purpose.

of WYCLIF'S *Polemical Works*, and to the Continental and English scholars who have undertaken to edit WYCLIF'S other Works for the Society. They also thank specially Mr. F. D. MATTHEW for copying (or paying for the copy of) the text he will edit, *De Mandatis Dei;* Mr. J. H. HESSELS for his copy of the very difficult Corpus MS. of *De Actibus Animæ*; Dr. BUDDENSIEG for superintending the copying of some Vienna MSS. at Dresden; Prof. Paul MEYER for like kindness about the Paris MSS. in the National Library there; and M. PATERA for procuring copies of the Prag MSS. The Committee's thanks are also due to their Vienna copiers, Dr. Herzbergfränkel and Herr Rudolf Beer.

The Subscription to the Society is One Guinea a year, payable on every First of January. The payment of five or ten years' Subscriptions in advance will help the Society's work. All Subscriptions and Donations,—which are much desired,—should be paid to the Hon. Sec., J. W. Standerwick, Esq., General Post Office, London, E.C., and Members will save both him and themselves trouble by sending him an Order on their Bankers, in the following form, to pay their subscriptions:—

________________ 1883.

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Till further order, pay to the London and County Bank, for The Wyclif Society, One Guinea now, and on every following First of January.

(*Signed*) ________________

The Society's books are sent out by its binder, Mr. Nevett, 44, Kirby Street, Hatton Garden, London, E.C.; and to him all complaints as to non-delivery of publications, etc., should be addrest.

Every Member should recollect that the Wyclif Society always wants badly, more money and Members, and that these can only be got by his making it his business to ask every friend and acquaintance he meets, to join the Society.

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